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THE KHOKHARS AND THE GAKKHARS IN PANJAB HISTORY.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

Introduction.

IN an article entitled *A History of the Gakkhars*, contributed to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1871, by Mr. J. G. Delmerick, the Khôkhars of the Muhammadan historians were taken to be the Gakkhars, a tribe which is settled in the Râwalpindî District of the Pañjâb. The late Major Raverty, however, expressed a strong opinion that the writer of the article had confused the Gakkhars with the Khôkhars, a totally distinct tribe, and a full examination of all the evidence at present readily accessible has convinced the present writer of the correctness of Major Raverty's position. The Khôkhars were settled in the Pañjâb centuries before the Gakkhars, and were early spread all over the central districts of the Province before the Gakkhars acquired their seats in the Salt Range, to which they are and always have been confined. If this thesis be correct, it follows that Farishta's description of the customs of polyandry and female infanticide, as practised by the tribe, apply not to the Gakkhars at all, but to the essentially Pañjâb tribe, the Khôkhars.

• 1. — THE HISTORY OF THE KHÔKHARS.

A. — An Account of the Traditional History of the Khôkhars, by a Khôkhar of Khokharain, in the Hoshiarpur District, Pañjâb.

Beorâsâhîd,¹ who succeeded Jâmshîd, King of Persia, was called Dahâk or the 'Ten Calamities.' On his shoulders were two snake-like tumours, whence he was nick-named Mârân or Aydahâ by the Persians, and called Dahâk (or Zuhâk)² Mârân, while his descendants were designated Tâk³-bansi, Nâg-bansi or Takshak. About 1500 B. C. Kâma, the ironsmith, aided Faridûn, a descendant of Jâmshîd, to subdue Dahâk, who was cast into the well of Koh Damavind, and Faridûn became King of Persia. One of Dahâk's descendants, named Bustâm Kâjâ, surnamed Kokrâ, was governor of the Pañjâb and had his capital at Kokrânâ, on a hill in the Chînâth Doâb, but it is now called Koh Kirânâ.* At the same time Mihrâb, also a descendant of Zuhâk, held Kâbul as a feudatory of Faridûn.

After acquiring the Persian throne, Faridûn marched against Dahâk's descendants. Bustâm fled and sought refuge in the Hill of Ghor, west of Qandahâr, where his people ruled for generations, being called Ghori or Ghorîâ and all being pagans.

¹ Afrâsiâb.

² Zuhâk is merely the Arabicised form of Dahâk.

³ Tâk for Dahâk.

* A singularly unsuccessful attempt to identify the isolated Kirânâ Hill, that in the Jhang District, with Kokrânâ by assuming that the syllable *ko-* was mistaken for the Persian *koh*, mountain, and dropped in the course of time — an utterly impossible suggestion.

Some years later Bustām was murdered⁷ and some powerful Rājā took possession of the Sindh-Sāgar Doāb, where Alexander found Takshail (Taxiles), founder of Takshala (Taxila), now Dheri Shāhān in the Attock District. But before the Macedonian invasion Kaid Rāj, King of Mārwar, overran the Pañjāb in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, soon after Bustām's murder. His capital was Bherā on the Jhelam District and he also founded a fort at Jammū, which he entrusted to Virk⁸ Khōkhar, one of his kinsmen. Virk, with his own tribesmen, conquered the northern hills, and then, in league with the hill-men of Kohāt and the Sulaimān Hills, drove Kaid Rāj out of the Pañjāb. The Khōkhars, under such chiefs as Jot, Sālbāhan, Tāl, Bāl, Sirkap, Sirkuk, Vikram, Hodi Sāndā, Askap, Khōkhar (*sic*), Bādāl and Kob, thenceforward held the Pañjāb.

A long period after this, Bahrām, Rājā of Ghor, left Shorāb, which lay 100 miles from Qandahār,⁹ and, regaining the Kokrānā territory, his hereditary province, he founded Sharāb to the east of the Kokrānā Hill. Another Rājā of Ghor, named Zamīn Dāwar, founded yet another city 3 kos to the east of Shorāb and called it Dāwar, and this was laid waste by the Tartars, but the mound still exists. To the west of it lies the new town of Dāwar, which is still in possession of the tribe. Shorāb was destroyed by Sultān Mahmūd, and its ruins stand at the foot of the present Shorābwālī Pahārī Hill.

Goriā, the Kokrānā Rājā of Sharāb, was succeeded by his two sons Bādāl¹⁰ and Bharth¹¹ and 11 others who were sons of handmaids. Bādāl succeeded to the upland tracts of Chinot and Kokrānā,¹² while Bharth took those east of the Chenāb. The latter, who dwelt in Bharth, a city named after himself, which lay 6 kos west of Nankānā village, came, stone in hand, to aid his brother Bādāl Khān in battle; but learning that he had already fallen, he placed the stone on the ground and marched to avenge his loss. He was, however, worsted in the conflict, and Bharth, his city, destroyed. But the stone still lies on the hill. South of Chinot Bādāl founded Mārī Tappā, on a hill still so called. In the middle of the Chenāb he commenced a stone fort and a masonry bridge which he never completed, but a wall of the fort, called the Bādālgarh, still remains. With Dārā, his beloved kinsman, Rājā Bādāl Khān (*sic*) was assassinated on his way to Mārī Tappā, some 3 kos from Chinot, and here his tomb, called Bādāl Dārā, still stands to the west of the village of Amīrpur.

Bharth's territory had extended as far as Gujrat, and he left 8 sons of whom 4 left issue. These were Sāndā, Hassan, Hussain, and Mahmūd. Sāndā built a city, Sāndar, between the Rāvi and the Dek streams, the ruins of which are still called Sāndar-kā-tibba in the (Pindi) Bhattiān tract. He ruled so justly that his dominion is still called the Sāndar or Sandal Bār.¹³ He left 4 sons, Mandār, Ratn Pāl, Bālā, and Jāl. From Ratn Pāl sprang the Ribhān,¹⁴ a sept

⁷ This is to account for the existence of the Virk, a powerful Jat tribe, still numerous in Gujranwālā. It also seems to connect them with the Khōkhars.

⁸ Eight or ten miles west of Qandahār lies the village of Khokharān. The *kabits* of the bards record a Rājā named Kokrā, of Garh Kokrānā, now called Kadyāna.

⁹ Bādāl would appear to be a Hindu name; cf. Rai Bādāl of Chatter: but lower down we find him called Bādāl Khān, the latter a Muhammadan title. It is curious to find Hindu and Muhammadan names mixed up in this history without apparent sense of incongruity. Thus below we have Ratn Pāl, undoubtedly a Hindu, descended from Sāndā, whose three brothers all bore Muhammadan names, even if Sāndā was himself a Hindu. Among the Meos of Gurgaon the position at the present time is precisely the same, and the present head of the Muhammadan Kharrāls in the Lyallpur District is called Jagdeo.

¹⁰ The name Bharth occurs elsewhere.

¹¹ It is unsafe to identify places like Kokrānā with the Khōkhars. Near Rohtak are the mounds called Khokrā Kot, under which lie ancient cities, but the word Khokrā has no connection with the Khōkhar tribe. (See *Rohtak District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 16.)

¹² But a local legend, recorded by Mr. E. D. MacLagan, says this Bār is so named after one Sandal, a Chuhra, who used to commit great depredations. Another Chuhra used to live in the Gūa rock, i. e., the rock with the 'cavern,' and eat men. The people sometimes called the Bār, Tattar, i. e., 'the Desert.'

¹³ Probably the Ribhāns, a tribe still found in Jhang District: see the *Jhang Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 61, where they are described as rulers in old days of the Kālowāl tract, which once formed a part of the Siāl kingdom; (but they are not said to be a branch of the Khōkhars).

which has two branches, the *Nissowānas*¹² and the *Bhikhās*,¹³ found in Shāhpur and Jhang. Kālowāl was the headquarters of this sept. **Sultān Mandār's** descendants are now found in Bannu, where they trace their origin to Kais Abdur-Rasīd, and are thus called **Mandār Afghāns**. Mandār himself prospered, kept in with the ruler of Kābul and conquered the Kohistān-i-Namak and the Koh-i-Naudanā. Of his twelve sons, three were legitimate, and of these three Rai Singin remained in the Kohistān-i-Namak and married his daughter to Sultān Jalāl'u'd-Dīn Khwārizmī, who made his son general of his own forces, with the title of Qutlugh-Khāni. The second son Ichhar founded Ichhrā near Lahore, and the third was Māchhi Khān, who became Rājā of Chiniot, which was named from Chandan, his sister, who built a palace on the hill as a hunting lodge for her father. Māri Tappā was not then populated, but Andheri was flourishing, and north of it lay the *dhaular*,¹⁴ or abode of Rāni Chandan, which was called Chandniot, now Chiniot. When Andheri was deserted, Māchhi Khān¹⁵ shifted his residence to the eastern bank of the river. Rai Singin had four sons: Sarpāl, Hast,¹⁶ Vir and Dādan. Some of Sarpāl's sons went to Afghānistān and now trace their descent to Shāh Husain Ghori. Chuchak or Achu was sixth and Malik Shaikh seventh in descent, from Sarpāl, and the latter founded **Shaikha**, a fort, and **Dhankar**, a village in the hill of Bhāwān, north of Manglān, he and his father holding the hill-country and the tracts west of Gujrat. Malik Shaikhā was appointed governor of Lahore by the king of Delhi, and Nusrat, his younger brother, opposed Timūr's invasion, with only 2,000 men, on the Biās.

• **Malik Jasrat**, son of Shaikhā, is a historical personage. In 1442 A. D. he was murdered by his queen, a daughter of Bhīm Deo, Rājā of Jammū, because her father had been put to death by the Malik. His descendants are found in Māri and Shakārpur in Gujrat, at Malikwāl in Shāhpur, at Jasrat near Chiniot, and in Dhankar near Khāngāh Dogrān.

The Tartars spared the territories of Sarpāl's descendants. After 1200 A. D.¹⁷ they had burnt all the Khōkhar settlements on the Biās and Sutlej. Rājā Vir Khān fled towards Multān, but returned and founded **Kāngra**, 9 kos from Chiniot, east of the Chenāb, but soon moved towards the Biās with Kālu, his kinsman, who founded Kāluwāhan, now **Kāhnuwān**,¹⁸ in Gurdāspur, on the right bank of the river. For himself Vir chose a tract 32 kos south of Kāhnuwān, and there he founded **Vairowāl** in Tarn Tāran, naming it after his son Vairo. Bhāro, another tribesman, founded **Bhārowāl** in the same tahsil. Kulchandar, another Khōkhar, founded Mifowāl, Mardānā, Auliapur, &c., in Siālkot. Rājā Vir Khān also founded a new Kāngra midway between Kāhnuwān and Vairowāl. His territory was 40 kos in length, and the town extended 5 miles along the bank of the Biās. At its north and south gates stood two forts or *andris*,¹⁹ now occupied by Bhatti Rājputs²⁰ and Panuān Jats. On the ruins of this town now stands the small village of Kāngra,²¹ just opposite to Tahlī or Khokharain on the west

¹² The Nissowānas are also still to be found in Jhang — in the northern corner of Chiniot Tahsil: *Jhang Gazetteer*, p. 66.

¹³ The Bhikhās I cannot trace.

¹⁴ *Dhaular*, in Panjābi = palace (*lit.*, 'white house'?)

¹⁵ This Machchhe Khān appears to be alluded to in the following ballad, which records the deeds of the Chaddrā tribe of the Sandal Bār:—

Modā de Chiniōt leō ne.

Zōr chāngērā līcā ne

Malik Machchhe Khān kutthō ne,

Rāgrāp rōk rulācā ne.

(After their victory over the Kharrals the Chaddrā) with a push of the shoulder (i. e., with a certain amount of trouble) took Chiniōt.

They used more force.

They killed Malik Machchhe Khān.

They harried and destroyed him.

¹⁶ Hast: a Malik Hast is mentioned in Bābar's *Memoirs* (Elliott's *History of India*, Vol. IV. pp. 236-237,) but no particulars regarding him appear to be given. Raverty mentions him and Sangar Khān as chiefs of the Janjānas agā Jūds. — *Notes on Afghānistān*, p. 355.

¹⁷ c. 600 A. H.

¹⁸ Which place the Khōkhars are said to have held in Akbar's time.

¹⁹ *Māri* in Panjābi means a lofty house of masonry, or a small room erected on the roof of a house.

²⁰ Of the Buchā gōt, whence the present village is called Māri Buchān.

²¹ Kāngra is close to Sī Hargobindpur.

bank of the Biās, in Hoshiarpur. In the village is the tomb of **Ladahā Khān, Khôkhar**, called the *pir ghāsi*, at which offerings are still made. This *ghāsi*'s head is said to be buried at Mandi Bohr, a village in Kapûrthala, 3 miles south of Tahlî, to which place it was carried by the stream when he was killed. Ladahā Khān left seven sons, (i) Jago, whose descendants founded Dinamâl, Akâlgadhâ and Kotlî Sâra Khān in Amritsar, close to Bhârowâl and Vairowâl; (ii) Rup Rai, whose sons founded Dând in Râyâ tahsil, Siâlkoṭ; (iii) Bego, who founded Begowâl and 16 villages, now in Kapûrthala; (iv) Dasihan, the author's ancestor, who founded Khokharain²² as his residence and 12 other villages: Jhân, who founded Balo Chak, naming it after his son Balo, with 9 more villages. As these three brothers owned in all 40 villages the tract was called the **Châliâ Khokharân**. Bhogrâ migrated to Murâdâbâd.

B.—The Khôkhars of the Muhammadan Historians of India.²³

In 399 A. H. (1009 A. D.) the Gakkhars, by whom in all probability are meant the **Khôkhars**, then infidels, joined the Hindus who had collected under the leadership of **Anandpâl** to resist the sixth invasion of India by **Mahmûd**. Their number is said to have amounted to 80,000 men, who, with heads and feet bare, and armed with spears and other weapons, penetrated the Muhammadan lines on two sides, and in a few minutes cut down three or four hundred Muhammadans.²⁴

The earliest distinct mention of the Kôkars occurs in the *Tâjû'l-Ma'âsir*, a history written in A. H. 602 (1205 A. D.),²⁵ which describes the revolt of the tribe or confederacy under the chiefs Bakan and Sarkî, which occurred upon a false report of the death of the **Sultân Muhammad of Ghor** having been put about by Aibak Bâk, who seized Multân.²⁶ The Kôkars raised the country between the Sôdra (Chenâb) and the Jhîlam and defeated the Muhammadan governor of Sangwân, who held a fief within the borders of Multân, but they were defeated by Qutbû'd-Din Ibak, and one of the sons of Kokar Rai escaped to a fort in the hill of Jûd, which was captured on the following day by the Sultân.²⁷

The next mention of the Khôkars occurs in the *Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî*, written about 658 A. H. (1259 A. D.).²⁸ It relates that **Muizzu'd-Din** in 581 A. H. (1185 A. D.) ravaged the territory of Lahore, and on his return homeward restored Siâlkoṭ, in which fortress he left a garrison, but as soon as his back was turned, Malik Khusrâu, the last of the Qhaznivides, assembled the forces of Hindustan and a levy of the Khôkhar tribes and laid siege to Siâlkoṭ. This account is confirmed and amplified by *A History of the Râjâs of Jammû*, which says:—“The tribe of Khôkhar, who dwelt round about Manglan at the foot of the hills and were subject to the Jammû dynasty, having received encouragement from the Lahore ruler (Malik Khusrâu), and sure of his support, refused any longer to pay tax and tribute to Jammû and threw off its yoke.” In return the Khôkhars then assisted Malik Khusrâu in his attempt on Siâlkoṭ, whose garrison was befriended by the Jammû forces.²⁹

The next notice of the Khôkhars in the *Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî* is an important one, and confirms the account of the *Tâjû'l-Ma'âsir*. It describes the confusion which arose in the Sultân's dominions on account of the rumour of his death, and states that the Khôkhars (and other tribes of the hills of Lahore and Jûd) broke out in rebellion in 602 H. and were defeated with great slaughter.³⁰ In this rebellion the Khôkhars appear to have been in alliance with the Râe Sâl, the ruler of the Salt Range, or Koh-i-Jûd, but it is not certain that Râe Sâl himself was a Khôkhar.

²² Also called Tâhlî, because one of its quarters was so called from a *tâhlî* or *shisham* tree.

²³ The following account is extracted from Elliot's *History of India*, cited as *E. H. I.*; from the *Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî*, Raverty's Translation, cited as *T. N.*; and from the latter writer's *Notes on Afghânistân*.

²⁴ *E. H. I.* II. p. 447.

²⁵ *Ib.* p. 209.

²⁶ *Ib.* p. 233.

²⁷ *Ib.* p. 235.

²⁸ *Ib.* p. 264.

²⁹ *Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî*, p. 455; cf. p. 453, note 4. Raverty suggests that Manglan is Mukhiâlâ.

³⁰ *T. N.* p. 461; cf. 504.

In 620 H. (1223 A. D.) the **Sultân Jalâlu'd-Dîn**, driven from Ghazni by the Chingiz Khân, who pursued him to the Indus, sought a refuge in the Pañjâb. He occupied Balala and Nikala³¹ near Lahore, and, being too weak to advance on Delhi, sent a part of his army against the hills of Jûd. This force defeated the Khôkhar chief, and the Sultân obtained his daughter in marriage, whereupon the Khôkhar Rai³² joined him with a considerable body of his tribe.

The Khôkhars had a longstanding feud with Kubâcha, governor of Sind (which then included the whole valley of the Indus below the Salt Range), and the Sultân's troops, under the guidance of the son of the Khôkhar chief, by a forced march, fell suddenly upon Kubâcha's camp near Uch and totally defeated him.

The Khôkhars, however, do not appear to have been confined to the country between the Jhilam and the Chenâb, but to have also held a considerable tract *East* of the Biâs (and the good horses to be obtained in their *talwândis* or settlements are often mentioned), for in 688 A. H. (1240 A. D.) we find them enlisted in the forces of the Sultâna (Queen) Raziyyat and her consort **Malik Ikhtiyâru'd-Dîn, Altûnia**, but they abandoned her after her defeat at Kaithal.³³

After the sack of Lahore by the Mughals in 1241-42 A. D., "the Khôkhars and other Hindu Gabrs" seized it.³⁴ And in 1246-47 A. D. the future Sultân **Ghiyâsu'd-Dîn Balban** was sent against the Khôkhars into the Jûd Hills and Jhilam.³⁵ The Khôkhars were apparently subjects of Jaspâl, Sibrâ.³⁶

About this time **Sher Khân** reduced the Jats, Khôkhars, Bhattis, Minis (Minas), and Mandâhars under his sway,³⁷ apparently in or near his fief of Sunâm.

In 647 A. H. (1250 A. D.) the upper part of the Pañjâb appears to have been in the hands of the Mughals and Khôkhars,³⁸ but nothing more appears to be heard of them until the reign of **Muhammad Tughlaq Shâh**, when they again began to be troublesome, and in 1342-43 A. D. they revolted under their chief, Chandar. The governor of the Pañjâb, **Malik Tâtâr Khân**, had to march against them, and though he was able to subdue them for a time, they caused great disorders under the last Tughlaq kings of Dehlî.³⁹

We now come to the *Târikh-i-Mubdrak-Shâhî*, an imperfect manuscript, the history in which has had to be completed from the *Tabaqât-i-Akbarî*, which copied from it. According to this history, the Khôkhar chief Shaikhâ⁴⁰ seized Lahore in 796 A. H. (1394 A. D.), and Prince Humâyûn afterwards **Sikandar Shâh I.**, was to have been sent against him,⁴¹ but his father, **Muhammaḍ Shâh III.**, dying suddenly, he was too occupied in securing the throne to set out on the expedition. **Sikandar Shâh**, however, only reigned some six weeks, and on his death **Sultân Mahmûd Shâh II.** succeeded him, but it was not for some months that **Sârang Khân** could be nominated by him to the fief of Dibâlpur and encasted with the war against Shaikhâ. **Sârang Khân** took possession of Dibâlpur in June, and in September he advanced on Lahore with the forces of Multân, and, accompanied by the Bhatti and Main (Mina) chiefs,⁴² crossed the Sutlej at Tibhâra and the Biâs at Dubâli. On hearing of **Sârang Khân's** advance, Shaikhâ Khôkhar invaded the territory of Dibâlpur and laid siege to Ajûdhan, but hearing that **Sârang Khân** had passed Hindupat and was investing Lahore, he returned hastily to that city and encountered **Sârang Khân** at Sâmuthalla, 12 kos from it. There he was defeated by **Sârang**

³¹ Bankâla or Mankâla — *E. H. I.*, II. p. 563; cf. 568.

³² Called Kokâr Sankâ, who had embraced Islâm in the time of Muhammad Ghori — *ib.* p. 563; *T. N.* p. 294.

³³ *T. N.*, pp. 647-8, notes.

³⁴ *ib.* p. 656 n.

³⁵ *ib.* p. 678; *E. H. I.*, II. 347.

³⁶ *T. N.* p. 815.

³⁷ *ib.* p. 795.

³⁸ *ib.* p. 822.

³⁹ Raverty's *Notes*, p. 367. Farishta turns Chandar into Haider. — *Brigg's Trans.* I. p. 425.

⁴⁰ Shaikhâ was the general name by which the chiefs of the tribes styled themselves, because "being Hindus by descent, they had become converts to Islâm." Hence Jasarath is often styled Jasarath Shaikhâ. — *Raverty's Notes*, p. 367.

⁴¹ *E. H. I.*, IV. p. 272.

⁴² *ib.* p. 29. Dibâlpur is the ancient Deobâlpur and the modern Dipâlpur. Ajûdhan is the modern Pakpattan.

Khân and fled to the hills of Jûd, while the victor took possession of Lahore. Four years later occurred the grim interlude of Timûr's invasion. Shaikhâ, says the historian, out of enmity to Sârang Khân, early joined Timûr and acted as his guide, in return for which he received mercy and honour,⁴³ but before Timûr left India he made Shaikhâ prisoner, and with him all his wives and children.

According to the histories of Timûr, however, the Khôkhars played a much more important part in the resistance offered to the invading armies of Timûr than the *Târikh-i-Mubâarak-Shâhi* is inclined to admit. In October 1398 A. D., Timûr halted at Jâl on the Biâs, opposite Shâhpur. Here he learnt that Nusrat of the tribe of Khôkhar was established in a fortress on the bank of a lake. He attacked Nusrat, and completely routed him, taking immense booty in cattle and burning Nusrat's residence. Nusrat himself was slain. Some of his followers escaped across the Biâs, which Timûr crossed, marching from Shâh Nawâz to Janjân, a few days later.⁴⁴ We next read of **Malik Shaikhâ** or Shaikh Kûkar, 'commander of the infidels,' who was defeated and slain by Timûr in the valley of Kûpila or Hardwâr.⁴⁵ The *Zafarnâma*, however, differs from this account. It mentions Alân'd-Dîn as a deputy of Shaikh Kûkari, who was sent as an envoy to Kûpila,⁴⁶ and describes the advance of a Malik Shaikhâ as being misreported as the advance of Shaikh Kûkari, one of Timûr's faithful adherents, a mistake which enabled Malik Shaikhâ to attack Timûr unawares, though he was promptly repulsed and killed. Then we hear of Timûr's arrival at Jammû on his homeward march. In its neighbourhood he captured seven strongholds, belonging to the infidels, whose people had formerly paid the *jizya* or poll-tax to the Sultân of Hindûstân, but had for a long time past cast off their allegiance. One of these forts belonged to Malik Shaikh Kûkar, but, according to the *Zafarnâma*, the owner of this stronghold was Shaikhâ, a relation of Malik Shaikh Kûkar⁴⁷ (or Shaikhâ Kûkari), which possibly makes the matter clear: — Nusrat, the Khôkhar, had been killed on the Biâs, after which his brother, Shaikhâ, submitted to Timûr, and was employed by him during his advance on Delhi.⁴⁸ The Malik Shaikhâ killed at Kupila was not a Khôkhar at all, but in Timûr's *Autobiography* he has become confused with Malik Shaikhâ the Khôkhar. Lastly, Malik Shaikhâ had a relative, probably a Khôkhar, who held a little fort near Jammû.⁴⁹

After his arrest by Timûr, Shaikhâ disappears from history; but in 823 A. H. (1420 A. D.), or some twenty-two years later, **Jasrath (the son of) Shaikhâ** makes his entrance on the scene. In that year the king of Kashmir marched into Sindh, and was attacked by Jasrath, who defeated him, took him prisoner, and captured all his *matériel*. Elated by this success, Jasrath, an independent rustic, began to have visions about Delhi. Hearing that Khizr Khân (whom Timûr had left in charge of Multân as his feudatory, and who had become Sultân of Delhi in all but name) was dead, he crossed the Biâs and Sutlej, defeated the Mina leaders, and ravaged the country from Ludhiâna to Arûbar (Rupar).⁵⁰ Thence he proceeded to Jâlandhar, and encamped on the Biâs, while Zîrak Khân, the *amir* of Samâna, retired into the fort. After

⁴³ E. H. I., IV. p. 35.

⁴⁴ E. H. I., III. pp. 415-6.

⁴⁵ *Ib.* pp. 455-6; cf. p. 510.

⁴⁶ *Ib.* p. 505.

⁴⁷ According to the *Malfûzât-i-Timûrî*, Malik Shaikhâ Khôkhar was the brother of Nusrat Khôkhar, formerly governor of Lahore on the part of Sultân Mahmûd of Delhi. After Nusrat's defeat Shaikhâ Khôkhar had submitted to Timûr, and had accompanied him on his march to the Jamna, his influence being sufficient for him to obtain protection for his subjects from pillage by Timûr's army. Shaikhâ, however, obtained Timûr's leave to return to Lahore, where he soon incurred the suspicion of being lukewarm in Timûr's cause, and Timûr sent orders to arrest Shaikhâ and levy a ransom from Lahore. E. H. I., III. p. 473. This account is confirmed by the *Zafarnâma*, which calls Nusrat Kûkari brother of Shaikhâ Kûkari — *ib.* p. 485. Raverty states that some authorities say that Shaikhâ died a natural death, while others allege that he was put to death, Jasrath being imprisoned in Samarqand. Some years later Jasrath was released and returned home. There he put to death Shâhi, his brother, and, seizing Jâlandhar and Kulânaur, began to aspire the sovereignty of Hind. — *Notes*, p. 368.

⁴⁸ E. H. I., III. p. 520.

⁴⁹ *Ib.* p. 467.

⁵⁰ E. H. I., IV. p. 54. Raverty adds that he attacked Sirhind, but it was defended by Sultân Shâh Lodi and he failed to take it in 1421. — *Notes*, p. 368.

some negotiations it was agreed that the fort was to be evacuated and given up to Tūghān, the Turk-bacha (Jasrath's ally, who had taken refuge in his territories), while Jasrath was to pay tribute and return home. But as soon as Jasrath got Zīrak Khān into his camp, he detained him as a prisoner and carried him, securely guarded, to Ludhiāna, whence he marched to Sirhind. That fortress, however, defied all his attempts, and the Sultān Mubārak Shāh, advancing, compelled him to raise the siege and retreat on Ludhiāna, whence, having released Zīrak Khān, he crossed the Sutlej. The Sultān's forces then advanced as far as Ludhiāna, but were unable to cross the Sutlej, as Jasrath had secured all the boats. When the rains ceased, the Sultān withdrew to Kabūlpur,⁵¹ and Jasrath made a similar movement, whereupon the Sultān sent a force to effect a crossing at Rūpar. Jasrath marched on a line parallel to this force, but it effected a crossing, and the Sultān then passed the river without opposition. Jasrath's followers then abandoned the opposition he had chosen without striking a blow, and their leader fled hastily to Ludhiāna, whence he crossed the Biās, the Rāví, and finally, after the Sultān had crossed the latter river near Bhowa,⁵² the Jānhāva (Chināb). Jasrath now took refuge in his strongest place, Tekhar⁵³ in the hills, but Rai Bhīm⁵⁴ of Jammū guided the Sultān's forces to the stronghold, and it was captured and destroyed. Jasrath's power was, however, undiminished, for, as soon as the Sultān had returned to Delhi after restoring Lahore, he recrossed Chināb and Rāví with a large force of horse and foot, and attacked Lahore and was only driven off after nearly five weeks' fighting round the fort. He then retreated on Kālānaur to attack that stronghold, into which Rai Bhīm had thrown himself in order to relieve Lahore. After protracted fighting round Kālānaur, Jasrath patched up a truce with Rai Bhīm and then went towards the Rāví, where he collected all the people of the territory of the Khōkhars, who were in alliance with him, but on the advance of an imperial army from Lahore, supported by one which advanced on the ford of Buih, he again fled to Tekhar. The united forces of the Sultān now marched along the river Rāví and crossed it between Kālānaur and Bhoi,⁵⁵ afterwards effecting a junction with Rai Bhīm on the confines of Jammū. These forces defeated some Khōkhars who had separated from Jasrath on the Chināb.

In the following year (826 A. H. or 1423 A. D.) Jasrath defeated Rai Bhīm and captured most of his horses and *matériel*. The Rai himself was killed, and Jasrath now united himself to a small army of Mughals and invaded the territories of Dibalpur and Lahore, but on the advance of the imperial leader he retired across the Chināb.

After this the Khōkhars appear to have remained inactive for four or five years, but in 831 A. H. (1428 A. D.) Jasrath laid siege to Kālānaur, and on advancing from Lahore to relieve the place, his old opponent, Sikandar Tuhfa, was defeated and had to retreat on Lahore. Jasrath then besieged Jālandhar, but he was unable to reduce it, and so he retreated to Kālānaur, carrying off the people of the neighbourhood as captives. Reinforcements were sent to Sikandar, but before they arrived, he had again advanced to Kālānaur and united his forces with those of Rai Ghālīb of that town. These leaders then marched after Jasrath and completely defeated him at Kāngra on the Biās, recovering the spoils which he had gained at Jālandhar. Jasrath again took refuge in Tekhar.

In 835 A. H. (1431-2 A. D.), however, Jasrath descended from Tekhar (Tekhar) and marched on Jālandhar. Sikandar drew out of Lahore to intercept him, but incautiously allowed his small force to be attacked by Jasrath's superior numbers and was defeated and taken prisoner, some of his followers escaping to Jālandhar. Jasrath in triumph marched on Lahore and laid siege to it, but it was vigorously defended by Sikandar's lieutenants, and on the Sultān's advancing to Sāmāna to its relief, he abandoned the siege, but kept Sikandar in captivity.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Kabūlpur (Raverty).

⁵² Not identified; possibly Bhowa and Bhoi are the same.

⁵³ Thakkar or Thakar in other historians. Farishta has Bisal, but that is on the Rāví. Raverty calls it Thaukir. — E. H. I., IV. pp. 55-6.

⁵⁴ Raverty calls this Hindu Rājā of Jammu Rai Bhalin, but adds that he was son-in-law of Ali Shāh of Kāshmir, against whom Zainu'l-Abidin, his brother, enlisted Jasrath's aid. The Khōkhars and their ally marched from Siālkot against the Sultān, Ali Shāh, and defeated him prior to 1423 A. D. About this time the Gakkhars, under Malik Kad, wrested their conquests from Zainu'l-Abidin.

⁵⁵ E. H. I., IV. p. 74.

In 835 A. H. (1432 A. D.) Malik Allāhādād was appointed feudatory of Lahore, but he was promptly attacked on his arrival at Jālandhar by Jasrāth, defeated and compelled to seek a refuge in the hills of Kothī.⁵⁶

In 840 A. H. (1436 A. D.) the Sultān Muhammad Shāh sent an expedition against Shaikhā (sic) Khōkhar, which ravaged his territories.⁵⁷

In 845 A. H. (1441 A. D.) the Sultān conferred Dibālpur and Lahore on Bahlol Khān and sent him against Jasrath, but Jasrath made peace with him and flattered him with hopes of the throne of Delhi.⁵⁸ After this the Khōkhar power declined, owing to causes of which we know nothing.

In the time of Akbar the Khōkhars held 5 out of 52 *mahālls* in the Lahore *sarkār* in the Bārī Doāb, and 7 out of 21 *parganas* in the Chinhaṭh Doāb, with one *mahāll* each in the Bist-Jālandhar and Rachna Doābs. In the Dibālpur *sarkār* of Multān they held 3 out of 10 *mahālls* in the Bist-Jālandhar Doāb, and one in the Berūn-i-Panjuad, west of the Indus. Raverty puts their population then at more than 200,000 souls.⁵⁹

It must be confessed that the above notes leave the question of the origin of the Khokhars precisely where it stood. In an account of the Kātil Rājputs from Gurdāspur it is said that some of the (earliest) converts to Islām became known as Khokhars, but further on it says: "One of our ancestors settled in the fort of Mangla Devi in the Jammu State and then took possession of Kharipur. Hence his descendants became known as Khokhars," after being converted to Islām in the time of Mahmūd of Ghazni. And further on it says that Kātils do not intermarry with Khokhars, because the latter are of their blood, and are descendants of Kātils by Muhammadan wives.

II. — A HISTORY OF THE GAKKHARS.

The Gakkhars do not appear, *eo nomine*, in history until the time of the emperor Bābar. Their country, says the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, lies on the Indus, well known as the Nilāb, and the territory from the Siwāl hills to the borders of Kashmīr has been from all times in their possession, though other tribes, such as the Khari,⁶⁰ Janūba, Jatriya, Bhūkyāl (Bhūgiā) and Jat, dwell in those parts in subordination to the Gakkhars. In the *Tūzak-i-Bābarī*, Bābar describes the hill-country between the Nilāb and Bahra (Bhera), as inhabited by the Jats, Gujars, and many other similar tribes under a Gakkhar *hākīm* or ruler, their government much resembling that of the Jūd and Janjūha and the lands adjoining the hill-country of Kashmīr. The government in this time was held by Tātār and Hātī, Gakkhars, who were cousins.⁶¹ Tātār's stronghold was Parhālāh. Hātī's country was close adjoining the hills. Hātī was in alliance with Babā Khān, who held Kālinjar,⁶² Tātār was in a certain way subject to Daulat Khān (the governor of the Pañjāb), while Hātī remained independent. Tātār, at the instance of the *amirs* of Hindustān (the Delhi kingdom) and in conjunction with them, was keeping Hātī in a state of blockade in some sort, when Hātī, by a stratagem, made a sudden advance, surprised Tātār, slew him and took his country. He then sent on Parbat, his relation, to Bābar with a contribution by way of tribute, but the envoy went to Bābar's main camp and thus missed the expedition which had already set out for Parhāla.

⁵⁶ E. H. I. IV. p. 75.

⁵⁷ *Ib.* p. 85: Jasrath must be meant.

⁵⁸ *Ib.* pp. 85-6.

⁵⁹ *Notes*, pp. 366-67. The Khōkhars of the Jālandhar District do not mention Jasrath, but only date their settlement there from the time of the Sayyid kings. Mr. Purser (*Jullundur Settlement Report*, p. 16) says this is negative evidence that Jasrath was a Gakkhar, but he refers to Major Waterfield's *Gujrāt Settlement Report*, in which the Khōkhars are quite correctly put down as descended from Jasrath, "who, with Bhurat, took Jammū, when in Timūr's service," and afterwards settled in the Gujrāt District. — See *Panjab Notes and Queries*, I. p. 141.

⁶⁰ Possibly the Khattars.

⁶¹ Abu'l-Fazl says that in the time of Zainu'l-Ābidīn of Kashmīr, Malik Kad, one of the nobles of Ghazni, dispossessed the Kashmīris of the tract between the Jhelum and the Indus. He was succeeded by: (1) Malik Kalān, his son; Bīr, his grandson; Tātār, the opponent of Sher Khān and Salīm Khān, who had two sons, Sultān Sārang and Adam. — Raverty's *Notes*, p. 366. Sārang's sons were Kamāl and Sa'id.

⁶² Kālinjar lies west of the Indus near Swābī. — Raverty's *Notes*, p. 274.

Bābar, at this stage, arrived from Rāhra on his way to Kābul, and, instigated by the Janjūhas, old enemies of the Gakkhars, attacked Parhāla, which he took, Hātī seeking safety in flight. Bābar's guide to Parhāla was Sūrpa, Sarpa or Saropa, Gujar, a servant of the Malik Hast,⁶³ whose father had been slain by Hātī. Hātī now submitted to Bābar.⁶⁴

After the Afghāns, headed by Sher Shāh, had recovered their power in India and expelled Humāyūn after Bābar's death, the Sultān Sher Shāh made over the Ninduna *pargana* to Ismā'il Khān Balōch in return for the Sarwānī territory, which had been usurped by the Baloches and which he restored to Shaikh Bayazīd Kalkapūr Sarwānī, its rightful owner.⁶⁵ Sher Shāh also marched through all the hills of Padmān and Garjāk⁶⁶ (or Girjhāk Ninduna⁶⁷), and selected a site for the great fortress of Rohtās, which was designed both to hold in check the Gakkhars and restrain the Mughal invasions. The Gakkhars, however, prevented Tōdar Khatrī, who was in charge of the work, from obtaining labour, and it was only by offering exorbitant pay that the Gakkhars were tempted to flock to the work.⁶⁸ Sher Shāh, moreover, sent a force against Rai Sārang, the Gakkhar, and subdued his country, plundering also the hill of Balnāo. Rai Sārang's daughter was captured and given to Khawās Khān, one of Sher Khān's nobles,⁶⁹ while the Rai himself, having surrendered or being taken prisoner, was flayed alive.⁷⁰ His son Kamāl Khān was sent as a prisoner to Gwalior,⁷¹ in the Siwālīks. Rohtās was then committed to the care of Hābīb Khān Niāzī and other leaders, 30,000 horse being kept in its neighbourhood to hold in check Kashmīr and the Gakkhar country.⁷² Rohtās appear to have been thus partially built in 1540 A. D., but it was not completed till eight or ten years later.

In 955 A. H. (1548 A. D.) the Niāzīs, defeated by the troops of Sultān Islām or Salīm Shāh Sur, fled for refuge to the Gakkhars' territory.⁷³ Upon this, Islām Shāh advanced on Rohtās, the completion of which he urged forward with much earnestness, and which work was carried out in not less than two years, amidst incessant and desperate fighting with the tribe. Sultān Ādam eventually sued for peace and agreed to compel the Niāzīs to quit his territories.⁷⁴ Salīm Shāh also released Kamāl Khān, son of Rai Sārang, and appointed him to act, in concert with the governor of the Panjāb, in the subjugation of the Gakkhar territory.⁷⁵

In 1552 A. D. Kāmran, driven from Kābul by Humāyūn, sought a refuge in the territories of Sultān Ādam, who had succeeded his brother Sārang, but that chief sent word to the emperor Humāyūn that he was willing to acknowledge his authority and deliver Kāmran into his hands. Kāmran, however, took refuge with the Sultān Salīm Shāh, on Humāyūn's advancing to Dinkot on the Indus,⁷⁶ but, failing to obtain any assistance in the Panjāb, he returned in disguise to the Gakkhar territory on his way to Kābul, and rashly disclosed his identity to Sultān Ādam, who surrendered him to Humāyūn, and he was blinded (September 1553 A. D.).⁷⁷ Humāyūn now marched against Pirāna, a chief of the Janjūha tribe, who held a strong fort in the Bhīra (Bherā) country and secured his surrender, handing his territory over to Sultān Ādam.⁷⁸

After the restoration of Humāyūn, Kamāl Khān, son of Rai Sārang, was given half the territories held by his uncle (Sultān) Ādam Khān.⁷⁹ Ādam Khān resisted this mandate and a royal army had to be sent to enforce it. Ādam Khān was defeated and captured and his son fled into Kashmīr, but was subsequently taken also. Kamāl Khān then became sole chief of the Gakkhars and he detained Ādam Khān in captivity till his death.⁸⁰

In Akbar's reign the Gakkhars held 7 out of 42 *mahālls* in the Sindh-Sāgar Doāb of the Lahore sarkar.⁸¹

⁶³ Who the Malik Hast was does not appear. See note 16, *supra*.

⁶⁴ E. H. I., IV. pp. 234-8.

⁶⁵ *Ib.* p. 389.

⁶⁶ *Ib.* p. 390.

⁶⁷ *Ib.* V. p. 114.

⁶⁸ *Ib.* V. p. 115.

⁶⁹ *Ib.* V. p. 114, and IV. p. 390. A *Song of Khawās Khān* is under publication in this Journal, and the present writer hopes to publish shortly a very curious legend connecting him with the shrine of Shāh Daulā in Gujrāt.

⁷⁰ *Ib.* V. p. 114. The *Tārīkh-i-Dādāt* says that Salīm Shāh captured Sārang Sultān and had him flayed alive. —*Ib.* IV. 498.

⁷¹ Probably Kahlūr of the hills, i. e., the old capital of the State of Kahlūr or Bilāspur in the Simlā hills.

⁷² E. H. I., IV. pp. 390 and 415.

⁷³ Erskine, II. p. 462; cf. p. 419.

⁷⁴ Erskine, II. pp. 465-6.

⁷⁵ E. H. I., V. p. 279.

⁷⁶ *Ib.* V., pp. 278-9. Erskine, *Baber and Humayoon*, II. 407.

⁷⁷ Elphinstone, p. 470.

⁷⁸ Erskine, II. p. 419.

⁷⁹ E. H. I., V. p. 279.

⁸⁰ *Ib.* p. 260.

⁸¹ Raverty's Notes, p. 367.

AHMAD SHAH, ABDĀLĪ, AND THE INDIAN WAZĪR, 'IMĀD-UL-MULK (1756-7).

(Contributed by William Irvine, late of the Bengal Civil Service.)

THE following narrative is taken from a Persian manuscript, being the third of four works bound together in a small quarto volume which I bought at Quaritch's some ten or twelve years ago. The other tracts are :—(1) *Inshāe Miram*, copied Ṣāfar 1198 H. (Dec. 1783); (2) *Inshāe 'Abdullah*, copied at Lakhnau, Rāfi' I., 1198 H. (Feb. 1784); (3) the present narrative; (4) a fragment of Mhd. Aḥsān, Ma'ānī Yāb Khān (Ījād), Samānawī's *Farrukh-nāmah*. This fragment carries on this rare work to some date in 1128 H. (1716), that is, much farther than either B. Museum MS. Oriental, No. 25 (Rieu, 273), or the twenty-five folios of it in the Munich MS., No. 265 (Joseph Aumer, 'Catalogue,' 1866, p. 97).

The volume has on the flyleaf a list of contents in English, in an 18th century handwriting which I have seen elsewhere; I think it is that of Jonathan Scott, Polier, or W. Franklin. Some one has noted that the initials "W. O." on the same flyleaf are those of Sir William Ouseley, presumably a former owner. The book was No. 387 in the bookseller, W. Straker's Catalogue of 1836, and in 1839 it belonged to Dr. John Lee of 5 Doctors' Commons, by whom it was lent to B. Dorn, when his 'History of the Afghans' was in preparation for the Oriental Translation Fund.

The account of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī's incursion into India in 1757, as here presented, is one of three notable contributions to Indian history of the 18th century, for which we are indebted to the initiative of Captain Jonathan Scott; and so far as I recollect, not one of them is referred to in the article devoted to him in the "Dictionary of National Biography." The other two works are :—(1) *Ḥadiqat-ul-aqālim*, by Shekh Murtazā Husain, Bilgrāmī, surnamed Allahyār Sānī, H. M. Elliot's "accurate Moortuza Hosain"; (2) *Shahādāt-i-Farrukhshyar wa Julus-i-Muhammad Shāh*, by Mirzā Muḥammad Bakḥsh, Ashob.

Ṣamīn is the author of *Sharāṭ-i-'usmānī*, a history of Bilgrām Shekh families written as a counterblast to Ghulām 'Alī, Āzād's *Ma'āsir-ul-kirām ft tūrikh-i Bilgrām*, a panegyric of the Saiyid families there. He pours fine scorn on Āzād, who was a *Samdhan*, though he calls himself a *Bilgrāmī*; that is, his mother was of Bilgrām, but his father Muḥammad Nūh was of Samdhan, an obscure village on the other side of the Ganges, between Farrukhābād and Qannauj. In the *Sharāṭ* (my copy, page 255) we find that Ghulām Hasan, poetically Ṣamīn, Ṣadiqī, Farshūrī, Bilgrāmī, was the son of Shekh Ghulām Husain, son of Qūzī Faizullah of Bilgrām (now in the Hardoi district). He was born about 1129 H. (1716-17) and had a brother called Muḥammad Ṣadiq (poetically Sukhanwar). He traces his descent in the 37th degree from Abī Bakr, Ṣadiq; and for 25 generations his ancestors had been *qāzīs* of Bilgrām. Up to 1179 H. (1765-6) Ṣamīn had three sons and two daughters. The present narrative shows that he was alive in 1197 H. (1782-3). I have found no record of his death.

I think the story here given is of great historical value, as it furnishes us with a first-hand account of actual events. The doings of Ahmad Shāh in India, except those leading up to the crowning victory of Pānīpat in January 1761, are elsewhere recorded for the most part in a vague, confused manner. Many points are cleared up by Ṣamīn's story, and it helps to do for Ahmad Shāh's Indian record, what Dr. Oskar Mann has done so brilliantly for his non-Indian conquests, in a series of articles in the Z. D. M. G. for 1898. The intercalated narrative of 'Imād-ul-mulk's marriage troubles is new and curious; and it throws further light on the character of Ma'īn-ul-mulk's widow, the disagreeable traits in which are largely depicted in Ghulām 'Alī Khān's *Muqaddamah* and the autobiography of her husband's house-slave, Mirzā Tahmāsp, Miskīn.

God the Helper,

In the Name of
God, the Compassionate,
the Merciful.

— and may the
end be
favorable.

After praises and prayer, this humble slave (May God impress truth on him) Ghulām Ḥasan, Ṣamīn, (God pardon him and his connections) states that in the year 1197 after the Holy Flight of the Prophet (the Protection of God be upon him, and Peace), at the instigation of a friend, Shekh Allāhyār, Bahādūr (May God on High save him), son of Shekh Allāhyār, the martyr;¹ I arrived in the town of Allāhābād, and was introduced to the extremely improving audience of the Lord of Benefits, Captain Jonathan Scott, Bahādūr, (May his Good Fortune endure). The beauty of his condescension is more than can be brought forth by the strength of this wounded pen. (Verse.)

Kih dūrād ham chū ā lutf wa saḥā wa shafkat "Who like him has grace, liberality, affection,
• *wa aḥsān,* kindness,
Dil-i-ḥūrram, ruḥ-i-ṣibā, lab-i-shirīn, jabin-i- "A joyous heart, a handsome face, sweet speech,
anwar. an ample brow;
Zi shukr-i-madh wa aḥlāq-i-karīm-i-ū farū "I fail in recounting his praise and his gracious
• *mānd,* manners,
Zabān 'ājiz, ḥīrad ḥairān, suḥan qāṣir, qalam "My tongue stammers, my wits wander, my
muzṭarr; words suffice not, my pen stumbles;
Sāzād gar man warā dā'im ba ṭaba' ḥūsh zi "If for ever I could do what my heart and soul
jān-o-dil, desire
Kunam ḥidmat, buram farmān, niham gardan, "I should serve him, obey him, bow before him,
sharrām lei tar. be his humble servant."

In the said year 1197 H. (1782-83) by order of the said Captain Ṣāhib, I wrote something of the doings of Aḥmad Shāh, the Abdālī king. when long ago, in the year 1169 H. (1755-6), he (Aḥmad Shāh) entered the capital, Shāhjahānābād. It was then the reign of 'Azīz-ud-dīn, emperor of Hind, entitled 'Ālamgīr Ṣanī. All these events the writer beheld with his own eyes; and I now reduce them to writing. Owing to the haste in which I write, I have paid no heed to elegance or style or the employment of metaphor. In spite of scantiness of acquisition and absence of ability, I have not been afraid to become the submissive carrier-out of that Ṣāhib's orders.

Be it known then, wherever the tongue of the pen mentions "Shāhan Shāh," it means Aḥmad Shāh, king of the Abdālī, and the words "Emperor of Hind" indicate 'Azīz-ud-dīn, 'Ālamgīr II. ; and where the phrase "Great Wazīr" occurs, Shāh Walī Khān, the minister of the Abdālī, is intended. By "Imād-ul-mulk" is meant Nawāb Ghīyāz-ud-dīn, minister of the emperor of Hind and grandson of Nawāb Nizām-ul-mulk. By "Nawāb Ghazanfar Jang" is meant Aḥmad Khān, Bangash, ruler of Farrukhābād; and "Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah" means the son of 'Nawāb Abu'l Maṣṣūr Khān, Bahādūr, Ṣāfidar Jang, nāzim of the sūbah of Akhtarnagar Audh.

ACCOUNT OF SAIYID SHER ANDĀZ KHĀN.

Be it remembered that the writer, in order to gain his livelihood, was for several years with that Protector of Saiyids, one Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (poetically, Sayyāḥ), bearing the title of Sher Andāz Khān Bahādūr, an employé of the late Nawāb Ṣāfidar Jang already mentioned. He was on duty in* attendance upon Nawāb Zafar Jang, Khān Zamān Khān Bahādūr, 'Āli Qulī Khān, Dāghistānī (poetically, Wāliḥ), and nicknamed the "Six-fingered."

¹ "The martyr," he was killed in battle on Oct. 20, 1780, outside Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt. He was chief commander under Surbuland Khān, the governor, who fought his successor in the government, Rajah Abhai Singh of Jodhpur.

The deceased Saiyid (Sher Andāz Khān) was a native of the town Shāhī, which lies between the towns of Bareilly and Pilibhūt. He was exceptionally well-instructed in all sciences, unequalled in valour, generosity and enterprise. At the age of twelve the Saiyid left his country of origin to obtain instruction, and was for nearly two and a half years in the house of this poor one's respected grandfather, with whom he read Arabic as far as the Sharh of the Mullā. After that time he went to the town of Şaifipur,² the honoured burial-place of the venerable Shāh Şaifi, and there the then occupier of the seat of authority, Miyān 'Abdullah Şāhib, adopted him as his son.

After the lapse of some time the Saiyid became anxious to make the journey to the Hajāz and other places of pilgrimage. Accordingly with this intent he quitted Şaifipur, and binding the skirt of enterprise round the middle of his heart, he made for the regions of 'Arabistān, and by the special grace of the Lord was honoured by a visit to the Holy Ka'bah, Luminous Madīnah, Holy Najaf, Exalted Karbalā, Mashhad the Pure, and other places.

When he came back to Hindūstān Nawāb Şafdar Jang urged him to take service and dealt with him honorably. In this space of time the Saiyid was a noted man of the age, honoured and valued by mighty sovereigns, famed *wazirs*, and high nobles. After Şafdar Jang came Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah, and he, too, omitted no detail of honour and respect.

Then in the year 1173 H. (1759-60) for the second [? third] time the Abdālī king came from Wilāyat to Hindūstān, and rooted out the Infidel, that is to say, Rājah Bhāo and others of the Mahrattah armies. At this period the deceased Saiyid was in the service of Nawāb Ghāzaufar Jang, Ahmad Khān Bangash, ruler of Farrukhābād. At the invitation of the Abdālī king, Ahmad Khān, Bangash, sent the deceased (Sher Andāz Khān) to see Rājah Bhāo, leader of the Mahrattahs to conduct certain negotiations.

The Saiyid, having to some extent settled the business with the Mahrattah leaders, was returning to the Abdālī king's camp. On his way he was passing through the *pargana*s of the Jāt. There the control on behalf of Najib Khān was in the hands of Sa'ādat Khān, Afrīdī Afghān. On hearing [of the Saiyid's arrival] this man sent a message. "In God's name come and stay, even for an hour or so, with me. I have something of importance to tell you."

The Saiyid turned off his road and with a limited retinue went to visit the said Khān (Sa'ādat Khān, Afrīdī). The Khān then asked the Saiyid to tell the Abdālī Shāh that the army of the accursed Jāt was very numerous, while he (Sa'ādat Khān) had a very small force. He hoped that troops would be sent by His Majesty to reinforce him. The conversation was still going on, when a spy came to say that a force of Jāts, nearly 7,000 horsemen, was within a distance of two *kos*, and would be soon close to them. The Khān (Sa'ādat Khān) ordered his troops, one thousand horse and foot all told, to prepare for a fight. To the Mir Şāhib he said: "Let the gentleman withdraw to his own camp." The Mir Şāhib replied: "I am a Saiyid, I do not turn my face from a battle-field. Above all, when it is for a Musulmān, as you are. For God's cause you had called me here; and, by God, to yield up my breath for you will be accounted martyrdom."

So saying he urged his horse on to the field, and began a stout contest with the infidels and defeated them. The infidels, who were advancing boldly, were beaten back. At this point another body came out of the same force and discharged their arrows and fired their matchlocks; the Saiyid was wounded in the right thigh. To this he paid no heed, but pressed like another Rustam on the accursed foe, broke their ranks, and cut off four men's heads. He also sustained three or four sword wounds himself on his right arm and shoulder. He continued the contest and cut down several other men. Accordingly, the accursed ones could not resist and took to flight, and he was the winner of a great victory. The Saiyid, followed by two of his horsemen, started in pursuit of the infidels. Then about one hundred horsemen of the infidel's force appeared on his right flank, surrounding him and his two men. The Saiyid was wounded several times with lance and arrow

² The Şaifipur of the "Oudh Gazetteer," III, 281; it is in the Unao district.

and sabre. At length a sword-cut took him on the right side and cut through him to the opposite side; he fell from his horse to the ground. Immediately after this the enemy's force disappeared. God also willed that the two troopers, too, should become martyrs. At that time heavy rain came on and both sides retreated to their own quarters.

When the news reached the other followers of that Saiyid received into Mercy, who were encamped at a distance of three *kos*, they returned the next morning and carried the Saiyid back from the place where he fell to the previous camping ground. They say his body had on it fourteen sword and lance wounds between his waist and head, besides two matchlock wounds, one on the right thigh, and the other on the left foot. *Anā, llāh wa anā 'ilāhi rāj'ūn.*

In that year [1173 H. 1759-60] the writer was in the service of Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān, son of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, Ronelah. At that period Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān, on the advice of Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khān and others, had, at the request of the Abdālī Shāh, left the town of Sambhal in his dominions, and was encamped five *kos* off at the town of Hasanpur. On hearing of the martyrdom of the Saiyid, the writer composed a chronogram, of which the line containing the date is as follows (*Misra'*) :—

Ba rāh-i-haqq shahīd-i-akbar shudah, āh! (Year 1173 H.).

THE NARRATIVE RETURNS TO THE EVENTS IN 1169 H. (1755-56).

I return to my narrative. When the said deceased Saiyid in the year 1169 (1755-6) left Shujā'ud-daulah, and had to search for a livelihood, he was summoned to Farrukhābād by Nawāb Ghāẓanfar Jang. The Saiyid took the writer with him.

In that same year the Abdālī Shāh came from Wilāyat *vid* Kābul and entered Shāhjahānābād, causing throughout Hindūstān a great convulsion. In all directions the *zamīndārs* raised their heads in rebellion and blocked the traffic on all the roads. At that time the rescripts of the Abdālī Shāh, which in their official language are called *raqam*, arrived one after another, calling for the attendance of Nawāb Ghāẓanfar Jang with the greatest insistence. Quick-riding horsemen of the Shāh's, they are called *chapar*, brought these despatches to Farrukhābād. Their tenour was as follows. As soon as the Shāh's order (*raqam*) had been perused, he (Ghāẓanfar Jang) must start for the Shāh's Presence, where he would be the recipient of kingly favours. In case of any delay, he might rely on the arrival of an avenging army, "which will seize thee in whatever condition thou mayest be found, and drag thee to the Exalted Camp, and deliver thee there: and I shall issue an order for thy territory to be ravaged and plundered. It is necessary that in person thou come hastily and at once with thy army and thy treasure to Our Presence."

As is usual in Hindūstān, Ghāẓanfar Jang erected a *farmān-būri* tent of scarlet cloth outside Farrukhābād at the distance of one *kos*, while he himself advanced two *kos* beyond the tent to receive the *farmān*. He conducted the despatch-riders with all due ceremony to the reception tent. There he first placed the Shāh's letter (*raqam*) upon his head, and then read it and ascertained the contents. In this manner for four days in succession, and without any interval, did letters from the Shāh arrive at Farrukhābād. Every day Ghāẓanfar Jang mounted and went out to receive them and bring them to the Tent of Honour, where he inspected them and read them.

From this cause the Nawāb fell into somewhat of a perturbation and perplexity, forcing him to reflect on many things. He had "neither legs to run away nor strength to go forward" (*Nah pāe qarāḥatun wa nah yūrāe raftan*). He therefore called together all the heads of his army and demanded their advice. He asked what their opinion was, what plan should be resorted to, and what should be devised. For he had no treasure, nor was his army such that he could lift his head in opposition to any one, nor had he any strong fortress in the vicinity of Farrukhābād where he could place his family in security. In addition, the Mahrattah armies

were present in great numbers, moving to and fro in his territories. Over and above all this, Shujā'-ud-daulah's heart was turned against him, because he had procured the betrothal of 'Alī Qulī Khān's daughter to 'Imād-ul-mulk. "While I myself [*i. e.*, Ghazan ar Jang] am lame "and thus useless. If perchance the Shāh's army arrives here and carries me off to his "head-quarters, my country will be devastated and destroyed. After that calamity, what "possibility is there of again restoring it to prosperity. For on every side are powerful enemies, "lords of treasure and of armies, who dwell on the confines of my territories. In this state of "things, what remedy is there?"

Previously, during the invasion of Nādir Shāh, the inhabitants of Hīndūstān had seen and heard of the general slaughter and the plundering and destruction of Shāhjahānābād. Moreover, these Afghāns round about Farrukhābād had, subsequent to Nādir Shāh's time, been badly handled by Nawāb Saḍdar Jang, being ruined and reduced to poverty, and forced to flee to the hill regions. Thus they were at a loss what answer to give, each one of them lost hand and foot [became helpless] and brought to their lips silly words. But some of them who were famed for judgment and wise planning, represented as follows.

The advisable thing is that Your Excellency march two or three stages in the direction of Shāhjahānābād, and fix on some place for several halts. When these days of halting have passed, you should again march two or three *kos* and once more halt. In this manner the Shāh [Abdālī] will become aware that you are coming to join him and will send no army. Should a force arrive, it will come to join itself to yours. You should leave troops in Farrukhābād to protect your women and family; then, if anything happens, these men can carry off your family to the hills.

To sum up: nothing was decided on, which could allay Ghazanfar Jang's anxieties: fear and dread fell upon every one's heart, both gentle and simple. Great and little men, they all engaged in making plans for flight. Ghazanfar Jang neither ate nor slept.

In the end Mir Sher Andāz Khān, who has already been spoken of, represented that to his imperfect understanding the following scheme had presented itself. Let a trusty person from the Nawab's entourage be sent to interview the Shāh; let him be provided with letters and petitions to the Shāh and the chief Wazīr, setting forth in detail his (Ahmad Khān's) position, the power of the Mahrattas, his enemies, and their occupation of his lands. If this faithful one [Sher Andāz Khān] were thought worthy of this task, Please God Most High! he would return having arranged all these points favourably, or obtain even a little more.

After much discussion and considerable reflection, the above proposal was accepted as wise and prudent. The Mir Sāhib was to be despatched with some presents and civilities. Accordingly, they collected 101 gold coins, one thousand rupees struck at Farrukhābād, twenty lengths of gold brocade (*kamkhurāb*), seven pairs of shawls, twenty lengths of figured cloth (*mashrū*), and forty silk scarves with drawn-thread work (*kashulāh*) designs on them. These last are in length and breadth the size of a shawl: they are the product of Mau town.² All these things were sent as an offering to the Shāh. There were also five lengths of *kamkhurāb* brocade, two pairs of shawls, ten lengths of figured cloth (*mashrū*), forty yards (*dīra*) of green and scarlet broad-cloth and ten Mau scarves; all for the chief minister, namely, Shāh Walī Khān. Four lengths of *kamkhurāb*, two pairs of shawls, seven scarves from Mau; these were to be given to Janghāz Khān, Bangash, one of the famed nobles and a commander over 5,000 horsemen. This man was of Ghazanfar Jang's own tribe; and, owing to his excessive valour, the Shāh had been pleased to proclaim him as his own son.

When all these things had been collected, the Mir Sāhib was sent off with bags containing the petitions and papers, stating the objects sought. One Ahmad Khān, a petty officer, was sent with him, because he knew the Afghān and Turkī languages. The said Khān joined singly

² Mau is 16 miles W. of Farrukhābād.

and marched with the Mir, leaving his regiment at Farrukhābād. The first day's halt was made in the *Sarāe* at Atāipur.⁴ Through fear of the villagers and of thieves, every one had run away and our whole night was passed in watching.

Next day we were at Qādīganj,⁵ which is situated on the edge of the Ganges and was founded by Shujā'at Khān. We rested there. Next morning we crossed the river (Ganges) and reached the town of Bisauli, founded by Dondē Khān Rohelāh. The Mir Sāhib went to interview Dondē Khān.⁶ As it happened, on that day Mullā Sardār Khān, Bakhshī, was present. He said that Ahmad Khān (Bangash) was their sovereign, but when he had taken opium he invented silly ideas. "Your prey is not caught every time. He does not render thanks to God sufficiently, the Most High having protected him from the hands of the Irānīs⁷ and brought him back from the hills and set him up again at Farrukhābād."

The Mir Sāhib said: "It is for that reason that I have appeared here, so that what you advise can be put into execution." Sardār Khān replied: "There is no harm in your going, for Najib Khān has written to me that the Shāh has mentioned repeatedly that he had come to uphold Islam, above all, to support the Afghān clans, whose territories have been occupied by the unbelieving Mahrattahs. Since Ahmad Khān, too, is an Afghān, he (the Shāh) will undoubtedly bestow attention on his circumstances. But where has Ahmad Khān the troops and the casur, that he can cope successfully with the difficult undertakings that are ahead of him. Without a large and powerful force it will be impossible to expel the Mahrattahs. The Shah has come to Hindūstān on this occasion, but he will not remain here."

Dondē Khān entertained the Mir Sāhib as his guest for one day, and gave him an attendant (*muwallī*) by way of escort, to accompany him to his boundary and then return.

Thus after three days we reached *paiganah* Baran, which is known as Ūnachah-ganj.⁸ There one Karam Khān was *jaqir* on behalf of Dondē Khān. He, too, kept us as his guests for one day. He gave us ten Rohelāhs to go with us as escort to Sikandrah, and thence to return. From Baran in three days we reached Sikandrah, which was full everywhere of fugitives from round about Shāhjahānābād.

The Mir Sāhib left his retinue behind at Sikandrah, and taking only the limited number of thirty servants, six cavalry men and three baggage camels, decided to push on farther. On the fourth day we were at the town of Anūpshahr, which lies on the river (Ganges) bank. On these marches, in every village we passed not a sign of an inhabitant was to be seen, and along the route numbered dead bodies were lying. Anūpshahr, too, was crowded with fugitives from Shāhjahānābād, to such an extent that it was difficult to force a way through its lanes. The Rājah of Anūpshahr came to visit the Mir Sāhib, and made known to us that from of old time *paiganah* Anūpshahr had continued in the *jaqir* of the *Bakhshī ul-mamālīk*, and at that time was in the *jaqir* of Amīn-ul-umārā, Nawāb Najib-ud-daulah, that is, Najib Khān.⁹ Under the oppressive hand of his Rohelāhs its lands had fallen out of cultivation, and every year the amount of waste land was increasing. If the gentleman (i.e., the Mir Sāhib, Sher Andāz Khān, would exert himself to get it (*paig* Anūpshahr) transferred to the *jaqir* of Ghazanfar Jang and if the said Sāhib were sent there in charge of it on behalf of that noble, they would reach the summit of their desires and their prosperity would return. The Mir Sāhib agreed to try.

As it chanced, the author had gone to water his horse at the river (Ganges). I saw two horsemen, residents of Bilgām, giving water to their horses. I recognized them and enquired

⁴ Now spell 'Atāipur' it is close to Mau-Qāimganj.

⁵ In the Etah district.

⁶ He died at Mularram, 1185 H., 19th April 1771, he was the father-in-law of Najib Khān, Najib-ud-daulah (Tārīkh-i Mu'ammad) Sardar Khān, Bakhshī, died on the 22nd Shawwal, 1185 H., 30th January 1772 (Chahār Gulshan-i-Shujā'ī of Hār Charan Dās, B. M. Or., 1732, fol. 187').

⁷ An allusion to Sādar Jang's attacks in 1750, 1751.

⁸ "High Village," now known as Buland-Shahr, "High Town", it is in the Dūābah.

⁹ In other words, Najib Khān held at the time the office of Bakhshī-ul-Mamālīk.

from them what they were doing. They told me that for three years past they had been living in the service of Rāe Bahādur Singh, master of Dāsnah. At the moment, the Shāh having come to Shāhjahānābād and ordered a general slaughter in *parganah* Dāsnah, Rājah Mushtāq Rāe, brother's son of Rāe Bahādur Singh, had fled from that place with his family, and had come to Anūpshahr, bringing a few of his armed men with him. The writer had a former friendship with Mushtāq Rāe, when the said Rāe in the time of Mahārūjah Naval Rāe¹⁰ had come from Dāsnah in search of employment, and for about a month stayed in my humble home; from that time I had a great intimacy with him.

In the afternoon I went to pay the Rāe a visit. Owing to the general slaughter at Dāsnah and the plundering of his goods, he was in low spirits. I said: "As your House (*i. e.*, harem) "has escaped, lots more property can be acquired. Praise be to God! Your family and "connections have been protected from slaughter and dishonour." Owing to these words he assumed to a certain extent a more cheerful exterior, and occupied his mind with other talk. After three quarters of an hour, I asked for leave and returned to my tent. From among those armed men of Bilgrām, I selected four men who were of tested valour; the Mir Šāhib took them into his service, and they accompanied us.

The Mir Šāhib made one day's halt in Anūpshahr. Thence in three days' marching we reached the camp of Nawāb Najīb Khān, whose tents were near a town called Dankaur¹¹ on the bank of the Jamnah river. We paid a visit to the Nawāb and he gave us the information that he was sending back some *nasaqchīs* (armed messengers) of the Shāh, and that on the following day he would send off the Mir Šāhib in charge of some of these *nasaqchīs*, who would not only be a protection, but could act as guides until our arrival at the Shāh's camp. This plan was put into execution, and the Mir Šāhib made a present to the two horsemen of twenty rupees. Then, crossing the Jamnah we made our way to the Shāh's camp.

As it turned out, the Shāh had on this very day begun his march from Shāhjahānābd¹² and pitched his tents at Faridābād, a distance of ten *kos* from the camp of Najīb Khān. When we had travelled two *kos* of the distance, we saw eight *kos* away the dust raised by the Shāh's army, the cloud appearing as if it were a mountain stretching its head to heaven. When five *kos* only intervened, we struck on a body of five thousand horsemen, forming the *qarūwal* or skirmishers, who had pitched their tents. They were galloping about in all directions, and whomsoever they caught was slain and plundered. Accordingly, a body of one hundred horsemen turned their faces in our direction, with the intention of laying hands upon us. The *nasaqchīs* advanced to our front and spoke in the Turkish language some words to them, by which they forbore their attack.

You must understand that twenty thousand horsemen are attached to the Shāh's train as skirmishers, five thousand men being sent from the army in four different directions to a distance of five *kos*, where they encamp. There they remain on duty as skirmishers.

• To return to my narrative. At one watch before sunset the Mir Šāhib said to the *nasaqchīs*: "Will you take us to the place where are the tents of Jangbāz Khān, Bangash?" The *nasaqchīs* pointed out that the force of Jangbāz Khān was camped in the rear of the Shāh's army, he being on duty as rear-guard. The distance from where we were might be seven *kos*. Therefore, we must put our horses to the gallop in order to be able to reach that spot before nightfall. Thus, following the *nasaqchīs*, we reached the place by dark. There

¹⁰ The Deputy Governor of Awdh on behalf of Safdar Jang; he was killed at Khudāganj (Farrukhābād District) on the 1st August 1750.

¹¹ In the Bulandshahr district on the left bank of the Jamnah, 25 m. S.-E. of Delhi.

¹² This passage shows that the author's date for his narrative, 1169 H., is not quite exact. Ahmad Shāh, Abdālī, left the Dībli fort-palace for Khizrābād on the 2nd Jamādā II., 1170 H., 22nd Feb. 1757; see B. Museum, Oriental MS., No. 1749, fol. 162^a.

we learnt that two days before Jangbāz Khān had been sent off by the Shāh to slay and plunder in *parganah* Mirāth.

The *nasaghts* said to the Mīr Šāhib: "Your best plan now is to go to the division of the chief minister, and put up there. Outside his camp you will find a place where you will be safe. We have now to present ourselves for duty at the *Darikhānah*,¹³ and the *Khargah*¹³ of the Shāh, and this duty is imperative." The Mīr Šāhib gave them a second present of twenty rupees. For the time the *nasaghts* were satisfied and agreed to continue as our guides. When one and a half hours of the night had passed, we came to the standard of the chief minister. This standard stood all by itself in the open plain, while the tents were scattered round it at a distance of two musket-shot. We made the camels sit down close to the flag-staff, and were about to unload them, when, all of a sudden, two *nasaght*-troopers came out of a tent, rushed their horses at us, and began to beat the camel-men, saying in the Turki tongue: "Get away from here, this is no place for camping upon."

Ahmad Khān, Afghān, who had come with the Mīr Šāhib from Farrukhābād, and knew Turkī, began to argue with them. Then one of the two drew his sword and came at him, saying: "Thou dost not listen to my orders, I will decapitate thee." While this talk was going on, a horseman rode up from the left hand, and said to the Mīr Šāhib: "My commander, one 'Uṣmān Khān of Qasūr¹⁴ *parganah*, is serving with the Shāh; he saw you from his tents and noticed that you were Hindūstānīs and he has kindly sent for you to come and pitch your tents close to his. You should not argue with *nasaghts*, for a lot more will swarm round, and, without any hesitation, will have recourse to their swords."

Thus the Mīr Šāhib went to 'Uṣmān Khān. The said Khān was most hospitable, and forthwith had another tent put up for himself, and gave his own up to the Mīr Šāhib. He also treated us as his guests and had a quantity of food sent to the Mīr Šāhib, such as Peshāwar rice, the mutton of a fat-tailed sheep (*dumbah*), and thin bread (*nān-i-tanak*), prepared in the Hindūstānī mode by the slave-girls who accompanied that Khān Šāhib. We passed the night there in great comfort.

'Uṣmān Khān was in command of 7,000 horsemen, and was a noble of position, with the rank of a *Haft Hazāri*, and the Shāh had given him a jewelled aigrette with a plume of feathers. The Shāh's practice is that, except famed commanders, no one is allowed to place on his cap (*tāj*) any jewelled aigrette or a plume. This is the sign by which the nobles can be distinguished.

To resume. There was one Maulvī Maḥmūd, a Kashmīrī, who formerly acted as *wakīl* (agent) for 'Alī Qalī Khān, the Six-Fingered, in the camp of Nawāb Saḍdar Jang. At this time, 'Alī Qalī Khān being dead,¹⁵ this man was in attendance on the Mīr Šāhib. When three-quarters of an hour remained of the night, he was sent to visit 'Imād-ul-mulk and lay our case before him.

'Imād-ul-mulk said: "Let the Mīr Šāhib come to me, I am quite anxious to see him. Arise and in all haste bring him, saying, that after I have seen him I will attend to the carrying out of whatever it is wisest to do." That very moment the Maulvī came back and said: "I have been to 'Imād-ul-mulk, and he sits waiting for a visit from the Mīr Šāhib, and has said thus and thus." The Mīr Šāhib replied: "On no account shall I go first to visit the Indian *Wazīr*, seeing that Ghazanfar Jang will imagine that his affairs have been arranged through his intervention. First of all I shall visit the chief minister [of the Abdālī], and do

¹³ These are kinds of tents, but, as we are told further on, the first name was applied to the office-tents and the second to the Shāh's own quarters.

¹⁴ Qasūr is to the S.-E. of Lāhor, and the head-quarters of a colony of *Khweahgi Afghāns*.

¹⁵ He had died on the 1st Rajab 1169 H., 31st March 1753, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, year 1169.

"whatever he directs." Upon this the Maulvi returned to 'Imād-ul-mulk and communicated to him the Mir Sāhib's intentions.

'Imād-ul-mulk said: "I, too, am coming to the chief minister, let the Mir Sāhib make haste, for this is the very hour for seeing that noble." Near sunset the Mir Sāhib mounted, and, taking the sealed bag with the petition and the statements and letters about the present and the requests to be made, arrived at the tent of the chief minister. It was a small tent and the Wazīr sat in it with a small and light wrapper (*pirāban*) thrown over his body, brocade drawers, and a white fillet (*tāqtyah*) round his head. At the door was no door-keeper (*hājib*) or other hindrance. Before him lay a large white bolster (*gāo-taktyah*) in the fashion of Hindūstān. 'Imād-ul-mulk was sitting there too, on one side of the Wazīr, and had on a full-skirted coat (*jūmah*) of blue-coloured brocade, and a parti-coloured turbān (*chtrah*) of figured cloth of the same colour; he sat crouched on his two knees, on the left side of, but even with, the Wazīr.

Before the Mir Sāhib had arrived, 'Imād-ul-mulk had made a representation to the chief minister. When the Mir Sāhib entered the tent, he said at once, "Peace be upon thee" and then brought out an offering of four gold coins and five rupees of Farrukhābād mintage. This gift was accepted. Following this, the Mir, in imitation of the Abdālī nobles, placed his head on the knees of the chief minister, and the minister placed his hand upon the Mir Sāhib's back, raised up his head, and said: "Let your heart be at rest. In the matters for which you have come you will obtain all you desire and be given leave to depart." Then the Mir was told to sit down alongside of 'Imād-ul-mulk. The author was then presented, and I sat down at the side of the Mir Sāhib.

The chief minister asked about the state of Ghazanfar Jang, the Mahrattah armies, and the fort of Farrukhābād. The talk finished, he sent for one Mirzā Mustafā the Shāh's Secretary, (*munshi*) and read aloud the letter which was addressed to himself. When he had mastered the contents, he said: "I am now going to an audience with the Shāh: you sit where you are and I will state your case. If you should be sent for, you must come: or, if the petition of 'Ghazanfar Jang only is asked for, you must send it."

At this moment a runner (*shāfirē*) arrived in haste from the Shāh's tent, which had been set up a quarter of a *kos* away, with an open plain between. The messenger shouted out "*Sardārā! Sardārā!*" that is, "O Chief." On the sound reaching the ear of the chief minister he at once put on his attire as a Kizzilbāsh, on his head a hat (*kulah*), and on it a jewelled aigrette, with a plume of feathers. He mounted his 'Irāqī horse and hastened to the audience, followed by one man only, who is called a *yatim* (servant?). The Mir Sāhib and 'Imād-ul-mulk were left sitting at the chief minister's tent.

'Imād-ul-mulk said to the Mir Sāhib: "There is a question that I have long been desirous of putting to you, give me an answer to it. It is a matter of astonishment to me that a man like you, a man of purpose and valour, should be on the spot, and yet allow Nawāb Ahmad Khān, in opposition to your advice, to betroth the daughter of 'Alī Qulī Khān, the Six-Fingered, to me and make her over to me."

The Mir Sāhib replied: "I had gone away to Lakhnan and I had told the Nawāb Shujā'ud-daulah to place five hundred horsemen under my orders, and I would bring away the whole family of 'Alī Qulī Khān from Farrukhābād to Lakhnan. But the Nawāb was inspired by his mother with fright at Ghazanfar Jang, and he was also in dread of Your Excellency (i. e., 'Imād-ul-mulk). Thus, he put off a decision from one day to another. Since I had no special interest in the subject I, too, withdrew from the project."

(To be continued.)

THE CHUHRA.

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(Continued from Vol. XXXV. p. 356.)

V. — SUPERSTITIONS.

Omens and Names.

If a Chuhra goes on a journey and meets a *mirāsi*, he goes back. If some one calls after him he goes back. The braying of a donkey meeting him is a good omen. If a washerman meets a man beginning a journey, it is sufficient to send him back, certain of failure if he goes on. Some men are known to carry good fortune, and are sent out to meet travellers.

A Chuhra never steps over a broom. The broom that is used to sweep corn is hung up on a nail in the house. That for ordinary use is placed on a grave, but never upright.

Children are frequently given names arising out of superstitious: thus **Kaka** is used as a first name. **Ghasiṭa** means dragged, that is, dragged over a dust heap, *rūrī*. **Bārā** has the same meaning. As the name is one of dishonour, the evil-eye will not fall on the children that bear it. **Likar** means having half of the head shaved, and the other not; this is to keep the child alive. **Nathū** means having a ring in the nose, to hold him and keep him from going away, i.e., dying.

Oaths, magic and witchcraft.

The oath by *Bālā Shāh* is used.

The practice of magic arts is confined to *faqirs* and *pīrs*. It is the *sauhrī*²⁷ that bring evil spirits. A person possessed is cured in the following manner:—The *faqir* takes a drum, a *thālī* or platter and a *gharā* or earthen jar. The platter is placed over the jar, and the whole is called *ghariāl*.²⁸ The *faqir* beats the drum, another person beats the *ghariāl*, and others sing. The sick person shakes his head, and when the music (?) ceases they ask him questions: "Who are you?" "I am so and so," he replies. "How did you come into this state?" "Such and such a one put me into this state." "Who bewitched you?" "So and so." "What did he get for doing it?" "So many rupees." "For how long are you sick?" "I have to be sick so many days, and then die." They play and sing again. After a time the sick man perspires and recovers. The evil spirit goes with the perspiration.

A curious and repulsive cure is used among Hindus and probably others. It is called *jarā* or *masūn*. An unmarried person dies, and his or her body is burnt at the burning *ghāt*. A *faqir* takes some of the ashes from the burning pile, goes to the hills for a certain plant, and makes bread of these two ingredients on a grave. The bread is made into pills, one of which is given to a naked childless woman. She gives the pill in a drink to her enemies, and herself has a child. Her barren condition was caused by an evil spirit. *Masūn* means demon, and burning-place among Hindus.

Jhundā is an iron whip which a *faqir* beats himself with for the sake of another, so that the evil spirit in him may be troubled and flee. They also burn oil in a *tavā*, iron dish. The *faqir* puts his hand in the hot oil and pours it on his person. The evil spirit feels it, but the *faqir* does not. The *faqir* also beats his body with a millstone. After the sick man recovers, the *faqir* takes a fowl, kills it, dips a string in its blood, knots the string, blows on it, and finally binds it round the sick man's neck, assuring him that the evil spirit will not come again. If the man goes where there is impurity, *sūtah*, the virtue in the string disappears.

²⁷ *Sauhrā*, — *ṭ*, lit. (1) parents-in-law; (2) simpleton, wretch.

²⁸ *Ghariāl*, lit. a gong.

Dreams are from evil spirits, and the Chuhṛas fear them. To dream that a person who is dead is cutting flesh, is an intimation that there will be a death in the house. Muhammadan *sa'yids* give the *ta'wiz*, a charm, to keep away dreams.

The **evil eye** is universally believed in. Some men are very injurious in this way. If a man with the evil eye looks at any one taking food, sickness follows. To cure this, the sick person asks a bit from the evil-eyed man when he is at a meal. The morsel given acts as a cure. When a cow is sick, and gives no milk, they give her a bit of the evil-eyed (*bad nazar*) man's food.

Sorcerers and witches act on their victim by making a figure of him and torturing the figure by inserting a needle into it. The torture reaches the person who is personated. Nails and hairs are carried away to be subjected to pain that the original owners may be tormented. They are carefully thrown away when cut off, lest any enemy should get possession of them. Women are especially careful in this particular.

Sickness is caused by evil spirits.

Ceremonial prohibition or taboo.

The Chuhṛas never touch a Gagra, or a Sânsî, gipsy. Women and children do not go near graves. The daughter-in-law never mentions the father-in-law's name. Chuhṛas do not eat monkeys, or snakes, or jackals, or rats.

Agricultural superstitions.

Crops are cut on a Sunday, Monday, or Friday, and sown on a Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday.

If the Chuhṛas burn a *sûp*, winnowing sieve or fan, in a village, the farmer is injured. It is a curse — the curse of the poor.

Social customs.

The whole household eat together, but the women eat after the men. If men eat after women they are injured, because women are weak of intellect.

'*Yâ jûth yî jhûth, dinôn naqsân pahuchûndî.*' 'Food touched by others and falsehood are both injurious.' They use *sharâb* (strong drink), opium (*afim*, *fost*, *dhang*) and *charas*. Drunkards are despised.

Customs of social intercourse.

In salutation, they say *pairê pan* to the guest, the answer being '*lêdê bhulê kare Kḥuddî.*' Also *mathê jêknê, salâm.*

Customs bearing on social status.

They eat *pakki* among themselves, and *kachchi* with Gagre and Sânsis. They smoke only among themselves. No caste above them eats with them.

VI. — OCCUPATION.

The original work of the Chuhṛas.

They were the tanners of the village communities, and used to live in huts at a distance from the village, the walls of which were made of bones, and the roof of skins. When an animal died, the Hindus beat a drum to let them know that they must come and carry off the dead body. Five rupees was the fee given and also a shroud. The Chuhṛas took off the animal's hide and ate its flesh. Sweeping was also their work.

Formerly, when a Hindu died, the Chuhṛas received a sheet or *kafan* (shroud), and they still receive clothes. In the old days they got five rupees at the Hindu burning-place, and

exacted it with clubs. If a cow dies on a Hindu's land they call it *dāshnā*, and the Hindu who takes the cow's tail to the Ganges to be purified is beaten there by a Chuhra with a shoe.

VII. — RELATIONS TO LAND.

Nowadays their work is farm service. They are landless day-labourers on the farm. They are divided into —

(1) The *āthri*, who gets a maund of wheat for every *mānī* at the harvest; also odds and ends. He has *ghundān*, *pīr dē dānē*, the barley that is sown in a strip round the wheat field; wheat sown by the water course; bread twice a day; clothes and shoes twice a year; tobacco; vegetables and wood.

(2) The *sēp khullī*, who receives three-quarters of a maund for every *mānī*, and bread daily if he goes to a distance to work.

(3) The wife, who takes away dung from the farmyard, receives half a maund of corn.

It was cow-burying that led to their isolation. They say the Māchhī, the Jhīwar, the Chuhra, the Changar, and the Mirāsī are all of the same caste, but have different occupations.

There is a story told of the Chuhras by Muhammadans and others that does not reflect to their credit. They are believed to be inclined to be uppish and to forget past favours, being ungrateful, and are supposed to work best when they are well beaten, otherwise they take advantage of the kindness of their masters. I give this only as the opinion of their neighbours.

The story is that once on a time the king of the Chuhras met Moses, who was on his way to talk with God.²⁹ The king of the Chuhras asked Moses to carry a petition to God from him, that he might be enabled to take the usual tax from people passing through his territory. Moses accordingly presented the king's petition, but God said, "Moses you do not know what you are doing, you do not know this people. They will turn on you, and dishonour you in the end." But Moses persevered, and obtained for the Chuhra king what he desired, viz., that he should levy taxes on travellers. The next time Moses passed that way he was accosted in a most humiliating manner. "Oh Mūsri, are you the man that carried a petition for me? You must pay the dues." "Did I not tell you, Moses," said God, "that you would bring dishonour on your head. They have no gratitude."

VIII. — LEGENDARY LORE.

1. Legend of Rāmsar.

Rām larāyā Rāmsar.
Panj Pāṇḍō laththē ā.
Chamba, marrā, kēōrd,
Ras chō chō Bhārē talā.
Chugdī chagdī gōkharī
** Sar uttē khalōtī ā.*
Bān vaguttē Pāṇḍvān
Phatkhā kailī gān.
Chug chag lāndē ghāndarīān,
Tē bhundē sikhēn lā.
Āndrān mīliyān bhīm nān.
Lēhndā janyā band.
Dil mīliyā Judishtarē
Un lēyā sankh band.

Rām built Rāmsar.
 The five Pāṇḍavs came there and rested,
 Jasmine, marrā and kēōrd
 Filled that tank with their essence.
 A cow grazing
 Came to that pond.
 The Pāṇḍavs killed with arrows
 The spotted cow.
 They gathered sticks,
 And began to roast it.
 Bhīm got the intestines,
 And made a sacred thread of them for himself.
 Judishtar got the heart,
 He made a trumpet with it.

²⁹ They and others call Moses Mīhtar Mūsā; *mīhtar* being a title of distinction, although used mostly for the Chuhras.

Push mīśya śī Nukaliyē
Uś lēyā chaur band.
Tē kharāḍṛyē lēyā Sukhdēv nē,
Un lēyē pauc band.
Tē sīr lēyā Arjun nē,
Un lēyā mukat band.
Tē pōshī lēyā Māt Kuntī nē,
Un lēyā picchhāḍṛ band
Tē kimia karkē mas dā,
Darōptī chullē dittā chayhā.
Hath khundi tē mondhē kamli,
Krishn gayā tal d,
' Oh bhāī santō, baiṭhē,
Mērī dīṭhī jē kaiṭī gān.
' Asīn nahīn mīlōn jānē
Tērē kaiṭī sī oh gān.
' Aggā hīrē hīrā dā,
Ohdā picchhā kapṭī gān.
Chījān sārīn Krishn nē,
Tad lēyān phol uṭhā,
Tē sarāp dittā sū Pāṇḍevān.
' Tusīn Chāhr' hīrē jī,
Kal jug vich mīlāyā.
Jad bolē sach sunā.

Nukal got the tail,
 He made a fan with it,
 Sukhdēv got the hoofs,
 He made sandals of them.
 Arjan took the head
 And made a crown for his head.
 Mother Kuntī got the hide,
 And made herself a shawl.
 And hashing the beef,
 Daroptī began to cook it on the fire.
 In hand a stick, and on shoulder a blanket,
 Krishn came up suddenly.
 ' O faithful brethren, sitting there,
 Have you seen my spotted cow ? '
 ' We do not at all know
 What your cow was like.'
 ' Its head was like a deer's,
 The hinder part like a red cow.'
 All the things Krishn seized
 And took away,
 And he cursed the Pāṇḍavs.
 ' Go, become Chubras.
 In the Kaljug I will associate with you
 When you speak the truth.'

Another Version.

Rām lāyā Rāmsar.
Pamj Pāṇḍō laththē ā.
Pāṇḍō baiṭhē mihr kar
Uṭthē ā gayī kaiṭī gān.
Jazba kītā Pāṇḍevān,
Unhān phay lēyē kaiṭī gān.
Jabāh karāṭē gān nān,
Unhān chhāṇṭē lē band
Āṇḍrān lēyān Bhām nē,
Un lēyā janm band.
Tē kharāṇyē lēyē Shāhdev nē,
Un paucē lēyē band.
Tē sīr lēyā Arjun nē,
Un lēyā mukat band
Tē pōshī lēyā Māt Kuntī nē
Un picchhāḍṛ lēyā rangā.
Pāṇḍō bṭhē baiṭh gayē,
srī Kishn gayē nē ā
' Ō bhāī baiṭhē hōī, Ō sālāyē,
Mērī dīṭhī jē kaiṭī gān '
Asīn nahīn mīlōn jānē
Tērē kaiṭī sī oh gān.
Uś muhōn bolāyā
' Jis dīṭhī sūf sunā.
Aggā hīrē hīrā dā,

Rām built Rāmsar.
 The five Pāṇḍavs came there and rested.
 The Pāṇḍavs were enjoying their rest,
 When a spotted cow came thither.
 High handed were the Pāṇḍavs,
 And they seized the spotted cow.
 When they had sacrificed the cow,
 They divided her.
 Rām got the intestines,
 And wore them like the Hindus' sacred thread.
 Shāhdev got the hoofs,
 And wore them as sandals.
 Arjan got the head,
 And put it on his head for a crown.
 Mother Kuntī got the hide,
 And had it dyed for a shawl.
 While the Pāṇḍavs were sitting there,
 Srī Krishn came up,
 ' O brothers sitting there, O holy men,
 Have you seen my spotted cow ? '
 ' We do not know at all
 What your cow was like.'
 He spoke with his mouth :
 ' Let him who saw her speak plainly.
 Her foreparts were those of a deer,

Ohāḍā pichhā kapli gān.
Aisi aisi hai, si,
Mēri kapli kaili gān.
Khauf jā kiltā Pāṇḍavān,
Kyūn deiyē jhūth suṇā.
Chuṅkē pōsh karō haḍḍiān,
Asin deiyē rās karā.
Uttē pōsh tēkākē
Tē laggē mangn dād :
'Hē Bhagwān, tū rahm kar.
Is gān nūn tū uṭhā.
Gān bhī hājir hō gā.
Unhan ditti turt vikhā.
Us jagah Brāhman Chūhrā hō gayā
Aur ditti oh saḍā.

And her hinder parts were those of a red cow.
 She was like this,
 My spotted red cow.
 The Pāṇḍavs were frightened,
 Because they had lied.
 They covered the bones with the hide,
 Placing the bones in their order.
 They spread the hide on them,
 And began to pray :
 'Oh God, have mercy.
 Raise this cow.'
 The cow became alive.
 They showed her to him at once.
 In this place the Brāhman became a Chūhrā
 By way of punishment.

2. Legend of the Marriage of Bālmik's Daughter.

Chal, saḥsī, ham nahān nihātē.
Ghar abydyet sādḥ āe.
Jhab mil, Rām jā.
Brahme dī dehī nūn leushṭi dhāyā.
Jēhrā Kumbān nahān jāē.
Jhab mil, Rām jā.
Aggē Jastri kēnān chēḍi.
Jitthōn Brāhmā rāh puchhā.
Jhab mil, Rām jā.
'Kiker āyā Brāhmanā ?
Tērē kīkar aunē hōs ?'
Jhab mil, Rām jā.
Dēh mēri nī leushṭ hai dhāyā,
Ham Kumbān nahān jāē.
Jhab mil, Rām jā.
'Tisrī ghayī nahān tērā.
Tēthōn kīka pahunchāē jāē ?'
Jhab mil, Rām jā.
'Tisrī ghayī nahān mērā.
Main nūn kēhrā marā pahunchāē ?'
Jhab mil, Rām jā.
'Ekē jē tainā main chappari dussān.
Tērā jī karē tē nahāē jāē.
Jhab mil, Rām jā.
Kēnān dī bhānī hōi chappari
Unhān Jastri chā vikhāē.
Jhab mil, Rām jā.
Pahili tūbbi gayā Brāhmā.
Rētū dī mutḥ lē jāē.
Jhab mil, Rām jā.
Dujji tūbbi gayā Brāhmā.
Bhar ghuggān dī mutḥ lē jāē.
Jhab mil, Rām jā.

Come, friend, let us go bathe,
 The man of God has come to our house.
 Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
 A Brāhman's body became leprous.
 He had to go to bathe at the Kumb festival.
 Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
 On his way Jastri fed a herd of swine.
 The Brāhman asked the way.
 Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
 'Why have you come, Brahman ?
 What brought you ?'
 Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
 'My body is leprous,
 I have come for a bath at the Kumb festival.'
 Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
 'The right hour for bathing is the third.
 How will you reach the Ganges in time ?'
 Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
 'The third hour was the time.
 Can any man take me there in time ?
 Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
 'I will show you a pond.
 You can bathe there if you like.'
 Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
 The pond where the swine wallowed
 Was shown him by Jastri.
 Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
 The Brāhman dived once.
 He brought up a handful of sand.
 Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
 The Brāhman dived twice.
 He brought up a handful of shells.
 Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

*Tisrī tubbī gayā Brāhmā,
Lālān dī mutḥ lē āē.*

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

*Lālān dī mutḥ jab lē Brāhmā,
Har jī kā darshan pāē.*

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

*Har jī kā darshan pāyā,
Oh dī kāyā dē pāp jhārē āē.*

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

*'Bannē ā jā, Brāhmaṇā,
Tērē nahān hō varīāē.'*

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

*Isē chapparī Pāṇḍō nahā gāē,
Jihvā nau khand prithī dhōē.*

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

*Isē chapparī Gurū Nānak nihātā,
Jihvā Sikhān dā gurū sadāē.*

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

*Isē chapparī Gorakh nihātā,
Jihvā Tīllē tē āsan pāē.*

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

*Kihvā bhagat dī tū bēṭī hai?
Tērā kī oh nām dharāē?'*

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

*'Bālā Bālmik dī main bēṭī hān,
Mērā Jastri nām dharāē.'*

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

*Bābā Bālmik diyē bēṭīyē,
Main nū ohāē kōḷ pahunchāē.*

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

*Aggē Jastri tē picḥkē Brāhma.
Dōēn Bālmik kōḷ āē.*

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

*Aggē Bālmik dī kakkhān dī kollī,
Baithā āsan lāē.*

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

*Baithā āsan uttē jākē,
Har kō nām jayāē.*

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

*Har jī kā hazār nām,
Lākḥ nām Kishan kā.
Kēshō kā karōr nām.
Paṭam nām Bishan kā.*

*Aggē Bālmik bhagat laithā
Jākē Brāhmaṇā sir na-āē.*

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

*'Tān kīkar āyā, Brāhmaṇā?
Tērē kīkar aunē hōē?'*

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

The Brāhman dived thrice.
He brought a handful of precious stones.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

When the Brāhman found the stones,
He saw God face to face.

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
He saw God face to face,
And his sins forgiven, he was clean.

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
'Come out, Brahman,
Your bath is finished.'

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
In this pond the Pāṇḍavs will bathe,
Who will subdue nine parts of the earth.

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
In this pond Gurū Nanak will bathe,
Who will become leader of the Sikhs.

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
In this pond Gorakh will bathe,
Who will make his temple on Tillah.

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
'What holy person is your father?
What name has he given you?'

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
'I am daughter of Bālā Bālmik.
He calls me Jastri.'

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
'O daughter of Bālā Bālmik,
Take me to him.'

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
Jastri went on, and the Brāhman followed;
They both came to Bālmik.

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
They came to Bālmik's hut.
He was seated in contemplation.

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
When he sat down
He took the name of God.

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

Chorus.

Har has a thousand names.
Kishan has a lākḥ.
Kēshō has a crore.
Bishan has a paṭam.

Where the Saint Bālmik sat
There the Brāhman went and bowed to him.

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
'Why have you come, O Brāhman?
What is your business?'

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

'*Nām Rabb dē ih bēti dē chhaq.*
Tērā suṣṭ dān hō jādē.

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

'*Kahnūn bhūnd, Brahmand?*
Tū kahnū janam gawdē?

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

'*Tusūn Brahmē chaunkē bahōgē,*
Mērī bēti nūn picchē haṭḍē.

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

'*Tērī bēti rasō pakḍēgi,*
Sānnū suṣṭ karkē khawḍē.

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

Kagnū, chīnd, tē sōank āwlā.
Bālmik jag rachāḍē.

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

Tē chavān kūtān dē dēvtē ā gā.
Ōṭhē parṭān mangal gā.

• *Jhab mil, Rām jī.*

Hārān, parṭān, mangal gāan,
Ōṭhē tārān mandal chhāḍē.

• *Jhab mil, Rām jī.*

Jad tārān mandal chhā kar ditti,
Tā chhāḍē Bēd mangḍē.

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

Pahilī lān jab lēi Brahmē,
Dujjē qadam ṭakḍē.

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

Triji lān jab lēi Brahmē,
Chauthi phēṛā pā.

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

Panjwīn lān jab lēi Brahmē,
Chēvin phēṛā pā.

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

Satvīn lān jab lēi Brahmē.

• *Har kā nām dhōḍē.*

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

Sātēn lavān pūrān.

Ōh bēti dān kṛḍē.

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

'*Sab jīn dā mān dān khānd.*
Aggōn tū mērā lō jādē.

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

Jastri dōlē jab pāc Brahmē,
Uthōn Pōndēr ghar lōjādē.

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

Ōṭhōn Vēdvē, Parābā, Bhartā,
Siddrā, Dharastā nām dharḍē.

Jhab mil, Rām jī.

'In the name of God give me your daughter.
She will be a great gift.'

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

'Why do you take a wrong step, Brahmana?
Why do you lose your caste?'

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

'You will eat your food in sacred places.
You will set my daughter aside.'

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

'Your daughter will cook our food,
We will not object to eat it.'

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

They brought *kagnū* and *chīnd* and *sōank*.
Bālmik made a feast.

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

The gods of the four quarters came.
Fairies sang songs of joy there.

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

Hārs and fairies sang.

The stars made a canopy there.

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

When the stars made a canopy,
Then they brought the four *Vedas*.

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

The Brāhman went round the bride once.
And a second time.

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

The Brāhman went round a third time.
And a fourth time.

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

The Brāhman went round a fifth time.
And a sixth time.

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

The Brāhman went round the bride the seventh
time.

Praise the name of God.

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

He finished the seven rounds.

Bālmik gave his daughter.

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

'I take alms from all.

In future I give this right to you.'

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

When the Brāhman put her in a palanquin,
He took her to home among the *Faundrās*.

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

From her the *Vēdvā*, the *Pūrābā*, the *Bhartā*,
The *Siddrā*, and the *Dharastā* took their
name;

Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

IX. — THE TRADITIONS OF THE CHUHṚAS.

The Chuhṛas have oral traditions which they recite at their gatherings. If a Chuhṛa wishes to learn them, he becomes the disciple of some one who is in possession of them, i. e. who can repeat them from memory. I heard, however, that there was a book of the Chuhṛas in Gujranwālā District, but I was unable to obtain it, as the owners had the idea that I would use it to their disadvantage. In the village of Kharōḷān, in Siālkot, I found a man with a book, which runs as follows:—

1. Bala, the Priest of God.

*Bālā pīr dūdā, duniyā tē pahilā autār
Putr sūn Brahmā dē pūrē chār.
Māthē pīkē dharm dē wā jānēū nāl
Chuplī chuplī gokhārī hō pēi mardār.
Kōl gāū dē ānkē kardē nē arīdī
Asīn Brahma jānam dē gal jānēū tanīdī
Uttē chā rakhēdī dōrē tē bayīdī
Rabbā, sādqē bhāḍīdī ih kīlādī banīdī
Rabb chīthī līkhē ghallīdī sab khōl bayīdī
Itthōn gayā sādī mōnk hūm kardē hubūdī
Taditē thōi sūnā tainū parīdī.
Mōn shōd chālīdī apū is nūn hūdīm arkāi
jān.*

*Jhaumpṛ aggē Rabb dē kīlī arjōi
Sōchē ghālūd entōr dē hō khān mūh darūi
Rabb ghō Brahmanūn mōr jān dītōi
Mān pōṣiyā sūn khākē ikē thāl rasōi
Kōl gāū dē dē Allah Tā'ala masīd lagā
Chīthī līkhē Bālā pīr dē phar hath pharāi
Taditē thōi sūnā tainū ih dē
Thōi kām hūdīm āchōl mān takhar chālīdī.*

*Bālā khānī pakambādī jō chuplā khāt
Rōs gūyāwēt nūn is dī būnā māṭgī vadīyā
Mān nūn Hindū nō jō nā ān dēngē, Mussalmān
nō pōṭhēngē jandā
Mō d kīlāi mōtārī kōṭēngā mōrē Rabbī vāzā
Ummā mōi bāṭhāhī zāmān dē Pīr Khōṛājā
Allah ākhōd Bālā, tōi pāt kamāi*

The first to come incarnate to the world³⁰
Was priestly Bālā. Brahmā's sons were four.
With painted mark upon their brows and
twined

About their breasts the sacrificial thread.
The cow while grazing in the meadow green
Fell dead : thereafter round about the cow
They stood and wrangled, 'Brahmans born
are we,

We wear the sacred thread, the Hindu garb.
With cords and fringes. Lord, unhappy we,
Bewail this mishap.' The Lord despatched
A writing bearing full and accurate
Directions. 'You a compact made when hence
You went, but now grown proud you seek
To shun your duty. You it is that must
Prepare to cast the cow away. 'Twas I
That killed the cow by lawful rite, it is
Not therefore now unclean.' Then Jhaumpṛ
prayed.

'Oh thou that sendst thy word reveal thyself,
That I may see thee face to face. 'Twas thou
That causedst me to be by birth
A Brahman. From the self same dish with
them

I ate and drank.' Then God Almighty called
Beside the cow a great assembly. Then
Within the hand of Bālā, Priest of God,
Was placed a writing. 'Thou must cast away
The cow — the work is thine. Who dares to
call

That thing unclean which I have duly
cleansed?

The prophets feed on sheep, that feed on
flesh,

But on the day of resurrection thou
Shalt sure have praise.' Said Bālā, 'Hindus
thou

Wilt shun me, Mussalmans refuse to read
The burial service over me. How then

³⁰ The translation is not literal, but in verse.

Apá kalm pakar lé, té kágu! té síáh'.

Allah ákhéá Bálá, tu hó siyána

Rôz qiyámat ná jáké inhán pachhólánd,

*Hindú Mussalmán dé ném dá main daryá
bandhâ*

Pâr bihisht banâké sâmnô dikhlánâ

*Savâ nézê té sâraj áwágá magrôn háô dô:akh
dé dahînd*

Râm té Rahîm kâân utthô chhap chhap lé bahînd

Ummat tôri langhiké var bihishti jánd

Ákhé méré lag já, mēra man faridhâ

Jhaumpré aggé Rabb dé ék gal sundi

*Rôz qiyámat ákhâd jihyâ bhaizul pur sulât
(pul sirât) bandi*

Ôs vélê ummat mēri bahshahân gâô sufnâ táin

Chêlé sifân jôriân, parh nám suidîn.

Rabb Khwâja Khizr sadlâ phir apni zabân.

Pañ Maalé pakar lé hath kâgaz té kâni,

Kâgaz síáhí likhî di us vélê di nishân,

Jhaumpré ummat bahshahâ léi kam boyâ ásanî

*Khwâja Khizr ákhé Jhaumpréd, mēra man
formân,*

Tērê Shâhi dîn déngé main nūn pás bahân,

Jhalak laggógâ chandôé dá munh pân lān.

Shâhiân de bihishti ján dá ih pukêá nishân

Na roza na ashtamî na tur Makké ján

Chêlé dassân khúlké sârê bayân.

Pir gâô dé rat turkê Chuhra banké jahirâ,

Pir gâô dé kôl já kharâ jamôu fikkêwâllâ,

Us tērôn dhôtê lá léi asbâb bhî sârâ.

Utthôn banigâ Chuhrân dá aslî ráh niyârá

*Jhaumprâ puchêlé bhâdîn nūn mēré nâ! karô
takra,*

Kadôn mainû rojânâ jê sachchâ déô igrár

Bhâdîn phir Jhaumpré nâ! kôl takrár

Môhlat lammâ kâi nahên diháré né châr

Wilt thou me purify, my Lord? Forgive
My people — give me Khwâja Pir as plodge
Of certain covenant.' God said, 'Thy works,
O Bâlâ, righteous are and pure. Thyself
Must write with paper, ink and pen.' God
said,

'O Bâlâ, understand: be wise and know
That on the resurrection day their deeds
Will bring to these despairing grief. I'll
make

Of Hindu and of Muslim faiths a sea,
Beyond it I will make a heaven that they
Shall see but enter not. The burning sun
Will come within a spear and quarter's length,
The dread alarms of hell will compass them.
The worshippers of Râm, and of Rahîm.
Will hide themselves in fear and dark despair.
But thine will cross secure, in safety they
Will enter heaven at last. Believe, obey
My plain command.' Then Jhaumpra quickly
said,

'All in the audience of Almighty God,
A covenant sure make now with me, that in
The day of resurrection, when my people cross
The narrow bridge that spans the mouth
of hell,

Thou wilt have mercy on them: only thus
Will I consent to cast away the cow.'

Disciples write his prayers and his fame,
Sing forth his glory, loud proclaim his name.
The Lord called Khwâja Khizr to appear,
He summoned him Himself, and then the Lord
Took paper, ink and pen to write, and these
Are of that time distinct memorials.

Great Jhaumpra had his people saved, a work
For him both quick and easy. Khwâja cried,
'Oh Jhaumpra mine, give ear to me. With me
Beside them seated all your Shâhis must
Give ahas. And as they drink the sparkling
water

On every face from out the cup there gleams
The light from immersed silver, this a sign
Shall constant be that Shâhis enter heaven.
For them there is no fasting; not for them
Are eighth day moons, or pilgrimages long
To Mecca. Let disciples clearly tell
The great prerogatives and freedom they
Enjoy. The priest approached the cow; before
The universal world he stood confessed
A Chuhra; yes, a priest beside the cow,
Adorned with sacred cord, and on his brow

Tān ḡs gāḡ suṭ lēi chauṅkēṇ bāhir bālir
Jhaumprē gāḡ suṭlēṇ diḡarē hōḡ chār
Baddhā rasōt jēundē chauṅkē andar vār.

Bhāḡṇ nē puchhā mān nūn kudṇ rāḡṇā jē
nāl,

Jug chauthē nē rāḡṇāḡe sādḡā sachhā gaul
qarār

Uḡ gēshē ghat kamāṇḡā pagḡṇ lēḡṇ utār.

Phir Jhaumprē gāḡ suṭkē hōḡ baṭhā puchhār

Agḡṇ rāt guzrē jhagḡṇḡḡṇ suṭkē bhatijē
Kālak Dās

Akhē na us gāḡ khā lē na kītā gāḡ grās

Kikar tussān nakher chaḡḡḡ phir ḡhōl jāt

Jō na lāyā bath bē gōshē ghat kamān dē suṭi
āḡāt.

Oh lōl tū rāḡē khā, tērā nahin pāṇḡā sāmū
san rasā

Gussa Kālak Dās nūn chapḡyā aḡḡḡ

Kālak Dās gāḡ dē lōl pahutāḡ jāt

Kōl gāḡ dē jākē karḡḡ tadbir

Ḡs rār chālāyā gāḡ dē phir rich sarī

Jitthē takbīr Chuhḡḡḡḡ dē pahūḡ dēḡḡ nē chīr

Lakhē rēkhō Rabb dē vartī tḡḡḡ.

Puchhē Kālak Dās dē Silavanti nār,

Ḡhōḡ māḡḡ pāṇḡ ḡḡḡ ghorṇ amḡḡḡḡḡ

Jōn jōn dē ḡḡḡ langhḡḡ karḡḡ gubār

Karḡ bichārā dī nāl dāḡḡḡ āḡḡ sī bahār

Dāḡḡḡ āḡḡ jākē nī karḡ bichārā

The consecrating mark, he stood and doffed
 His waist cloth, and his caste marks all.
 Hence rose the Chuhḡa sect and worship, one
 And separate. For Jhaumprā thus addressed
 His brethren, 'When will you, now tell me
 true,

Restore me to my place and dignity?

Now promise me.' They promised him that
 they

Would in four days, and only four, restore
 Him to his place among them. So he threw

The cow beyond the sacred precincts far.

The cow was cast away, four days had flown,

When Jhaumpra's brethren dined within the
 bound

That marked the sacred hearth. 'Your promise
 now.'

Cried Jhaumprā, 'true fulfil. Admit me.'
 'No'

Said they, 'Four ages must elapse before
 We can admit thee. Then, our sacred word

We pledge, thou mayest return.' In sudden
 wrath

With stroke of bow he knocked their turbans
 off.

Then Jhaumprā, all because he threw the cow
 Away, sat excommunicate, the house

Debarred. Night passed in wrangling. Kālak
 Dās,

His nephew, said, 'He did not eat the cow,
 Not even a morsel: why thus have ye cast

Your brother out? He did not touch the cow,
 'Twas with his bow he threw the cow away.'

They said, 'Go thou and eat the cow thyself,
 We trust not thee nor him—we scorn you
 both.'

Then Kālak Dās grew angry: in his rage
 He stalked towards the cow, and stood to

pierce

The carcase of the brute, and so since then
 The Chuhḡas keep the appointed way, to make

A certain cut upon the dead, and use
 The formula by God appointed. Then

Went Kālak Dās and found his gentle wife,
 His Silavanti wondering. Her time

Was near with child. She wondered why the
 days

Went by and still no nearer came to her.

Deliverance. In wondering thought she said,
 'The world is strange as spring time.' So

she went

Mêrê mǎhê kullê langh gae mǎhê hōe nē bārān
 Tuhannā sārê khabar hai kull pēt bhandārān
 Mainū dassê khōlkê sarīdān anwārān
 Dāidān ralkê us nū gallīn sē lāyā
 Kihṛā chand nihātīn tainū patā nahīn āyā ?
 Pēt tērē vich darā nahīn tainū dukh nahīn āyā ?
 Rāzī hōkē bahēngī jad bālāk jāyā,
 Jān oh bahindī palang tē jad raīn viḥānī
 Rabb, mērē pēt vich kī khēl rabbānī.
 Mainū kārī khabar nahīn manū āḡl aniyān
 Tainū khabarān, Qādirā, phir tūēn jānīn
 Karē nahēdān dil nāl, duniyā dbaj sē mēlā,
 Tad bhandārān kū pēyā phir Alif Chēla.
 Din mannē mātā mērē gurū dā idā hath nahīn
 āūnā cēlā.
 Tān mān putr dā hōwēgā phir jad hī mēlā.
 Kēhṛā tērē gurū hai, bachchā mannūn ākh suidān
 Main pālē kharch pākē tur parān sabhān
 Kitthē dhād pind hai, rainidā kēhṛī thān
 Main bhalkē tur parāngī paikē lamṛī rāhīn
 Ākhē Jhaumprā mērē gurū hai, mātā kōi nāl
 imān

Das autār us āūnā duniyā tē shān,
 Dassē autār ussē dē aggē, man jāpnān nām
 Chuhrē Kālāk Das dā majab hai tamām.
 Jihṛā Shāhī kalma parhēgā Mōhammad dā oh
 bēmcā.
 Jihṛē parhēgē Bābā Nānak dā oh bhī nahīn
 parān.
 Jihṛē parhēgē Bālā pīr dā dargāhē pawān.
 Chēlē sifātān jorīdān sab khōl bayān.
 Mān chēlē nāl jhagardī, Bachchā kēhṛā gurū
 hai sangī.
 Kīkar duniyā tē uss āūnā ōs kēhṛī rangī ?
 Sach hōvē tān man bēdān gaul karār karāngī.
 Chēlē sifātān jōrīdān bah rang ba rangī.
 Chēlā dassē mān nām, phir das autār

To seek the midwives. Thus she used to say.
 'My time is fully come, the twelfth month
 now⁵¹
 Is past. These things you understand : the
 womb
 With all its states you know : come tell me then
 The truth.' The midwives just to please her
 told
 Her stories. 'Tell us now,' they said, 'what
 month
 You bathed. You have forgotten quite. Well
 then
 Have you no pains : no pangs have you ? No ?
 Then
 Be comforted, you will be happy when
 You bear a son.' She sat in thought all night
 Upon her cot. She said, 'O Lord, within
 my womb
 What wonder is ? All ignorant am I,
 A woman knowing nothing. Only Thou
 Almighty God knowest all. I trust in Thee
 All in her heart she said, 'The world is
 strange.'
 Then Alif Chela spake within the womb.
 'Oh mother mine, be follower of my guide.
 Disciple of my teacher be, lose not
 This happy time, for if 'tis lost to you,
 In vain is consequent repentance. See,
 On your belief depends our meeting.' 'Son,'
 She said, 'who is your teacher ? I'll prepare
 And haste me at the dawn to seek him.
 His village name. Where dwells he ? At the
 dawn
 I'll go, and find him though the way be long.'
 'My guide and teacher Jhaumprā is,' said he,
 'Believe this, mother. Ten times told he will
 Become incarnate, bringing glory to the world
 In all the ten. His name I will proclaim.
 The faith of Kālāk Dās, the Chuhrā, is
 A perfect faith. If any Shāhī read
 Muhammad's creed, an unbeliever he
 Is branded ; and if Bābā Nānak's, he
 Shall be rejected ; all that do profess
 The creed of Bālā straight to heaven shall go.
 Disciples have compiled his praises.' Still
 The mother reasons with the Chela, 'Child,
 What guide will be our helper, how will he
 Become incarnate ? In what form appear ?
 If this be true, I will believe, and make
 A firm profession.' So disciples wrote
 His divers praises. Chela now recounts

⁵¹ Cf. the note at p. 352, Vol. XXXV., 1906, *supra*.

*Kam vékhān Rabb dē, mātā, Allah dē bē shumār
 Pakhlā autār āvēgā phūr nāl rī nāl
 Rabb Bābā Ādam sajjīyā Amma Hareā bī nāl
 Na zamīn āsmān sī, hai sī jal pānī
 Nā ōs rēlē jirishī sūn na dargāh rabbānī
 Na tadōn Bābā Ādam sī, na Hawwā sōdānī.
 Tē sifut hai Arawalīn, dī chēlē sunānī
 Ih traē dēotē Rabb ē āp bunādī.*

The incarnations ten. 'O mother mine,
 Behold God's works innumerable are.
 The first incarnate comes, and with him God
 Makes father Adam, and our mother Eve.
 There was no earth, no sky, but only then
 A pool of water. Angels were there none,
 Nor heaven's court, nor father Adam, nor
 A lady Eve.' This is the story true
 Of the Original. Disciple read.

2. The One True God.

*Trēān dēvtēān nūn Rabb shabā sikhāc
 Āpō apnē dīn dē kalmē parhāc.
 Faktū parhē Allah ilā, Ishar wah gurū Panāhē,
 Kalma ōhī ēk dā Bālā pīr sunādī,
 Siftān chēlē jōrīān parh nām sunādī.
 Dēvtēān kalma parhādēān jug gujre chhattī.
 Na tadōn sūn majlisān Khudā dī sathīn
 Na ōs rēlē lō sī, na divā battī.
 Tē sahāsan bañdyā baiṭhē Rabb ē apnē
 hathīn
 Ishar Fagta dērtē nū Allah Ta'ala gal ih ākhē
 Ik triyā dēvtā bañdyā tukaddā sāthī
 Dharti dēō bañākē gal ihō jē bāqī
 Ōthē howē shōala vēkhān chālākī
 Fagta tē Ishar hōē Allah dē ānī
 Ōh kēhrā triyā dērtā hī bañdyā sadqā hanī.
 Chhattī jug kītī sū bhagatī tērc nām dī parhē
 bānī
 Tainūn khabarān, Qākirā, tuān haiñ jānī
 Allah lēkē dēvtēān nūn Bālā pīr kōl jānī
 Bālā pīr uṭhē chhai sūda buldī
 Allah miān dī; Khair Bālā pīr sunāi*

Repeat. The Lord Himself these three saints
 made.
 He taught them songs, He gave thus each
 a creed.
 So Faktū said, 'Allah Ilā,' and Ishwar said,
 'Wah Gurū save'! only Bālā priest believed
 In one true God, and worshipped him. These
 songs
 Disciples have compiled. They sing his name.
 For six and thirty ages long the creeds
 These three divinities repeated. Then
 There were no great assemblages with God.
 There was no light, no lamp, no wick; God sat
 And made with His own hands His throne.

He said
 To Fagta, Ishwa, holy ones, 'I've made
 A third divinity, associate
 With you. The earth a god I make; that done
 My work is done. Let there be light in it.'
 He said, 'The wonder I would see.' But up
 Spake Fagta, Ishwar, 'Who is this whom thou
 A third divinity associate
 With us hast made? Has he, repeating hymns
 For ages six and thirty worshipped thee?
 All things are known to thee, Almighty One!
 God brought the gods, the three, to Bālā priest,
 Who rose, and six times worshipped. 'Peace
 to thee,

O man of God.' This said the Lord. 'Peace be'
 Said Bālā priest, 'to all the world.' So brought
 The Lord these three together. So a god
 The earth He made, a habitation fit
 For all His creatures. Lo, the sky He hung
 Without ropes and chains; the stars were
 placed
 Like jewels in the sky, that God's bright light
 Might dwell within them. Then a pinch of
 dust

The Lord put in Muhammad's hand, and then
 In Bābā Nānak's, but they threw it down,
 And muddy made the water: thus no sign
 Appeared. There was no *Granth* nor yet *Qorān*.

• Traē dēvtē Rabb nē kītē ikatṭhē,
 Dharti dēs bañākē kull ālam vassē.
 Ambar khūb ṭikdūnā na sunṭā rassē
 Tārē nag vich launē nūr ilāhī vassē.
 Chuṭkī chuṭkī khāṭ dī Rabb hath phayān
 Mōhammad tē Bābā Nānak dōān hēṭhān vagā
 Pānī gahrā hō gayā nishānī na āi,
 Na ōs rēlē Granth sī na Qurān kitāb bañādī.
 Kam dēkhō Rabb dē, vāri Bālā pīr dī āi
 Gallān kardō jal dē nāl Bālā pīr dā nūr.
 Chhattī jug kītē bhagatī, tū gāvāḥ hai jorār.
 Ōhō mainūn das dē khān jō bhagatī vich pōyā
 gusūr.

*Madad méri duñd Khwāja hajūr.
Tad pāñ té jam gayā phir sōhnā būr
Bālē pīr khilē chhānkīyā dhartī bharpūr
Tad Bālā pīr gayā dargāhē qabūr.
Chēlē sifātī jōrīāñ nahīñ kōi qusūr.
Kālāk Dās gāō khākē, hō baithā dīgār
Ikē māñ dā chungīyā sī bah gōdī nār.
Duniyā té hōē ne barē barē amīr ē faqīr.*

* *Kisī nahīñ rel randīyā karmāñ dā shīr
Allah Kālāk Dās nūñ phir dē dilērī,
Duniyā āwā gañ hai, rūvañ dī phērī.
Aggē pañdā kuthīñ hai chālā rāt hanērī,
Ummat tērī bahshāngē gal man lēñ tā mērī.
Kālāk Dās akhē Rabb nūñ, mērā kī sarband.
Vasdōāñ gharāñ richōñ nikālī phēr khair tē
khīrand.
Mērā kanīñ dāñ lōgā, māñ hō baithā arband.
Kālāk Dās gallāñ kītīāñ Rabb nālī lākē mas-
lūd,
Tū karīñ Allah dā nām, tēra sir mukh laggē.
Aizēñ vōkh na bhulīñ kōi raunē baggē
Tērā buk mittī dā maniyē, dargāh dē aggē.
Jēhrā manīñ sūq nālī, har shākhē phal laggē.
Kālāk Dās rājī hōkē, laggā jag richāñ,
Sarā māñ sōcāñ kals dā dāñ.
Hirā, lāl, jāwāhīr bhī kōi na ant bayāñ.
Chubbē laggē chandīē nū kīnārī tē shāñ
Kālāk Dās kītā dāñ tē laggē shīnā thāñ
Alifē Chēlē nūñ phār imām banāñ
Alifē duñd dkhī jō Rabb dā jūrmāñ.*

*Chēlē sifātī jōrīāñ sab khōl bayāñ
Alifē kītē dil nālī duñd ē kahāñī.*

But, see, comes Bālā's turn. 'Twas Bālā's soul
Addressed the water. 'Ages thirty-eix
I worshipped God. You are my witness. Speak,
Was there a time when I lacked faithfulness?
Come help me now, O Khwāja.' Sudden then
The pinch of dust all in the water clear
Took shape — the water surface clothed itself
in green.

Yes, Bālā, priest, cast forth the pinch of dust.
And lo! the earth appeared. So Bālā, priest,
Was high exalted in the court of heaven.
Disciples wrote these stories true. Now turn
To Kālāk Dās, who ate the cow. He sat
Apart in sadness. 'I have sucked the breast
Of her who was their mother dear and mine.
Her bosom was my rest as theirs. Many rich
And many poor have been, but never one
Has borne the consequences of the deeds
That others wrought.' But God thus comforts
him,

'The world is fleeting: like a fortune told
It comes and goes. The way to heaven
rough,
And in the darkling night you travel. Still
Thy followers I will save — my word is sure.'
Then Kālāk Dās addressed the Lord, 'Alas!
Provision now for me there's none. A man
Cast out am I. From me none alms will take,
For only they give alms who houses own.'
Such speech had Kālāk Dās with God. 'Con-
fess

The Lord, e'en to the sacrifice of life.
Be not deceived — the white-washed tomb is
vain

While thy hands full of dust adored will be
Within the court of heaven. The righteous
man

Is like a tree whose every branch bears fruit.'
So Kālāk Dās in gladness offered gifts,
Of gold he gave a maund and one-fourth more
To top the flag, and diamonds rare so bright
With rubies red, and jewels rich in tale
Innumerable. Tassels hung in state
Adown the flag, embroidered rich with gold.
So rich a gift gave Kālāk Dās, wherewith
He beautified the place of prayer. The priest
Was Alif Chela. Alif prayed the prayer
Appointed thus by God. Disciples sang
These songs, compiling them in full. The
prayer,

The story, Alif heartily recites.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

LACHCHHAN RAJĀON KE : OR, THE SIGNS OF ROYALTY IN RAJĀS.

I.

Hukm agiyāon ko khat mēn likhē;
Jamābandi sūjh farq sē rakkhē.
Nigah-dost dāurah karē, bār bār,
Sifāt sē bolē, nā ho gul ba khār.

A Rājā should issue his instructions in writing, and must exercise full control over his finances. He should carefully inspect his kingdom throughout, never treat his subordinates harshly, and try to live on amicable terms with them.

II.

Hans, sarūp, bugh, mīn, mōr attī gidh bhanjī.
Jugal kág. Guṇ dharē teṇ guṇ bānc lījē.

A king should learn from the swan, heron, paddy-bird, fish, peacock and vulture. He should also learn love and unity from pairs of crows.

Girē parē ho pēḍwākē, tēk dijē boh bistār
sincharī.

Those who have fallen into misfortune must be comforted, while the oppressors should be punished.

Itnē lachchhan rāj kē, tab pag gaddi pah dharē:

Only when these qualities are attained by the king, should he ascend the throne.

H. A. ROSE.

IS THE CULT OF MIAN BIBI PHALLIC?

THE article (*ante*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 125) on the cult of Miān Bibi, which flourishes in the Hoshiārpur District of the Pañjāb, is not easily explained. In his Settlement Report on the District Mr. Coldstream says that the image of the Miān is nude,¹ but in the only two charms which I have been able to secure from Hoshiārpur the Miān and his two wives are all represented as fully clothed. In charm No. 1 the Miān certainly wears a turban and appears to be fully clothed. He is squatting on a couch and smoking his *hugga*. The wife on the right seems to be holding a fan. This charm is rudely stamped on a thin piece of silver and is considerably worn, so that it is difficult to conjecture what the objects above and near the heads of the figures are intended to be. Below and on the left is conventional ornamentation.

Charm No. 2 is of a more recent type — or is at least newer and stamped from a better die. The Mian is standing up, smoking a *hugga*, and wearing apparently a cap. Both his wives are fanning him.

That the cult is in its origin a phallic one I have myself no doubt, but a perusal of the songs published in the article above referred to may not leave that impression on every reader's mind, and it is impossible to be certain as the songs cannot be said to really prove anything. I have failed to trace any precise parallel to the cult in d'Alviella's *Migration of Symbols*, in Mr. Rendell Harris' *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, or in Dulaure's *Des Divinités Génératrices*.

H. A. ROSE.

15th August, 1906.

¹ "Among the lower class of Musalmāns, such as Oḍjars, and perhaps among the women of the village generally, the worship or propitiation of Miān Bibi is common. The Miān Bibi, the old man and his [two] wives, is represented on silver charms worn on the person, as a nude male figure attended by two females, one waving a fan (*chaurī*) over him, the other filling his tobacco pipe (*hugga*).” See extract in *North Indian Notes and Queries*, § 3 of Vol. IV.

QILT OF MIAN BIBI.



Charms showing Mian Bibi with attendants,
worn by devotees.

HINDUISM IN THE HIMALAYAS.

BY H. A. ROSE.

(Continued from Vol. XXXV. p. 252.)

III. — The Twenty-two *Tikās* of Jungā (Keonṭhal), near Simla.

THE State of Keonṭhal is one of the Simla Hill States in the Pañjāb, and its capital, Jungā, so called after the god of that name, lies only a few miles from Simla itself. Besides the main territory of the State, Keonṭhal is over-lord of five feudatory States, viz., Kōṭī, Theog, Madhān, Gūnd and Ratēsh. Excluding these States, it comprises six detached tracts, which are divided into eighteen *pargands*, thus:—

I. — Southern tract, comprising ten *pargands*:— (1) Fāgū, (2) Khālāshī, (3) Tir. Mahāsū, (4) Dharēch, in Fāgū *tahsīl*; (5) Ratēsh, (6) Karōli, (7) Jāī, (8) Parāli, (9) Jhajoṭ, (10) Kalāñj in Jungā *tahsīl*.

II. — Northern tract, which includes four *pargands* — (11) Shill, (12) Matīāna, (13) Rajāna, (14) ? Matīāna, in Fāgū *tahsīl*.

III. — *Pargand* Rāwin, and IV. — *Pargand* Pūnnar, forming Rāwin *tahsīl*.

V. — *Pargand* Rāmpur, and VI. — *Pargand* Wākṇā, in Jungā *tahsīl*.

The three *tahsīls* are modern Revenue divisions, but the 22 *pargandās* are ancient and correspond in number to the 22 *tikās*, which are described below. It does not appear, however, that each *pargand* has its *tikā* and the number may be a mere coincidence. The fondness for the Nos. 12, 22, 32, 42, 52, &c., in the Pañjāb, and, indeed, throughout India, is well-known, and goes back at least to Buddhist times.

The Simla Hill States form a network of feudal states with dependent feudatories subordinate to them and the jurisdictions of the local godlings afford a striking reflection of the political conditions, forming a complex network of cults, some superior, some subordinate. To complete the political analogy, the godlings often have their *wazīrs* or chief ministers and other officials. Perhaps the best illustration of this quasi-political organisation of the hill cults is afforded by the following account of the 22 *tikās* of Jungā. At its head stands Jungā's new cult. Jungā, it should be observed, is not the family god of the Rājā of Keonṭhal. That function is fulfilled by the Dēvi Tārā.²⁴

The Cult of Jungā.²⁵

Legend. — The Rājā of Kōṭlēhr had two sons, who dwelt in Nādaun. On the accession of the elder to the throne, they quarrelled, and the younger was expelled the State. With a few companions he set out for the hills and soon reached Jakho, near Simla. Thence they sought a suitable site for a residence, and found a level place at Thagwā in the Kōṭī State. Next morning the Mlān, or 'prince,' set out in a palanquin, but when they reached Sanjaulī, his companions found he had disappeared, and conjecturing that he had become a *dēotā*, returned to Thagwā, where they sought him in vain. They then took service with the people of that part. One night a man went out to watch his crop and, resting beneath a *kēmū* tree, heard a terrible voice from it say, "lest I fall down!" Panic-stricken he fled home, but another man volunteered to investigate the business and next night placed a piece of silk on the platform under the tree and took up his position in a corner. When he heard the voice, he rejoined "come down," whereupon the tree split in half and out of it a beautiful image fell on to the silk cloth. This the man took to his home and placed it in the upper

²⁴ An account of this will be found in Appendix I., attached to this paper.

²⁵ [The family likeness of the legends connected with these hill deities of the extreme North of India to those connected with the "devils" of the Tuluvas on the West Coast, very far to the South, is worthy of comparison by the student. See *Devil Worship of the Tuluvas*, ante, Vols. XXIII.—XXVI., 1894—1897.—Ed.]

storey, but it always came down to the lower one, so he sent for the astrologers, who told him the image was that of a *dēotā* who required a temple to live in. Then the people began to worship the image and appointed a *chēld*, through whom the god said he would select a place for his temple. So he was taken round the country, and when the news reached the companions of the Nādaun prince they joined the party. The god ordered temples to be built at Nain, Bojāri, Thonā, and Kōtī in succession, and indeed in every village he visited, until he reached Nādaun, where the Rājā, his brother, refused to allow any temple to be built, as he already had a family god of his own name, Jipūr. Jungā, the new god, said he would settle matters with Jipūr, and while the discussion was going on, he destroyed Jipūr's temple and all its images by lightning, whereupon the Rājā made Jungā his own deity and placed him in a house in his *darbār*.

Jipūr is not now worshipped in Keōnthāl, all his old temples being used as temples of Jungā who is worshipped in them. Nothing is known of Jipūr, except that he came in with the ruling family of Keōnthāl.²⁶ He appears to have been only a *jāthērd* or ancestor. Jungā has another temple at Pojarli, near Jungā, to which he is taken when a *jāg* is to be celebrated; or when an heir-apparent, '*ṭikā*,' is born to the Rājā, on which occasion a *jāgrā* is performed. On other occasions the images made subsequently are alone worshipped in this temple. The ritual is that observed in a Shiwālā and no sacrifice is offered. There are 22 *ṭikās* or "sons" of Jungā. None of these can celebrate a *jāg* or observe a festival without permission from the Jungā temple, and such permission is not given unless all the dues of Jungā's temple are paid. Thus Jungā is regarded as the real god and the others are his children.

The following are the 22 *ṭikās* of Jungā :—

1. Kalaur.	12. Kulthi.
2. Manūni.	13. Dhānūn.
3. Kanēti.	14. Dūm.
4. Dēo Chand.	15. Rāitā.
5. Shanēti.	16. Chānanā.
6. Mahānphā.	17. Gaun.
7. Tirū.	18. Bijū.
8. Khatēshwar.	19. Kusheli Deo.
9. Chaḍēi.	20. Bāl Deo.
10. Shanēi and Jāu	21. Rawal Deo.
11. Dhūrā.	22. Kawālī Deo.

1. The Cult of Kalaur.

Legend.—A Brāhman once fled from Kulthi and settled in Dawān, a village in *parganā* Ratēsh. There he incurred the enmity of a Kanēt woman, who put poison in his food. The Brāhman detected the poison, but went to a spot called Bangā Pānī, where there is water, in Dōraun *janḡal*, and there ate the food, arguing that if the woman meant to kill him she would do it sooner or later, and so died, invoking curses on the murderess. His body disappeared. In the Garhal kī-Dhār plain was a *bakhal* plant. One day a Brāhman of Garāwag observed that all the cows used to go to the plant and water it with their milk, so he got a spade and dug up the bush. He found under it a beautiful image (which still bears the mark of his spade) and took it home. When he told the people what had happened, they built a temple for the idol, and made the Brāhman its *pujārī*. But the image, which bore a strong resemblance to the Brāhman, who had died of the poisoned food, began to inflict disease upon the Kanēts of the place, so that several families perished. Thereupon, the people determined to bring in a stronger god or goddess to protect them from the image. Two Kanēts of the *parganā*, Dhēli and Chandī, were famed for their courage and strength, and so they were sent to Lāwī and Pālwī, two villages in Sirmūr State, disguised as *faqirs*, and, thence they

²⁶ Nevertheless Jungā is not the family god of the Rājās of Keōnthāl. A somewhat similar legend will be found in Appendix II. of this paper.

stole an *āṣṭa-bhāṣṭā*, 'eight-handed,' image of Dēvi, which they brought to Dhawar in Ratēsh. The people met them with music and made offerings to the stolen image, which they took to Walān, and there built a temple for it, ceasing to worship Kalaur. The plague also ceased. The people of one village, Gharēj, however, still affect Kalaur.

2. The Cult of Manūni.

Manūni is Mahādēo, and is so called because his first temple was on the hill of Manūn.

Legend. — A Brāhman of Parālī, in the Jamrōt *pargand* of the Patialā hill territory, a *pujārī* of Dēvi Dhār, and others, went to buy salt in Mandī, and on their way back, halted for the night in Māhūn Nāg's temple at Māhūn in the Sukēt State. The Brāhman and the *pujārī*, with some of the company who were of good caste, slept in the temple, the rest sleeping outside. The *pujārī* was a *chēla* of the god Dharto, at that time a famous *dēotā*, revered throughout the northern part of the Kōnthal State. On starting in the morning, a swarm of bees settled on the baggage of the Brāhman and the *pujārī*, and could not be driven off. When the party reached Munqā, where the temple of Hanūmān now stands, the swarm left the baggage and settled on a *bān* tree. Here, too, the *pujārī* fainted and was with difficulty taken home. The astrologers of the *pargand* decided that a god had come from Sukēt and wished to settle in that part, and that unless he were accommodated with a residence the *pujārī* would not recover. Meanwhile the *pujārī* became possessed by the god and began to nod his head and declare that those present must revere him (the god), or he would cause trouble. They replied that if he could overcome the god Dharto, they would not hesitate to abandon that god, though they had revered him for generations. Upon this 'a bolt from the blue' fell upon Dharto's temple and destroyed it, breaking all the idols, except one which was cast into a tank in a cave. The *pujārī* then led the people to Munqā, where the bees had settled and directed them to build a temple at the place where they found ants. Ants were duly found in a square place on Manūn hill, and a temple built in due course; but when only the roof remained to be built, a plank flew off and settled in Parālī. Upon this the *pujārī* said the temple must be built there, as the god had come with a Brāhman of that place, and so a second temple was built and the image placed in it. That at Manūn was also subsequently completed, and a third was erected at Kōtī Dhār. The cult also spread to Nala, in Patialā territory, and to Bhajji State, and temples were erected there. The Brāhmans of Parālī were appointed Bhōjki and the *pujārīs* of Kōtī Dhār *pujārīs* of the god. Meanwhile the image of Dharto remained in the tank into which it had fallen. It is said that a man used to cook a *rāt* (a large loaf) and throw it into the water as an offering, requesting the god to lend him utensils, which he needed to entertain his guests. This Dharto used to do, on the condition that the utensils were restored to the pool when done with. But one day the man borrowed 40 and only returned 35 plates, and since then the god has ceased to lend his crockery. Beside the god's image is another, that of a *bīr* or spirit, called **Tonda**. Tonda used to live at Parālī in a cave which was a water-mill, and if anyone visited the mill alone at night he used to become possessed by the *bīr*, and, unless promptly attended to, lose his life. But once the *pujārī* of Manūni went to the mill, and by the help of his god resisted the attempts of the *bīr* to possess him. In fact, he captured the *bīr*, and having laid him flat on the grind-stone sat on him. Upon this, the *bīr* promised to obey him in all matters if he spared his life, and so the *pujārī* asked him to come to the temple, promising to worship him there if he ceased to molest people. The *bīr* agreed and has now a separate place in the temple of Manūni, whose *wazīr* he has become.

3. The Cult of Kanēṭi.

Legend. — After the war of the *Māhabhārata*, when the Pāṇḍavas had retired to the Badrī Nāth hills to worship, they erected several temples and placed images in them. Amongst others they established Kanēṭi in a temple at Kwāra, on the borders of Garhwāl and Bashahr, and there are around this temple five villages, which are still known after the Pāṇḍavas. Dōḍra and Kwāra are two of these. The people of the former wanted to have a temple of their own, but those of Kwāra objected

and so enmity arose between them. The Dôdra people then stole an image from the Kwâra temple, but it disappeared and was found again in a pool in a cave. It then spoke by the mouth of its *chêla* and declared that it would not live at Dôdra and that the people must quit that place and accompany it elsewhere. So a body of men, Kanêts, Kôlis and Tûris, left Dôdra and reached Dagôn, in Keônthal State, where was the temple of Jîpûr, the god of the Râjâ's family. This temple the new god destroyed by lightning, and took possession of his residence. The men who had accompanied the god settled in this region and the cult of Kanêti prospered. Âichâ, a Brâhman, was then *wasîr* of Keônthal, and he made a vow that if his progeny increased, he would cease to worship Jîpûr and affect Kanêti. His descendants soon numbered 1,500 houses. Similarly, the Bhalêr tribe made a vow to Kanêti, that if their repute for courage increased, they would desert Jîpûr.

4. The Cult of Dêo Chand.

Legend. — Dêo Chand, the ancestor of the Khanôgô sept of the Kanêts, was *wasîr* of Keônthal and once wished to celebrate a *jag*, so he fixed on an auspicious day and asked for the loan of Jungâ's image. This the *pujâris* refused him, although they accepted his first invitation, and asked him to fix another day. Dêo Chand could not do this or induce the *pujâris* to lend him the image, so he got a blacksmith to make a new one, and celebrated the *jag*, placing the image, which he named Dêo Chand after himself, in a new temple. He proclaimed Dêo Chand subordinate to Jungâ, but in all other respects the temple is under separate management.

5. The Cult of Shanêti.

There are two groups of Kanêts, the Painôi or Painûi and the Shainti. Owing to some dispute with the *pujâris*, the Shaintis made a separate god for themselves and called him Shanêti.

6. The Cult of Mahânphâ.

The Chibhar Kanêts of Jâtil *pargand* borrowed an image of Jungâ and established a separate temple.

7. The Cult of Tîrû.

Legend. — Tîrû is the god of the Jatik people, who are a sept of the Brâhmins. A Tîrû Brâhman went to petition the Râjâ and was harshly treated, so he cut off his own head, whereupon his headless body danced for a time. The Brahmins then made an image of Tîrû and he is now worshipped as the *jathêra* of the Jâtiks.

8. The Cult of Khatôshwar.

The Brâhmins of Bhakar borrowed an image of Jungâ and built a separate temple for it at a place called Kûti, whence the god's name.

9. The Cult of Chadesi.

The Nawâwan sept of the Kanêts brought this god from *pargand* Ratêsh and built his temple at Charôl, whence the god's name.

10. The Cult of Shanêi and Jâû.

Jungâ on his birth made a tour through the Keônthal territory, and, having visited Shaint and Jâû villages, ordered temples to be built in each of them. Shanêi is subordinate to Jungâ, and Jâû to Shanêi. Both these temples are in the village of Kûti.

11. The Cult of Dhûrû.

A very ancient god of the Jai *pargand* of Keônthal. All the *samîndârs*, who affected Dhûrû, died childless. The temple is financed by the Râjâs and the god is subordinate to Jungâ.

12. The Cult of Kûlthi.

The Chibhar sept of the Kanêts affect this god. His temple is at a place called Kawâlath.

13. The Cult of Dhânûn.

Legend.—The image of this god came, borne on the wind, from Nâdaun after Jungâ's arrival in the country. It first alighted on Jhako and thence flew to Nêôg, where it hid under a rice-plant in a paddy-field. When the people cut the crop they spared this plant, and then turned their cattle into the fields. But all the cattle collected round the plant, from under which a serpent emerged and sucked all their milk. When the people found their cows had run dry, they suspected the cowherdess of having milked them, and set a man to watch her. He saw what occurred, and the woman then, enraged with the plant, endeavoured to dig it up, but found two beautiful images, (they both still bear the marks of her sickle). The larger of these two is considered the Râjâ and is called Dhânûn (? from Dhând, rice), and the smaller is deemed the *vazîr* and is called Wano (meaning "tyrant" in the Pahârî dialect). This was the image which assumed a serpent's shape and drained the cows. Two temples were erected to these images, but they began to oppress the people and compelled them to sacrifice a man every day, so the people of the *pargand* arranged for each family to supply its victim in turn. At last, weary of this tyranny, they called in a learned Brâhman of the Bharobo sept, who induced the god to content himself with a human sacrifice once a month, then twice and then once a year, then with a he-goat sacrificed monthly, and finally once every six months, on the *ikâdshîs* of Hâr and Khâtik *sudi*. The Brâhman's descendants are still *pujâris* of the temple and *parôhîts* of the village, and they held Bhiyâr free of revenue until Râjâ Chandr Sain resumed the grant. They now hold Sigar in lieu of service to the god.

14. The Cult of Dûm.

Dûm has a temple in Katian, a village of Phâgu *tahsil*, and goes on tour every five or ten years through Keônthal, Kuthâr, Mahlôg, Bashâhir, Kôṭ Khâi, Jubbal, Khanâr, Bâghal, Kôṭi and other States. In Sambat 1150 he visited Delhi, then under the rule of the Tuhwars, many of whom, after their defeat by the Chauhâns, fled to these hills, where they still affect the cult of Dûm. He is believed to possess miraculous powers and owns much gold and silver. He became subordinate to Jungâ, as the god of the State.

15. Râihâ.

This god has a temple in *pargana* Parâli.

16. Chananna.

He is the deity of the Doli Brâhmans.

17. Gâun.

The image is that of Jungâ, who was established by the Rawal people.

18. Bijû.

Bijû was originally subordinate to the god Bijat, but as he was in the Keônthal State, he became subordinate to Jungâ. His real name is Bijlêshwar Mahâdeo, or Mahâdeo the Lightning God, and his temple stands below Jori Chandni in the Jubbal State.

Nos. 19, 20, 21 and 22.

Regarding No. 19, Kûsheti Dêo; 20, Bâl Dêo; 21, Rawâl Dêo; and 22, Kawâl Dêo, no particulars have been discovered.

The Fairs.

It must be understood that the above are not the only cults which prevail in the Keônthal State. For instance, fairs called *jât* or *zât* are observed at Garên and Bhalâwag in this State, and, as will appear from the following accounts, other godlings are popular within its borders.

I. — The Zât Fair at Garên in Parganâ Ratêsh.

This fair is held on the 29th of Jêth. The images of the Dêvi Ratêsh and Kalwâ *déotâ* are brought in procession from the temple, where they are kept, to Garên, 400 or 500 persons accompanying them; and of these some 50 remain at Garên for the night, the rest returning home. By mid-day next day a great crowd of people collects, the men coming in bodies from opposite directions, each man armed with a bow and arrow and flourishing a *dângrâ* (axe), with a band of musicians preceding them. A man in one of these bodies shouts: — *Thadairi râ bhûkhâ, awau ji ghamak lûgi thî*.²⁷ *hô hô*, I hunger for a shooting-match: come, the fair has started; *hô, hô*. The others call out *hô hô* in reply. The tune called a *thadairi* is then sung, and matches are arranged between pairs of players. One champion advances with his arrow on the string of his bow, while the other places himself in front of him, keeping his legs moving, so as to avoid being hit. The archer's object is to hit his opponent below the knee, and if he succeeds in doing so he takes a *dângrâ* in his hand and dances, declaring that a lion's whelp was born in the house of his father at his home. The man who has been hit is allowed to sit down for a time to recover from the pain of the wound, and then he in turn takes a bow, and placing his hand on his opponent's shoulder says 'bravo, now it is my turn, beware of my arrow.' If he hit his opponent he, too, dances in the same way, but if he fail his victor dances again crying, 'how could the arrow of such a jackal hit a tiger's cub?' This goes on until one or the other is beaten. The matches are usually arranged between men who are at enmity with one another. The play lasts for two days. Sometimes disturbances break out. These used to be serious, even resulting in men being killed on either side, but nowadays a stop is put to the play, if a disturbance is feared, by pulling down the *déotâ's* flag, when the players desist of their own accord.

On the third day a goat and two buffaloes, all males, are sacrificed to Dêvi. The latter are killed in the same way as those at the Tarab Fair,²⁸ but the shambles are at a distance from the temple, and two picked men take their stand, one on the road to Fâgû, the other on that to Ratêsh, to prevent the wounded animals going towards their respective villages, as it is believed that it is unlucky for one of them to reach either village, and bloodshed often results from the attempts of the different parties to keep the animals away from their village. Efforts have been made to induce the people to allow the buffaloes to be killed by a single blow, but the *pujâris* will not allow this, as being the offsprings of Dêvi's enemies, they must be slaughtered with as much cruelty as possible. After this rite the people make offerings to Dêvi, the money going to the temple fund, while the other things, such as grain, goats, &c., are divided among the *pujâris*. The *chêlâ* of the Dêvi then begins to nod his head (*khêlud*, lit. to play), and taking some grains of rice in his hand, distributes them among the people, saying, 'you have celebrated my fair without disturbances, and I will protect you against all misfortunes throughout the year.' If, however, any disturbance has occurred during the fair, the offenders are made to pay a fine on the spot to obtain the Dêvi's pardon, otherwise it is believed that some dire catastrophe will befall them, necessitating the payment of a still heavier fine. The Dêvi passes the night at the fair, returning to her temple on the morning of the fourth day.

II. — The Jât Fair, Bhalâwag.

This fair is held at Bhalâwag on the first Sunday in Hâr. There is a legend that a *sâdhâ* once lived on the Châhal hill. He was famous for his miraculous feats, and was said to be a *sidh*. He built a small temple to Mahâdêo on the hill, and established a fair, which was held continuously for some years. The offerings made at the temple were utilized to meet the expenses of the institution. After the Gurkhâ conquest this tract was ceded to the Mahârâja of Patialâ in the time of Râjâ Raghunâth Sain. Once Rânâ Sansâr Sain visited the fair, but a dispute arose, and the Patialâ officials having used unbecoming words against the Rânâ, he removed the *ling* of Mahâdêo to his

²⁷ Lit., 'you hunger after archery, come on, since you itch for it.' *Thadairi*, fr. *thoda*, an arrow, means archery, and one of the tunes or modes of the hill music is so called, because it is played at archery meetings.

²⁸ [See Appendix I., below.]

own territory and established it at Bhalāwag, and since then the fair has been held there. It only lasts one day. The Rājā, with his Rānīs, &c., sets out with great pomp to the scene of the fair, the procession being headed by a band, and reaches the place about mid-day. People pour in from all parts, and by two in the afternoon the fair is in full swing. The Rājā takes his seat on the side of a tank, into which people dive and swim. A wild *leo* is also thrown into it as a scapegoat (*bhēt*) and some people throw money into it as an offering. In the temple of Mahādēo, *ghī*, grain, and money are offered by the people according to their means. The *pūjārīs* of the temple, who are Brāhmins, divide the offerings among themselves. Worship is performed there daily, and on the *śankrānt* days Brāhmins of other villages come there to worship. On the fair day worship is performed all day long. People also give the offerings they have vowed.

There is a legend about this tank, which is as follows :— Once a Brāhman committed suicide in a Rājā's *darbār*. In consequence of this *hatīyā* (a profane act, especially the killing of a Brāhman), the Rājā became accursed. He tried by all the means in his power to remove the curse, but in vain, for if he had a child born to him, it soon died, and though he performed worship and tried many charms and amulets, it was all of no avail. An astrologer then told him that as a *Brāhman-hatīyā* had been committed in his *darbār*, he would never be blessed with a son, unless he sank eighty-four tanks at different places in his realm for watering of kine. The Rājā accordingly constructed eighty-four tanks at different places in the hills from Tajaur to Mattiāna. Of these tanks some were very fine, and one of them is the tank in question. After making all the tanks, the Rājā sent for the builder, and, being much pleased with his work, gave him as a reward all that he asked for. But people then became envious of the kindness shown to him by the Rājā, fearing that he would be elevated to the rank of *musdhib* (courtier), and so they told the Rājā that if the builder did the same kind of work anywhere else, the Rājā's memory would not be perpetuated and that steps should be taken to prevent this. The Rājā said that this was good advice, and that, of course, he had already thought of it, so the builder was sent for, and although he tried to satisfy the Rājā that he would never make the same kind of tank at any other place, the Rājā paid no heed to his entreaties and had his right hand amputated. Thus disabled, the man remained helpless for some time, but having recovered, it struck him that with his skill he could do some work with his left hand, and he, accordingly, built two temples, one at Jāthlā Dēvi and the other at Sādū, both now places in Patialā territory. When the Rājā heard of this, he at once went to see the temples, and was so delighted with their work that he gave a reward to the builder, but at the same time had his other hand cut off, and the man died a few days after. It is said that after the making of the tanks, the Rājā celebrated a *jag* on a very large scale, and four years after was blessed with a *śikā* (son).

APPENDIX I.

Dēvi Tārā of Tārāb.

This Dēvi is the family deity of the Rājā of Keonjhal, and her arrival dates from the advent of the Rājā's family in this part of the hills. Her legend is as follows :— Tārā Nāth, a *jogī*, who had renounced the world and was possessed of miraculous power, came to Tārāb to practise austerities. He kindled his fire, *dhūnd*, in the jungle. When rain came, not a drop fell on his sitting place (*dsan*), and it remained dry. Hearing of the supernatural deeds of the *faqīr*, the Rājā went to visit him. The *jogī* told the Rājā to erect a temple to his goddess, Tārā Mai, on the hill, and to place her idol in it, predicting that this act would bring him much good, and that it was only with this object that he had taken up his abode on the hill. In compliance with these directions, the Rājā ordered a temple to be built, in which the *jogī* Tārā Nāth placed the Dēvi's idol according to the rules set forth in the Hindu *Śāstras* for *asthāpan*, 'establishing an idol.' The Paṭo Brāhmins, who attended the *jogī*, were appointed *pūjārīs* of the temple. This Dēvi has eighteen hands, in each of which she holds a weapon, such as a sword, spear, &c., and she is mounted on a tiger.* The hill on which the *jogī* resided had, before his arrival, another name, but it was re-named Tārāb after him.

As the Dēvi is the family deity of the Rājā, she is revered by all his subjects, and it is well known that whosoever worships the Dēvi will prosper in this world in all respects. It is also believed that she protects people against epidemics, such as cholera and small-pox. It is likewise believed that if the Dēvi be angry with anybody, she causes his cattle to be devoured by hyenas. The *zamīndārs* of *pargānā* Kalānj and Khushālā have the sincerest belief in the Dēvi. Whenever sickness breaks out, the people celebrate *jāgs* in her honour, and it is believed that pestilence is thus stayed. Some nine or ten years ago, when cholera appeared in the Simla District, some members of the *Jungā Darbār* fell victims to the disease, but the Rājā made a vow to the Dēvi, and all the people also prayed for health, whereupon the cholera disappeared. The people ascribe the death of those who died of it to the Dēvi's displeasure. Some four years ago, and again last year, small-pox visited *pargānā* Kalānj, but there was no loss of life. Some two or three years ago hyenas killed numbers of goats and sheep grazing in the jungles round Tārab, and the Dēvi revealed the cause of her displeasure to the people, who promised to celebrate a *jag* in her honour. Since then no loss has occurred.

Close to the temple of Dēvi is another, dedicated to Siva, which was erected at the instance of the *jōgī* Tara Nāth. The first temple of the Dēvi was at Ganpari village in *pargānā* Khushālā. This still exists, and the usual worship is performed in it. The Dēvi's original seat is considered to be Tārab. Her oldest image is a small one.

There is a legend that Rājā Balbīr Sain placed in the temple at Tārab an idol made by a blacksmith named Gosāūn, under the following circumstances:—One Bhawāni Dat, a *paṇḍit*, told Rājā Balbīr Sain that as Tārab was a sacred place he ought to present an idol to it, which he (the *paṇḍit*) would place in the temple according to the Hindu ritual, and he added that the idol would display miracles. Accordingly the Rājā ordered Gosāūn to make the idol required. The blacksmith made an earthen image of the shape suggested to him by the *paṇḍit*, who told the Rājā that while the idol was being moulded, he must offer five sacrifices. This the Rājā did not do, and moreover he had a brazen image prepared. Immediately after the blacksmith had completed his idol, he was attacked by a band of dacoits, who killed him with two of his companions, as well as a dog and a cat. Thus the five necessary sacrifices were fulfilled. The Rājā was then convinced of the veracity of the *paṇḍit*'s statement and acted thenceforward according to his directions. He performed all the requisite charities and sacrifices, and, having seated the idol, took it to Tārab. He performed several *havans* in the temple and placed (*asthāpan*) the idol in it. This Dēvi is the one who is mentioned in the *Chandīki-Pōthī* by Mārkaṇḍā Rishi, who killed Mahī Kahāshor.²⁰

The Fair of Dēvi Tārā is held at Tārab in October on the Durgā *ashtamī*, and lasts for a day. On the first *nauatrā*, the Brāhmins worship Durgā in the temple, and a he-goat is sacrificed daily, the Rājā bearing all expenses. On the morning of the *ashtamī*, the Rājā, with his Rānī and all his family, sets out from his court so as to reach the plain below the temple at ten in the morning, and there takes a meal; after which the whole Court goes in procession, preceded by a band of musicians, to the temple, which the Rājā, with the Rānī, enters at about one in the afternoon. The Rājā first offers a gold *mohar* and sacrifices a he-goat, and each member of his family does the same. Everyone presents from one to eight annas to the *bhōjki* and the *pujāri*. After the ruling family has made its offerings, other people may make theirs, and money, fruit, flowers, *ghā* and grain are given by everyone according to his means. The *bhōjki* and the *pujāri* divide the heads of the slaughtered goats, returning the rest of the flesh to the persons who offered them. This worship lasts till four, and then the sacrifice of bull-buffaloes begins. These are presented by the Rājā as *sankalp* or alms, and taken to a place not far from the temple, where a crowd of people surround them with sticks and hatchets in their hands. The *pujāri* first worships the animals, making a *tilak* with rice and saffron on their foreheads. Boiling water is then poured on them to make them shiver, and if that fails, cinders are placed on their backs. This is done to each animal in turn, and unless each one trembles from head to foot it is not sacrificed. The people

²⁰ [This reference clearly meant to be classical, and for Mahī Kahāshor read Mahīśāsura. — Ed.]

stand round entreating the Dēvi with clasped hands to accept the offerings, and when a buffalo shivers it is believed that the Dēvi has accepted his sacrifice. The people then shout '*Dēvi-jī kī jai, jai*,' 'victory to the Dēvi.' When all the buffaloes have been accepted by the Dēvi, the first is taken to the shambles and a man there wounds him with a sword. Then all the low-caste people, such as the Chamārs, Kōlis, Bharos, and Ahirs, pursue the animal, striking him with their clubs and hatchets and making a great outcry. Each buffalo is brutally and cruelly killed in this way, and it is considered a meritorious act to kill them as mercilessly as possible, and if the head of any buffalo is severed at the first stroke of the sword, it is regarded as an omen that some evil is impending, and that both the person who inflicts the blow and the one who makes the sacrifice will come to harm in the course of the ensuing year, the belief being, that as the buffaloes are the children of the Dēvi's enemies, it is fitting to kill them in this way.³⁰ After this sacrifice, food is offered to the Dēvi, and *ārtī* is performed at six in the evening.

The fair is the occasion of much merriment and even debauchery. Women of all classes attend, unless they are secluded (*pardā nishīn*), and those of loose character openly exact sweetmeats and money for the expenses of the fair, from their paramours, and put them publicly to shame if they do not pay. The plain is a *sanctuary*, and no one can be arrested on it for any offence, even by the Rājā, but offenders may be arrested as soon as they quit its boundaries and fined, the fines being credited to the temple funds. Offences are, however, mostly connived at. There is much drinking and a good deal of immorality, with a great many petty thefts. The Rājā, with his family, spends the night on the site of the fair. The *bhājī* and the *pujārī*, who, with the *bhandārī*, receive the offerings received at the fair, are Sarsūt Brāhmins of the Rai-Bhāt group, while the *bhandārī* is a Kanēt. Brāhman girls are also brought to this temple, where they worship and are fed, and also receive money and *dachhna* (*dakṣhna*).³¹

On the third day of the Dasahrā, the goddess is worshipped at 2 P.M., in the *darbār*, all the weapons being first taken out of the arsenal and worshipped, and then all the musical instruments. The essential worship is that of the sword and flag. After this the Rājā holds a *darbār* with full ceremonial and then visits the temple of **Thākurjī Lachhmi Nārāyan**, whence the image is brought in a palanquin, while the Rājā walks just behind it, attended by all his officials, in order of precedence, to the plain set apart for this festival. On this plain a heap of fuel³² is piled at a short distance from a green tree, which is adorned with small flags and round which is tied a wreath containing a rupee. The Rājā with unsheathed sword goes round the heap, followed by the rest of the people, and the heap is then worshipped and set fire to. It is essential that the *wazīr* of the State should be present at this ceremony, and if he is unavoidably absent, a representative, who wears an iron *sanjūd*, is appointed, and the heap is then fired. The man who cuts the wreath on the tree in the midst of the burning fire and takes the rupee is considered a hero, and his prosperity during the ensuing year is assured. Before the heap is fired, a pitcher of water with a mark on it is placed close by, and whoever hits the mark is deemed lucky, besides receiving a prize from the Rājā. If no one is able to hit it, the man who represents Hanūmān, and who accompanied the idol, smashes the pitcher with his mace. The image is then carried back to its temple with the same pomp as before, and a turban is given to the Rājā on behalf of the Thākurdwāra, while his attendants are given *bhōg* and *charnamrīt*.³³ Wreaths of flowers are then distributed. The festival is believed to commemorate the conquest of Ceylon by Rām Chandar, the ancestor of the Rājputs, which was accomplished after worshipping Dēvi.

A somewhat similar festival is the **Saār Fair held at Khaḍ Ashnī**: — On the morning of the first of Asauj, a barber, having lighted a lamp in a *thāl* (plate) and made an idol of Ganēsh in cow-dung, comes to the Rājā and his officials and makes them worship the idol. The Rājā and

³⁰ Mahī Khaḥwa, Mahisāsūra, who tormented the Dēvi, was a bull-buffalo, and, when he was killed, his descendants were metamorphosed into bull-buffaloes.

³¹ A fee for spiritual service.

³² The water with which the feet of the idol have been washed.

³³ The stack is called *lankā*.

officials then give him presents according to their means. In the afternoon, the Rājā gives alms, and, accompanied by a procession with a band and his Rānīs, sets out for Khaḍ Ashnī. The inhabitants of the neighbouring villages assemble there in thousands to enjoy the sight. Some fighting bull-buffaloes, which have been reared for the purpose, are brought to the fair the day before and fed up with *ghī*, &c. The Rājā himself rears six or eight buffaloes for this fair, and they are similarly prepared for the fight. The fair begins at one in the afternoon, when the he-buffaloes are set to fight in pairs, and the person whose buffalo wins is given a rupee as a reward by the Rājā. So long as the fight lasts, music is played.

The people at the fair distribute sweetmeats, &c., among their friends and relatives. Swings too are set up and the people revel in drink. They can commit disturbances with impunity, as no offenders are arrested on this occasion. Many people from Simla bring haberdashery for sale, and the articles are largely purchased by women. At five the people begin to disperse, and the Rājā returns to his *darbār*. About 6,000 or 7,000 persons assemble at this fair, and the Rājā distributes rewards among his servants on its termination. Its introduction is due to the Rājā, and it is not held in honour of any particular god. The place where the fight takes place is dedicated to the god Baḍmūn. Formerly rams were also made to fight, but now only bull-buffaloes are used. Before the commencement of the fight, a *rôt* is given to the god. This *rôt* is made of $5\frac{1}{4}$ *sērs* of flour, $5\frac{1}{4}$ of *gur*, and $5\frac{1}{4}$ of *ghī*. The flour is first kneaded in *sharbat* of *gur* and then made into a thick loaf, which is then fried in *ghī*. When it is cooked, it is taken with *dhūp*, *tilak*, flowers and rice to the place of the god, and after worship has been performed, it is divided in two, one piece being left at the temple and the other distributed among the people.

According to one legend, this fair was instituted by the forefathers of the Rājā, who originally came from Gauṛ in Bengal and were an offshoot of the Sain dynasty. This festival is also observed in that country. It is said that the Rājās of the Sain dynasty were the devotees (*upāsak*) of the Dēvī, who rejoices in fighting and the sacrifice of bull-buffaloes. Although this fiction is not generally accepted, the story is told by men of advanced age, and the late Rājā Maḍēr Sain also ascribed the fair to this origin. It is said that that Biru dēotā is the *vazīr* of the Dēvī, and therefore the fair is held at the place where there is a temple of the Dēvī or Biru. It is also said that the day of the fair is the anniversary of that on which Rājā Rām Chandar constructed the bridge to Ceylon, and that the fair is held in commemoration of that event. In the everyday speech of the hill people Biru dēotā is called Baḍmūn dēotā.

APPENDIX II.

The Goddess Ath-bhōjā of Dharēch.

Legend.—A Rājā of Kōtlēhr in the Kāngra District, named Jaspāl, had two sons. The elder succeeded to the throne, and the younger, in consequence of some dispute, quitted the dominions of his brother, went to the hills, and took the name of Gajindar Pāl. On leaving Kōtlēhr, he brought with him an eight-handed image from the fort of Kāngra, and came to Bhajjī, where he begot four sons, Chīṛū, Chānd, Lōgū, and Bhōgū. On his death, these four partitioned his dominions thus: Chīṛū took the *ilāqa* of Bhajjī, and Chānd that of Kōṭī, while Lōgū and Bhōgū received *parganā* Phāgū in *jāgīr*. The descendants of Chīṛū and Chānd are to this day the Rānās of Bhajjī and Kōṭī respectively. Bhōgū married, and three families of his descendants, Marchṭak, Phatīk, and Halīṭak, still exist in *parganā* Phāgū. Lōgū did not marry, but became a dacoit. In those days the country round Phāgū was under the Rānā of Ratēsh. Harassed by Lōgū's raids, the people complained to the Rānā, but Lōgū was strong and brave and the Rānā could not capture him. At last he commissioned a Chanāl¹⁴ to kill Lōgū, promising him a reward if he succeeded, but though the Chanāl pursued Lōgū for some time, he failed to seize him. Lōgū had a *liaison* with a Brāhman girl, and one day she was sitting with him under a tree, when the Chanāl chanced to pass by, and, taking Lōgū off his

¹⁴ Chanāl is a low caste in the hills.

guard, smote off his head and carried it to the Rānā, leaving his body at Hohān village, but the corpse of its owner accord went to Dhar, a village surrounded by a rampart and with only one entrance, which was closed at the time. The headless body pushed open the gate, and entered the village. When the people saw it all besmeared with blood, they were terrified and gathered together, but the body disappeared, and though they searched for it, they could not find it. At last they discovered a stone *pindlī* (an idol having no special shape). On consulting the astrologers, they were told, that, Logū had been transformed into a *dēvī* and that they should place (*asthāpan*) the *pindlī* in a temple and worship it as a god. Then Bhōgū and other *zamīndārs* established the eight-handed Dēvī, which Lōgū's father had brought from Kōtlēhr, at Kiliyā in Dhīraj village and placed Lōgū's *pindlī* in the jungle of Dāwān. The Brāhmans who had come with the Rājā of Kōtlēhr's sons were appointed *pūjārīs* of both deities, and it was then decided that Dēvī was the superior and that Lōgū was her subordinate. Shortly afterwards several brazen images of Lōgū were made and a handsome temple built to him in Bakhōg village, where he is daily worshipped. In Dāwān hamlet he is worshipped once every three years.

A fair is held at Dēvī's temple on the Durgā *ashtamī* day and at that of Lōgū on the Salōnā, i. e., the *pūranmāshī* of Sāwan *sudī*, and at the Diwālī in the month of Kātak.

(To be continued.)

AHMAD SHĀH, ABDĀLĪ, AND THE INDIAN WAZĪR, 'IMĀD-UL-MULK (1756-7).

(Contributed by William Irvine, late of the Bengal Civil Service.)

(Continued from p. 18.)

NEXT 'Imād-ul-mulk began to talk about the invasion of the Shāh and his own calamities at the coming of the Shāh to Shāhjahānābād, telling the story with all its details. His account was as follows:—

'IMĀD-UL-MULK'S STORY.

The daughter of Mīr Manūn, son of Nawāb Qamar-ud-dīn Khān, Muḥammad Shāh's *Wazīr*, was betrothed to me. Then Mīr Manūn met his death at Lāhor.¹⁶ His widow, by the medium of a woman in the Shāh's (the Abdālī's) family, with whom she had some sort of relationship or connection, wrote a letter to the Shāh, setting forth her unprotected condition. The Shāh was touched and said he would adopt Mīr Manūn's widow as his daughter. He ordered certain *jāgīrs* to be left in her possession and added some tracts of land as a gift from himself.

As Mīr Manūn's daughter had already been betrothed to me ('Imād-ul-mulk), her mother wrote to me: "The feast for the marriage of my daughter remains to be performed. You can either come here [Lāhor], or send for us [to Dihlī], so that this business may be carried through." But the Begam added that she could not come to Dihlī without the permission of the Shāh. In reply I wrote to her: "Get permission from the Shāh and come yourself to Shāhjahānābād." The Begam submitted this proposal to the Shāh, and permission to leave Lāhor having been granted, she reached Shāhjahānābād two years ago.

In the interval mention began to be made [to me, 'Imād-ul-mulk] of the daughter of 'Alī Qulī Khān; and the other matter [of the marriage to Mu'in-ul-mulk's daughter] was

¹⁶ Mu'in-ul-mulk (Manūn) met his death at Lāhor by a fall or by poison on the 9th or 10th Muḥarram, 1167 H., 3rd or 6th Nov. 1753. 'Imād-ul-mulk is telling the story in 1169 H., according to our author. The real date of this interview must have been, however, Jamādā II., 1170, end of February, or first week in March 1757; see B. M. Oriental MS. No 1749, ff. 102a-105b.

postponed for one year, and I was married to the daughter of 'Ali Quli Khān.¹⁷ After a year the Begam Sāhibah was sent for by the Shāh; and repeatedly his letters arrived summoning her. The answer she wrote was: "I came to Shāhjahānābād to see about the marriage of my daughter. Two years have elapsed while I have been sitting and waiting here and Ghiyāz-ud-dīn Khān [i. e., the person speaking, viz., 'Imād-ul-mulk] has never carried out the ceremony. Nay, he is on the point of making his first marriage with the daughter of 'Ali Quli Khān, the Six-fingered, the Dāghistāni; and her mother was a singing woman."

In reply to this letter the Shāh sent me an angry letter, and over and over again forwarded preremptory orders for the Begam to return to his Court. While this was going on, I had married 'Ali Quli Khān's daughter, and on this account the Begam Sāhibah was to some extent ill-disposed towards me. More than once she wrote to the Shāh that she had been involved in all these complications, yet up to that date her daughter had never been married, "but was still seated solitary at home."

The Shāh, upon the representations of the Begam Sāhibah, was greatly incensed against me in his heart. When the Shāh drew near to Dihli and was encamped at Shāhdarrah,¹⁸ I sent for Nawāb Najib Khān, and said: "We must deliver one battle against the Shāh." His answer was: "Pay me this day two *krors* of rupees, cash down, and I will fight." I replied: "Nothing is due to you by the State for your arrears and pay, seeing that in liquidation of your claims I have handed over to you more than one half of the territories. At a day's notice whence can I produce such a sum of money? This claim that you have announced is inconsistent with your loyalty as a subject."

Najib Khān and his followers raised a tumult and for a whole day barred exit from and ingress to my house, and pressed for payment of the above sum. Then, keeping the fact a secret from me, Najib Khān appointed one Rasūl Khan, Afghān, as his agent, and sent him to the Shāh's camp, where he was to act under the auspices of Jahān Khān, the Shāh's general-in-chief. That very same day a letter in the most cordial terms came from the Shāh, inviting Najib Khān to his camp.

At midnight Najib Khan came out of Dihli and marched off with his troops to the Shāh's camp, where he was presented through Jahān Khān and obtained a regal *khila't* (set of robes). I saw that in the realm of Hind there was no defender, I was left alone, "driven off from that side, and on this side, left forlorn,"¹⁹ exposed to dishonour and to death. Thus it seemed best to let come what come might, and go off in person to the Shāh. When it was one watch (three hours) before dawn, without informing any of my people, but taking my life in my hand, I got on to my horse, and, followed by four attendants, an hour and a half after sunrise I reached the tent of the chief minister, where I dismounted. The chief minister was most kind and took me to his arms. Then he called for breakfast for me. In every way he tried to comfort and reassure me. One of the family of the chief minister was related to my mother, and this lady, who was then travelling with him, heard of my arrival, and, following custom, sent out some one to ask how I was.

This conversation ended, the chief minister went away to see the Shāh and reported that 'Imād-ul-mulk Ghiyāz-ud-dīn Khān, the Wazir of Hindūstān, had left the capital and had reached his (the chief minister's) tent all alone, and was stopping there. He was waiting for permission to kiss the threshold of the Heaven-exalted Court.

¹⁷ Her name was Gannā Begam and her mother was a dancing-girl. A translation of one of her poems is to be found in Vol. I. of Sir William Jones' works. Her tomb is at Nūrābād, sixty-three miles south of Agra, and it bears the short inscription, 'āh, ghann-i-Gannā Begam' (1189 H., 1775-6). "Alas! weep for Gannā Begam."

¹⁸ On the left bank of the Jamnah, just opposite to Dihli.

¹⁹ *As ān sū rūndah, wa az in sū mūdah.*

An order issued: "Let him be brought." I went, and I saw that Najīb Khān, and Jahān Khān, and five other commanders were standing there with folded hands. As my offering I produced five gold coins, and a jewelled amulet, having mounted on it a diamond of great price.

The Shāh said: "Art thou Ghiyāz-ud-dīn Khān?" I replied: "I am he; a sinner and a transgressor." He said: "Thou wert *Wazīr* of Hindūstān, wherefore foughtest thou not with me?" I replied: "The Amīr-ul-umārā of Hindūstān was Najīb Khān. Behold, here he is present before the Shāh's throne. I said to him: 'We ought to fight one battle.' He paid no heed and, without reporting to me, left Dihlī and was honoured by admission to this Exalted Court. Except this noble there was within the realm no other renowned commander having an army. Thus, where was the army I could lead into battle?"

The Shāh said: "It is two years since I sent to you the daughter of Mīr Manūn, under her mother's charge, so that she might be married to you. Up to this day you have not been married to her. Repeatedly have I sent for the Begam of Mīr Manūn, she being my adopted daughter, and yet you never sent her to me. Over and above this neglect, you made your first marriage with the daughter of 'Alī Qulī Khān, whose mother was a dancing-woman, and yet you failed to carry out my orders."

I replied: "The Begam of Mīr Manūn caused me to record a written oath, sworn to upon the back of the Qur'ān, and took it away with her. It was to the effect that after I had married her daughter I would never marry another wife. Now, the daughter of 'Alī Qulī Khān had equally become betrothed to me, but when 'Alī Qulī Khān died, Shujā'-ud-daulah had endeavoured to get the girl for himself. Thus I was forced to consider my reputation and dignity and name, which were at stake; so I entered into my first marriage with her and thus avoided the breaking of the oath that the Begam Šāhibah had forced me to write out."

Upon this the Shāh said: "Intizām-ud-daulah (son of Qamar-ud-dīn Khān) has filed before me, through my *arzbegi*, Barkhūrdār Khān, an agreement under his own seal, offering two *krors* of rupees on condition that charge of the office of *Wazīr* in Hindūstān is made over to him. The rescript conferring the office of *Wazīr* in India has been written out, and only awaits the seal of my *Wazīr*. If thou agreeest to one *kror* of rupees, thou shalt be maintained as before in that office."

I said: "This slave could not lay his hands even upon one *lakh* of rupees. Whence can I produce a *kror*?" He (the Shāh) answered: "Thou canst bring it from Shāhjahānābād." I represented: "I could not collect a *kror* of broken pebble-stones there. What chance, then, of getting rupees?" He replied: "How much treasure hast thou stored in thy house?" I said: "Fourteen thousand rupees in cash, two thousand seven hundred gold coins, and four *lakhs* worth of jewels, silver vessels, and so forth. If it be so directed, I will send for them this day, and deliver them over to His Majesty's officials."

On this occasion a slight smile passed over the Shāh's face, and he said to Shāh Walī Khān, his chief minister: "This is the *Wazīr* of Hindūstān and you, too, are a *Wazīr*. Take him to your quarters and persuade him. If he agrees to a *kror* of rupees, then make out the rescript for the *Wazīr*'s office in his name, and maintain him in his old position." He presented me with robes of honour of the Qizzilbāsh style, six pieces in number, and a jewelled aigrette-holder, with a plume of feathers; then dismissing me, sent me away with his *Wazīr*.

Upon this we came back to the chief minister's tent. He pressed me to the utmost, and said the rescript appointing Intizām-ud-daulah to be *Wazīr* of Hind was already made out; only his (the chief minister's) signature and seal remained to be attached. Any sum that

I chose to promise he would get agreed to, and then would have the order made out in my name. "As the Shāh and I too" (he added), "on account of Mir Manūn, are inclined in heart towards you, we have made some delay in impressing the seal on the rescript for 'Intizām-ud-daulah.'"

I replied that absolutely I could not think of taking or attempting the *Wazīr*-ship in a State where there was no army and no treasure. Nor had I any power of laying hands upon a *lakh* of rupees. True kindness and condescension would, in my case, consist at this juncture in excusing me from such an undertaking. Under no conditions could I accept the office.

The chief minister once more went to the Shāh and made a representation of the case. Then and there the rescript for the office of *Wazīr* was completed in the name of Intizām-ud-daulah; and it was sent off to him at Shāhjahānābād by the hands of a *nasagchi*. Intizām-ud-daulah reeled with excitement, and ordered the kettle-drums to be beaten in honour of his appointment as *Wazīr*.

Two days afterwards the Shāh entered Shāhjahānābād. Five hundred horsemen were set apart to look after me and bring me with them. That same day, that on which the Shāh entered Dihli, he gave an order that the daughter of 'Alī Qulī Khān should be marched away from Shāhjahānābād and taken to Balkh. Accordingly, that very day their march began and their camp was pitched at the town of Bādli:

At the time of afternoon prayer the Shāh said to me: "This night the marriage ceremonies of Mir Manūn's daughter will be celebrated in my presence. Go away now, and when one watch of the night has passed, be ready for this business in accordance with your own customs, and appear then in my audience-hall." At the same moment he sent notice to the widow of Mir Manūn.

When one watch of the night had gone by, I appeared at the appointed place. Then, with his own auspicious hand, the Shāh applied *henna* to my palms, and caused the ritual of marriage to be carried out in his own presence. He said: "From this time I have taken you as my son; in every way let your heart be at rest." He conferred on me a gift of 5,000 rupees and two shawls he had worn himself. For this I made him my acknowledgments. Then I sent to the Begam 5,000 rupees on account of the Unveiling of the Bride. The Shāh said: "To-night remain where you are, you are a bridegroom." Then he was pleased to honour his own sleeping apartment.

The same day there came to the Shāh a petition from Rājā Sūraj Mall Jāt, to this effect. "This faithful one is a slave and a servant of your government. I entertain no ideas but those of submission and obedience. My hope from your mercy and grace is, that should an order of the Shāh secure the honour of issuing, I will place grass in my mouth and an axe upon my neck, and attend to kiss the Threshold, whereby my head will be raised from among my peers as high as the Seventh Heaven."

The order of the Shāh was: "Let it be written — 'Why delay for the issue of an order, if he is a true subject of the Empire, let him appear and attend our audience.'" Considering the offer of Sūraj Mall to be *bond fide*, the Shāh went off to his sleeping quarters and retired to rest.

When one watch of the night was left before daybreak, the Shāh arose and entered his oratory, and until the time came to say the morning prayers busied himself in reading portions of the Scripture (*waṣāif*) and recitation (*aurād*), and perusal of the Qurān. After

completion of the morning prayers, he entered the Hall of Public Audience and took his seat upon the throne. At one and a half hours after sunrise the emperor of India appeared, and they gave formal audience together, seated upon one throne.

The Shāh ordered Intizām-ud-daulah to be sent for, so that they might that day collect from him the first instalment of one *kror* of rupees. A general order was given to the *nasagchis* (a sort of military police) to visit the houses of the other nobles, — above all, that of Mir Jumlah, Šadr-ud-šudūr, who had a treasure-house containing trays upon trays full of gold, — and bring in them and their gold.

In fine, from that moment a strange uproar arose within the city, and cries reached the ear everywhere of "Bring gold! Bring gold!" An exceeding fear fell upon the dwellers in Shāhjahānābād.

The widow of Mir Manūn sent a message to me: "At this time the *nasagchis* have not given one moment's grace to Intizām-ud-daulah but have carried him off to the audience. A wooden triangle (*chobhāe qaiñchī*) has been erected with a view to punishment; and the Shāh has said that this day one *kror* of rupees, according to agreement, being one instalment, must be collected. If this is not done, he will issue an order for a beating with sticks."

On hearing these words I hastened off to the Hall of Public Audience, and, making my obeisance to the Shāh and to my own Sovereign, I remained standing in my due place. I saw that what the Begam Šāhibah had said was quite true. Intizām-ud-daulah, his face white as a sheet, was standing close to the triangle. In a short time the Shāh would have lost his temper and flown into a rage.

Going close up to Intizām-ud-daulah, I said softly: "What is the source whence you thought of getting the money?" He said: "By asking for time and forming plans; at this moment, beyond this one ring that I have on my finger, I have not control over even one rupee." Hearing this, appalling reply, my heart sunk within me; and I concluded that of a truth, this man has not the power of paying in even a few thousands of rupees. This day sees the end of the honour of the house of us Turānīs! Whatever force and torture may be used to this man, will, all of it, in the judgment of the common people, be attributed to me (Ghiyāz-ud-dīn Khān, because he has claimed the *Wazīr*-ship and displaced me. They will say I had planned that he should be either disgraced or slain."

Therefore, in the most abject manner, I laid my head at the foot of the Shāh's throne, and said: "May I be thy sacrifice! May I be the averter of thy misfortunes! This dignity and honour of the Turānīs, of so many years' standing, — alas! that in the days of a Shāh equal in dignity to Salaimān, they should be reduced to entire nothingness! and should become a laughing-stock to the Īrānīs! I rely upon the graciousness of the Shāhan Shāh, that as an alms-offering upon his blessed head, they may be preserved from dishonour and granted pardon."

The Shāh said: "This day will I have the money; I have heard that in the house of Qamar-ud-dīn Khān there lie stored twenty *krors* of rupees; and out of this accumulation this son of his has covenanted to pay two *krors*. I relinquished part, but this day I mean to realize one *kror*, be it by gentle means or by torture. Let the position of the treasure-store be pointed out; or, if not, I will order a bastonading."

Intizām-ud-daulah spoke: "Whatever treasure there was, my father caused to be buried within his mansion. The widow, Shu'lahpūrī Begam knows about it." Forthwith the Shāh ordered the Begam to be produced. Unable to resist, the poor Begam came to the Hall of Public Audience in a woman's litter with a dirty cloth thrown over it. There the Shāh screened off an enclosed space, and called the Begam to his own presence. He said to her: "Thou art as a sister to me; nor do I wish to shew any disrespect to the family of the sovereigns of Taimūr's line, or to that of their chief minister; you should give up their treasure."

The Begam was shaking and trembling all over, and quite unable to return any answer. An order was given that if the woman did not tell where the money was, iron nails were to be driven in underneath the nails of her hand. On hearing these words the poor creature lost her senses and fell down in a fit. Then Intizām-ud-daulah and I were called to the presence. The Shāh said: "Carry this woman away and place her on one side. Find out exactly where the store of money is."

To make a long story short. After a short time the Begam recovered her senses and said: "I am not able to specify the place where the treasure is. Only this much I know, that whatever there is of it is buried within a certain mansion." This statement I reported to the Shāh. He directed that the Begam be carried to that spot. One hundred axe-men and twenty *nasqchis* were placed on the duty of seeing the ground explored and recovering the treasures from it.

Thus, for six hours the earth was excavated, and at the end of that time the treasure was hit upon. When it had been counted, it was found to amount to sixteen *lakhs* in coin. A report was made to the Shāh that this amount of buried treasure had been disinterred. Since, according to Persian reckoning, one *lakh* is 30,000 rupees, while by Indian rules 100,000 rupees are called one *lakh*, the Shāh, following mentally the Persian mode of account, understood that something about one *kror* of rupees, more or less, had been seized.²⁰

After the recovery of this money, the Shāh pardoned all the transgressions of Intizām-ud-daulah and conferred on him robes of honour as *Wazir*, and uttered many apologies in connection with Shu'lahpūrī (Begam). Out of the money found he presented ten thousand rupees to the Begam. A general order was given that not a soul should slay, plunder, or oppress within the city of Shāhjahānābād. The Shāh rose and retired to his sleeping apartments.

On that day the slaves and camp-followers of the Shāh had gone out, by way of foraging, towards Farīdābād to bring in water and grass. It so chanced that Kunwar Juwāhir Singh, son of Sūraj Mall, Jāṭ and Shamsheer Bahādur,²¹ Marhattah, and Antā MānRhor, Marhattah, were about that time at fort Ballamgaḍh with five to six thousand men. They issued from the Ballamgaḍh fort and, coming upon the foragers, took them unawares, attacked them, and drove away one hundred and fifty horses, while some fifty to sixty of the men were killed. This event was reported to the Shāh the same evening.

That very moment the Shāh sent for 'Abd-us-samad Khān, who was the commander of thirty thousand horsemen, and whispered to him: "Without delay take out your men and go against the infidels. During the coming night select a hiding-place and go into *halush*

²⁰ The sum was really 53½ (Persian) *lakhs*, and thus not much more than half a *kror*.

²¹ Shamsheer Bahādur, son of Bājī Rāo, Peshwā, by a Muhammadan dancing-girl.

"Send on one hundred of your men in advance into the open country and induce the infidels to fall upon them. Your horsemen must engage them and, by alternately fighting and retreating, bring them gradually close to you. At that point come out of your ambush and offer them up as food to the relentless sword."

'Abd-us-ṣamad Khān did as he was told. Juwāhir Singh and the two Marhattah chiefs already mentioned, escaped alive with nine other men, and sought shelter within the fort of Ballamgaḍh, among the nine being one Hidāyat 'Alī Khān, *faujdar* of *chaklah* Shukohābād Manipuri, Bhoṅgām & cetera.²² When half a watch had passed after sunrise 'Abd-us-ṣamad Khān presented himself before the Shāh to make his obeisance, accompanied by about five hundred infidel heads carried on spears, and captured horses, with other goods and chattels. A jewelled aigrette and robes of honour were conferred on him.

The Shāh ordered his advance tents to be sent out and put up in the direction of Faridābād, stating that on the following day he would enter that place. To the emperor of India he said : "You should march along with me, so that wherever there are any rebellious or turbulent men, or any of your enemies, you may issue your credentials, and they shall receive thorough repression and be forced to give proper tribute. My purpose is this — that in order to reduce your kingdom to order, so far as by my hands it can be done, ample exertion of the most effective sort be brought into play."

The emperor brought forward unworthy objections, and declared then to the Shāh : "We desire that between us the ties of brotherhood should be set up, by the marriage of one of the royal ladies to His Majesty the Shāh." The Shāh replied : "I desire no disrespect to the House of 'Amir Tamūr." The emperor of Hindūstān became still more pressing in his request — nay, he said to the Shāh : "The longing of the whole body of Begams in the royal family is in secret that this should be done. What harm is there if the daughters of sovereigns are delivered to sovereigns. My pleasure will be consulted by this being carried out."

Therefore, that very night one of the daughters of Zinat Mahal was married to him. The Shāh treated this spouse with such honour and respect that he made her the head over all his other wives. After this ceremony the Shāh said to me : "Thou hast only lately been married. Stay where thou art." I answered : "This faithful one will remain in attendance on the felicitous Stirrup. If you allow, I will bring my family with me. Then, the connections of 'Alī Qulī Khān, who form part of the good fame of this slave, have, by the Royal orders, marched off to the town of Bādli, which lies five kos from Shāhjahānābād, on their journey to Balkh. On this subject I await, for the present, whatever you may be pleased to order."

The Shāh said : "Let them be brought back to Dilli. Let them be under the control of 'Umdah Begam. When I return to Wilāyat, whatever the widow of Mīr Manūn desires shall be done with them." I made my obeisance of thanks, and, in spite of the Shāh declining to take me with him, I managed somehow or other to march along with him, wanting to see what would happen.

['Imād-ul-mulk's narrative to Sher Andāz Khān ends.]

After this narrative was done, Ghiyāz-ud-dīn Khān asked the Mīr Šāhib, saying : "I should like to inspect the memoranda and requests of the Nawāb, my brother (that is to say, Ahmad

²² This Hidāyat 'Alī Khān may possibly have been the father of Ghulām Husain Khān, author of the *Siyar-ul-muta akhkhirīn*.

"Khān), to find out what matters he has prayed the Shāh to grant him." The writer at a sign from the Mīr Sāhib fetched the memoranda, which were with a servant in a bag, and handed them to him ('Imād-ul-mulk). After he had gone through them, he made alterations in several places. Thus, for "Shubāh Bangālāh six *krors* is offered" he wrote "four *krors*"; and for the Marhattāh country he altered "fifty *lakhs*" of rupees into "twenty *lakhs*," and in regard to the Audh Sūzāh he replaced "two *krors*" by "seventy *lakhs*." Other memoranda were prepared and made over to the Mīr Sāhib.

Let us return to our narrative. 'Imād-ul-mulk and the Mīr Sāhib were engaged in this conversation, when a messenger from the Shāh's audience ran up and said: "The chief minister has stated the business of Ahmad Bangash to the Shāh and his petition has been sent for, you must give it to me." Thus he carried off the petition in its bag. The Shāh himself read it, and reassured the chief minister; and two mounted *nasagchis* were sent off at once to fetch Jangbāz Khān, who had gone to the town of Mirāth. Their orders were to bring him back at once with all haste.

When the chief minister returned to his tent, he said to the Mīr Sāhib: "The Shah has interested himself in the highest degree in the affairs of Ahmad Khān, and has announced that whatever Ahmad Bangash has asked for should be granted." He would send Jangbāz Khān back with his (Ahmad Khān's) envoy. Accordingly, *nasagchis* had been despatched at once to Jangbāz Khān. In four days' time Jangbāz Khān will arrive. With regard to you (the Mīr Sāhib) he said that the next day being a halt, you are to be presented to him. The chief minister having thus reassured the Mīr Sāhib in the most perfect manner, sent him away. At noon he forwarded to the Mīr Sāhib one tray of fruit and four trays of food, when the Mīr Sāhib presented a gift of ten rupees to the minister's servants.

The next morning we attended at the quarters of the chief minister. The chief minister conducted the Mīr Sāhib to the Shāh's presence. The Shāh enquired: "You are a Sayyid?" He replied: "They call me so." The Shāh went on: "Sayyid, let your mind be easy; I have sent for Jangbāz Khān. In four days he will be here, and I will depute him to Farrukhābād in your company. Write to Ahmad Khān to begin making his plans, and he should be in every way without anxiety. I have entered these realms as an upholder of the Faith and a succourer of the Afghan tribes. My purpose is that the accursed group, the Marhattāhs, who have occupied the territories of that tribe (the Afghāns), shall, through the fear and power of the Lord, be uprooted and expelled by me."

The Mīr Sāhib made an obeisance of thanks and produced the list of presents and rarities. The things were all in the author's charge, he having attended in the Mīr Sāhib's train and being seated in the Shāh's audience-hall. An order was given to lay the things out for inspection. Mirzā Muṣṭafā, the Shāh's Secretary, came up to the author and placed the gold coins, *et cetera*, and the rest of the things in large and small trays, then laid them before the Shāh. The whole gift was accepted. He remarked: "The rupee of Farrukhābād is better looking and better made than that from any other place in India. I have heard that Ahmad, Bangash, is a man of valour, though, nowadays, the Marhattāhs have got hold of his territories. He ought to eject them, and please the Lord! it shall so come to pass, and I will make over the country as far as the border of Bangal to Ahmad Khān."

After this speech, he conferred on the Mīr Sāhib a robe of honour of seven pieces, together with a jewelled aigrette, a turban of a flowered pattern, a tight-fitting coat of shawl stuff, in addition to

a pleated over-gown and *yabāe* (?), with a flowered edging, a waistband of shawl-stuff, and a pair of shawls from *Tūs*.

At this point four *nasagchis* appeared and made some statement in the Turkī language. The Shāh's face flushed red, and he said in Persian: "Send for Jahān Khān." To Jahān Khān he said: "Take Najib Khān with you and march this very instant. Move into the boundaries of the accursed Jāt, and in every town and district held by him slay and plunder. The city of Mathurā is a holy place of the Hindūs, and I have heard that Sūraḥ Mall is there; let it be put entirely to the edge of the sword. To the best of your power leave nothing in that kingdom and country. Up to Akbarābād leave not a single place standing."

Jahān Khān made his obeisance and marched off the same day. Then he (the Shāh) directed the *nasagchis* to convey a general order to the army to plunder and slay at every place they reached. Any booty they acquired was made a free grant to them. Any person cutting off and bringing in heads of infidels should throw them down before the tent of the chief minister, wherewith to build a high tower. An account would be drawn up and five rupees per head would be paid them from the government funds. The next day the march for the territories of the Jāt began.

To the Mir Šāhib the Shāh said: "Sayyid, I have come as an upholder of Islām. The accursed generation of Marhattahs, how can they withstand me? I will sweep their very name out of this country. In my heart is a firm resolve to pursue them into the Dakhin regions. So long as you are with the army, come daily to make your bow without fail." Out of those gold coins he picked up ten and presented them to the Mir Šāhib, saying: "I present you with these by way of *ulash* (table money ?)," and then in the kindest way gave him leave to go.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

FURTHER TRACES OF TOTEMISM IN THE PANGAB.

THE following instances of clans or sections, both among Hindus and Muhammadans, which bear totemic names supplement those already published *ante*, Vol. XXXII. p. 201, 312 ff. Personally I am by no means convinced that totemism can be said to exist in the Pañjāb or North-West Frontier Province, since there is clearly no organised tribal system based on totemism, and most of the instances collected are explicable as *tubus* based on verbal resemblances, or as nicknames.

Khaggā. — From *khaggā*, a kind of fish, so called because their ancestor Jalālu'd-Din Khaggā saved a boat-load of people from drowning. Like the Bodlās, the Khaggās can cure hydrophobia by blowing.

Kahal. — From *kahi* or *kahil*, a weed. This tribe is found in Bahāwalpur, and is an offshoot of the religious tribe of the Chishtīs, with whom they still intermarry. They are fervent in

religious observances. Their origin is said to be that a child was born near the Indus, close to a *kahi* weed. They are quite distinct from the polygamous Kahals, who live on crocodiles, &c.

Labānā or Lobanā. — It is tempting to derive this name from *lān* (salt), and I think it means 'trader in grain,' but *labānā* is also 'an earth cricket, with formidable jaws,' and, in the South-West of the Pañjāb, people whose children have pimples, *pānī-watrā*, tied a *labānā* (or *pānī-watrā*, as the insect also seems to be called) round their necks, believing that a cure will result. It is said of the Labānās that a son was born to a Rāthor Rājput with moustaches, and so he was nicknamed Labānā, after the insect.

Sunārs. — Among the Mair Sunārs, four sections merit notice:—

Baggā. — The Baggā section claims descent from Rāō Chhabitā of Delhi, whose complexion was *baggā*, which means 'white' in Pañjābī, and hence their name.

The **Plaud** section claims descent from the saint Pallava, whose name is derived from *psallava*, or leaf, because he used to worship under the leaves of a banyan tree.

The **Masūn** claims descent from a child born when his mother became *safī*, at the *chhatī* or *masūn*. "burning-place."

The **Jaurā** section derives its origin from the simultaneous birth of a boy and a serpent called a *jaurī*.¹ The serpent died, but the boy survived, and his descendants, who are of this *gōt*, still reverence the serpent.

Brāhmans. — Among the Nagarkotīā Brāhmans of the Kāngra District certain snake sections have already been noted. In addition to these, the **Batehru** (**Pakkā** and **Kachehhā**) have the following sections :—

(i) **Chappal**,² an insect; no explanation is forthcoming.

(ii) **Sugga**,² a parrot; no explanation is forthcoming.

(iii) **Bhāngwaria**, fr. *bhāngār*,² a kind of tree.

(iv) **Khajūre Dogre**: Date-palm Dogar, a section founded by a man who planted a garden of date-palms, and which originated in the Dogra country on the borders of Jammū.

(v) **Ghābrū**,² a rascal; one who earns his living by fair means or foul.

Mahājans. — Among the **Mahājans** of Kāngra the following sections have been noted :—

(i) **Bherū**, said to be derived from *bedhī*, 'ewe'.

(ii) **Makkorpu**, said to be from *makki*, a bee.

(iii) **Kohāru**, an axe or chopper.

Ghirths. — Among the **Ghirths** of Kāngra the following may also be noted :—

(i) **Pathrālā**, founded by a leaf-seller (*pattā*, leaf).

(ii) **Khēra**, founded by a woman whose child was born under a *khēr* tree.

(iii) **Banyānū**, founded by a woman whose child was born under a *ban* or oak.

(iv) **Daddā**, founded by a woman whose child was born near a bamboo, and laid on the tree.

(v) **Khunlā**, an animal of some kind. The name was given to a child as a token of affection. Hence his descendants are still called by the name.

(vi) **Ladharia**, from *ladhār*, a kind of tree.

(vii) **Ghurl**, a wild goat; so-called because its progenitor cried like one.

(viii) **Khajūrā**, date-palm (cf. the Brāhman section of this name); so-called because its founder was born under a date-palm.

(ix) **Khattā**, from *khattā*, a kind of tree: for a similar reason.

Brāhmans. — In Ambālā the Brāhmans have two almost certainly totemistic sections :—

(i) **Pile Bheddi**, or yellow wolves; so-called because one of the ancestors was saved by a she-wolf, and so they now worship a wolf at weddings.

(ii) **Sarinhe**. — They are said to have once taken refuge under a *sarīn* tree, and they now show reverence to it.

Rājputs. — The Rājputs in this District have a *gōt* whose names (*sic*) end in *palis* (now corrupted into *Prakāsh*), because their ancestors, once in time of trouble took refuge under a *dhāk* tree. Their women still veil their faces before a *dhāk*, and it is also worshipped at marriages, &c., by them.

Jats. — In Miānwali, a district on the Indus, the Jats have a sept, which is thus described :—

The **Thinds**, who are owners in several villages near Leiah, say they were originally Chughattas, but a boy of that family was found by the Pir, greased or buttered all over, with insects clinging to him. The Pir said: "They have buttered you well," and he was called Thind thereafter.³

Chhtimbās. — The Chhtimbās of Māler Kotla have the four following *gōts*, regarding which no traditions are forthcoming :—

Daddū, frog or toad.	|	Khurpā, trowel.
Thuān, scorpion.		Laurā, penis.

Wasirs. — In Kohāt the custom among the **Wasirs** is that after the birth of the *first-born* child, the mother walks out of the house, and names the child after the object, such as a tree, animal, insect, &c., that first catches her sight. For instance, one tribe, the Gidar Khel, is so called after the jackal.

H. A. ROSE

May 31st, 1906.

¹ Lit., 'twin.'

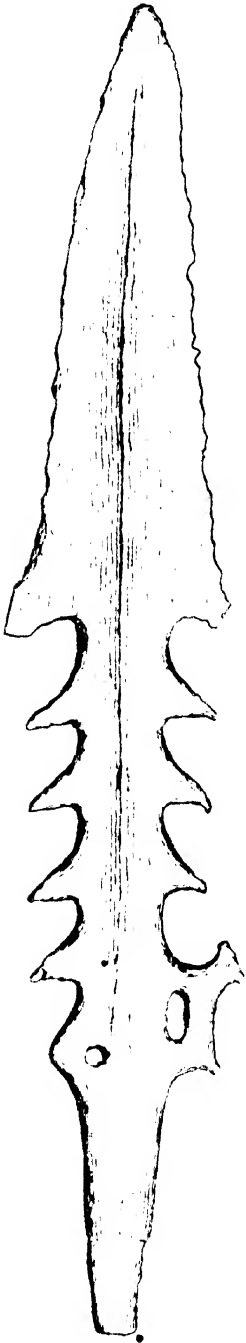
² Not in the *Punjab Dictionary* of Bhai Maya Singh.

³ *Thindā* = greasy or buttered: cf. p. 66 of O'Brien's *Multān Glossary*.

PREHISTORIC BRONZE IMPLEMENTS FROM INDIA.

Plate VII.

Bronze, (?) copper harpoon-head,
from India, presented in 1886
by Sir A. Cunningham to the
National Museum, Dublin.



Bronze, (?) copper implements from Parliar in União District.

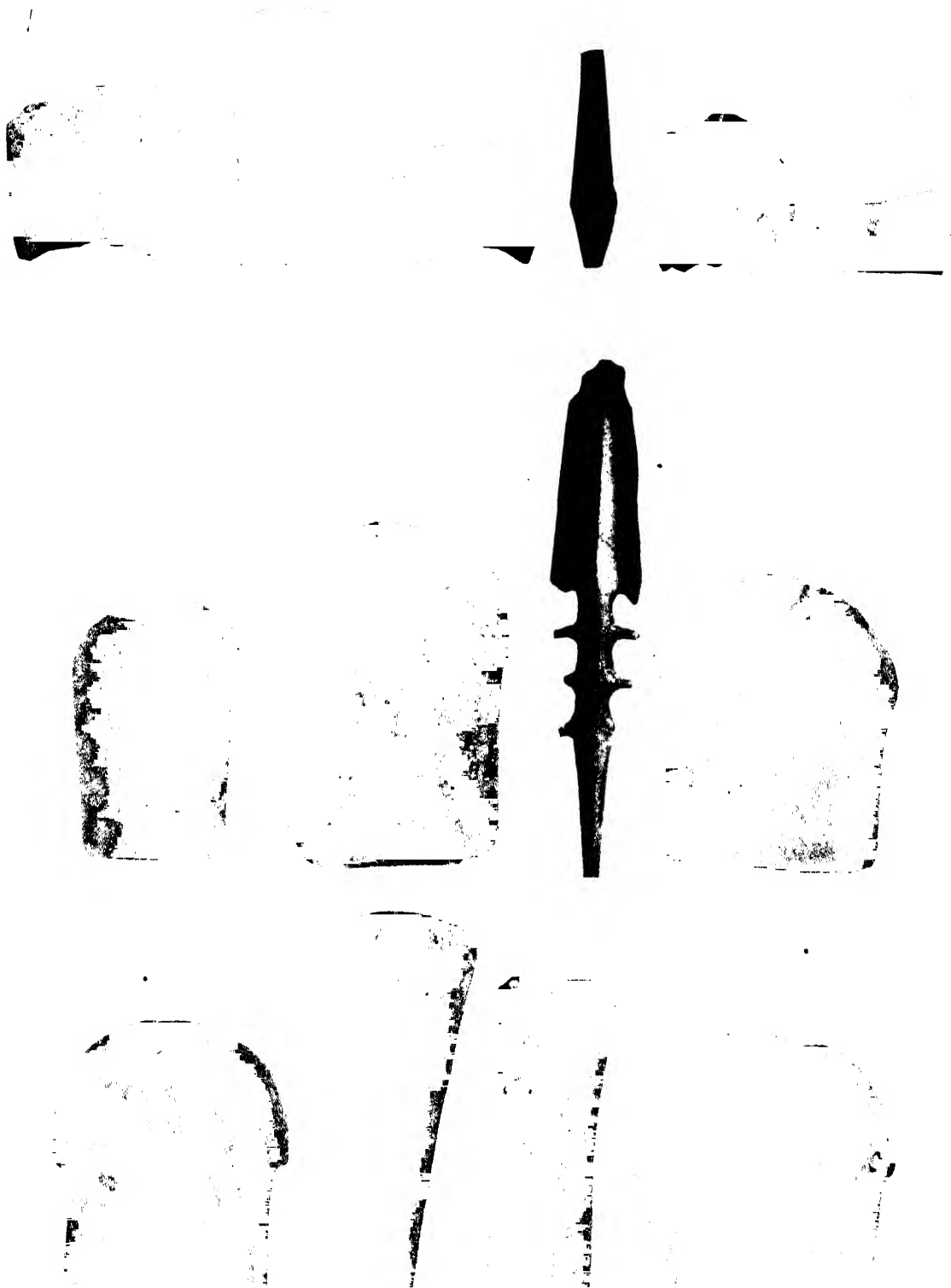


SCALE ABOUT ONE-QUARTER

PREHISTORIC BRONZE IMPLEMENTS FROM INDIA.

Plate VI.

Bronze, (?) copper implements from Bithūr or Brahmāvarta in Cawnpore District.



THE COPPER AGE AND PREHISTORIC BRONZE IMPLEMENTS OF INDIA — SUPPLEMENT.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.)

(Continued from Vol. XXXIV., p. 244.)

I PROPOSE in this short article to complete my review of the present state of knowledge concerning the copper age and prehistoric bronze implements of India by utilizing some materials which were not at my command last year.

In December 1904 Dr. Vogel, acting under instructions from the Director-General of Archaeology, deputed his Assistant, Paṇḍit Hirananda, to examine the site at Rājpur in the Bijnaur District, U. P., and to obtain photographs of copper or bronze implements reputed to exist at Bithûr or Brahmāvarṭta in the Cawnpore District, and at Pariār on the opposite bank of the Ganges in the Unāo District of Oudh. The Rājpur implements are fully illustrated in Plate I. of my former article. The photographs of the site, which Dr. Vogel has kindly sent me, show that it is a piece of waste ground adjoining a grove, and marked by a mound or tumulus, apparently of earth, a few feet in height. There is nothing sufficiently characteristic in the appearance of the spot to justify the expense of reproducing the photographs.

The town of Bithûr is situated on the Ganges, twelve miles to the north-west of Cawnpore. Local legend affirms that the god Brahmā celebrated his completion of the work of creation by a horse-sacrifice at the Brahmāvarṭta Ghāt. Dr. Führer states that 'numbers of ancient metal arrow-points are found in the soil around Bithûr, said to be relics of the time of Rāmachandra' (*Monum. Antiq., N.-W. P. and Oudh*, p. 168). By 'arrow-points' Dr. Führer meant the large objects which are more properly described as 'harpoon-heads.' Two specimens of this class and two 'flat celts' of primitive lithic type in the Lucknow Museum have been illustrated in Plate IV. of my former paper. The photographs supplied by Dr. Vogel (Plate VI.) now illustrate fourteen more objects from the same site. One of these is a harpoon or spear-head, with three points on each side below the blade, and the rest may be called varying forms of 'celts.' Four of these with broad rounded edges are slightly shouldered, and nearly related to the Midnāpur specimen previously figured in my Plate II., fig. 6. The narrow celts are obviously copies of common forms of stone implements. The bent implement, figured at the end of the top row of Plate VI., is a new form, but a duplicate of it occurs at Pariār (Plate VII.). Presumably all these Bithûr specimens are made of copper, not bronze, but without analysis it is impossible to be certain what their composition is. Dr. Vogel's Assistant has failed to report where the fourteen objects now photographed are preserved, but probably they are kept in a temple or temples.

Pariār is a village in the Unāo District of Oudh, on the Ganges, opposite Bithûr, fourteen miles to the north-west of Unāo, as indicated in the Map to my former article. Like Bithûr, it is sanctified by Brahmanical legends of the usual kind, and is frequented as a bathing-place. The great *jhil* or swamp, which almost surrounds the village, is called Mahnā, and probably represents an old river-bed. 'In the temple of Sōmēśvara Mahādēva on the banks of the *jhil* are collected a large number of metal arrow-heads said to have been used by the contending armies [of Lava and Kuśa, sons of Rāmachandra]; they are also occasionally picked up in the bed of the *jhil* and of the Ganges' (Führer, *op. cit.* p. 272, erroneously printed as 172 in my former paper, p. 237). The photographs now published evidently are those of implements preserved in the Pariār temple (Plate VII.). One implement, as already observed, is a shouldered celt like four specimens from Bithûr and one from Midnāpur, and another is a peculiar bent tool resembling a Bithûr specimen, and, I think, new to science. The paṇḍit unluckily omitted

to note the scale of his photographs, but in the *Progress Report of Panjáb and U. P. Circle for 1903-4*, p. 21, the dimensions of a Pariâr implement in photograph No. 114, now reproduced, are stated to be $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. This object must be the round-headed shouldered celt shown in the Plate, and the scale of the photograph, consequently, is approximately one-fourth of the originals.


In my previous paper (p. 243; 15 of reprint) I described 'a fine harpoon-head, presented by Sir Alexander Cunningham to the collections now in the National Museum, Dublin, and said to have been found **somewhere in India**. This weapon has four teeth, not recurved barbs, on each side below the blade, and the loop on one side of the tang, through which the thong attaching the head to the shaft was passed, is formed by the legs and body of a rudely-executed standing animal. The general appearance of this object, which is apparently made of bronze, not copper, is more modern than that of the copper implements from Northern India.' By the kindness of Mr. George Coffey, Curator of Antiquities in the Dublin Museum, I am now able to present a drawing of this unique implement, prepared by a member of his staff (Plate VII.). The implement may be, as I supposed in my previous paper, less ancient than the copper articles from Northern India and Gungeria, but, even if that be the case, it certainly dates from a period of very remote antiquity, and is characteristically Indian in form.

I conclude by quoting miscellaneous observations with which I have been favoured by correspondents interested in my previous paper. Canon Greenwell, the veteran archaeologist, writes: — 'I did not know that so many [copper implements] had been found in India. It is evident that there never was a **bronze cultivation** there. Indeed it cannot be said that there was ever any real development of a bronze cultivation, except in Western Europe. Assyria and Egypt certainly did not possess one; nor can Greece, the Islands, or Asia Minor be said to have brought it to any high pitch, though there are splendid specimens, such as the Mykenae blades. Still there is nothing like the fine swords, spear-heads, etc., so abundant in the United Kingdom, Denmark, France, Switzerland, and Italy. Hungary developed it certainly; but further east and south it never reached to any height, nor have many bronze weapons, etc., been found in those countries. Spain, too, is very poorly represented, which, as it had much traffic with the Eastern Mediterranean, seems to point to the bronze culture not having come through that channel. The Eastern origin of bronze and its development must be given up; and, so far as we have evidence at present, somewhere about the head waters of the Danube seems to be the most probable place of birth. But we want many more facts before any safe conclusion can be come to.' These weighty observations raise a big question which I am not prepared to discuss at present, but I may be permitted to feel some satisfaction at having had the opportunity of communicating to the scientific world a considerable body of facts to help in the final solution of the problems of the origin and extent of the so-called Bronze Age. Canon Greenwell is of opinion that the Dowie dagger or sword¹ is certainly prehistoric, and observes that 'the handle has something in common with the ordinary bronze sword.' He also thinks, and rightly, that the Norham harpoon was brought to England in modern times, probably by some sailor. He knows of 'several similar finds; Carib stone-axes and North American arrow-points have occurred in England,' and the way in which they came has been traced.

Professor Ridgeway of Cambridge alludes to Major Sikes' 'copper (for they can hardly be called bronze) axes, vessels, and curious rods with a curved end' from **Southern Persia**, which have been described by Canon Greenwell in the *Archæologia*, and were discussed at the York meeting of the British Association. Professor Ridgeway is inclined to think that these objects are of comparatively late date, the first century B. C., or even the first century A. D.

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV., p. 243, and reprint of the paper, p. 15, with figure.

This opinion is based on 'the very advanced character of the grooved work on the bottom of one of the vessels, and a similarly late description of the bottom, as well as shape, of the other'; supported by the fact that the owners of Major Sikes' objects buried their dead. I have not followed up these references. The Professor is anxious to get 'more data from Persia itself.' Perhaps some reader of the *Indian Antiquary* may be able to supply them. Professor Ridgeway possesses a copper arrow-head found in a grave near Koban in the Caucasus, associated with a bracelet and beads of glass, which seems to date from the second century A. D.

Mr. Gatty tells me that a copper celt, quite plain, and roughly made, was found some years ago by a keeper, under a heap of stones on the moors above Sheffield, in the parish of Bradfield. Mr. Gatty lived in that parish for twenty years, and collected flint implements, but never heard of any other copper or bronze article being found. The shape, so far as he remembers, was like this:—

These supplementary notes exhaust for the present all the information which I possess concerning the ancient copper and bronze antiquities of India. Perhaps the publication of them, like that of my previous paper, may attract the attention of observers and scholars interested in prehistoric archaeology, and help in the elucidation of problems now very obscure.

AHMAD SHĀH, ABDĀLĪ, AND THE INDIAN WAZĪR, 'IMĀD-UL-MULK (1756-7).

(Contributed by William Irvine, late of the Bengal Civil Service.)

(Continued from p. 51.)

Rubric. — The Shāh marches from Farjādābād towards the territory of Sūraj Mall, Jāt; he pitches his camp close to Sherkoṭ; on the same day at the request of 'Imād-ul-mulk he seizes by force the fort of Bullamgaḥ, which lay three *kos* from the camp, towards the left; flight of Juwāhir Singh, son of Sūraj Mall, Jāt, Shamsheer Bahādur, Marhaṭṭah, and Antā Mānkher, Marhaṭṭah, who were within that fort; slaughter of the rest of the garrison.

Be it known that the following was the order of the Shāh's march and encamping. One march was never more than five *kos*. When there remained one watch of the night he started; and performed his morning prayers upon his arrival at his advanced tents. He had not a single kettle-drum sounded, nor music at fixed hours, nor trumpets (*karrah-nāe*) and such like.

Before the Shāh mounted, twelve thousand special slaves assembled, three thousand on each side of the Shāh's tent. The title of these men was *Durrānt* (the pearl wearers), and from their ears hung gold rings, mounted with very large pearls. They remained drawn up in ranks at a distance of one hundred paces, seated on their horses. When the Shāh placed his foot in his stirrup, the twelve thousand slaves at one and at the same moment, with a single voice, shouted aloud: "Blessed be the Names, in the Name of God, peace be unto His Majesty the Shāh!" This sound rose to heaven and reached the ears of the army, thus enabling them to know that the Shāh had started. Then the rest of the army from that time got ready, and at the moment of dawn began its march, and reached its new quarters at one watch after daybreak. The general rule was to march one day and halt the next; but on some occasions there was a halt of even two days.

The mode of the Shāh's progress was as follows: The Shāh advanced alone amidst the ranks of his slaves, riding a horse, his sword slung from his shoulder, and his quiver on. There were four bodies of slaves, each of three thousand men, one division in front, one behind, and one on each side. Each division of them wore a hat of a different style. It was prohibited for a slave belonging to one division to ride with another division; he must keep with his own set. If by chance any one disobeyed the rule and the Shāh noticed him, the man received a beating so severe that he was left half-dead, or with perhaps only a gasp of life left in him.

All these slaves were well-made and good-looking, of white and red complexion, with gold-lace waistbelts and hats of flowered gold lace. On each side of the hat hung flowered-pattern tufts (*furrah-hāe*), towards the ears, near the cheeks. Their long sidelocks were in curls. Many of the slaves, those who were officers, had jewelled aigrette-holders with feathered plumes fixed on the top of the hat. They rode fast horses of Kābuli breed, and guided them, each in his own station, with a grave demeanour. They moved at the distance of a musket-shot from the Shāh's person, all their faces turned towards him. The Shāh rode alone in the middle, with an open space around him.

In whatever direction he chanced to glance, one slave holding a pipe and another bearing a porous bottle of water rushed up to him. Then the Shah would take the pipe-stem into his hand, rein in his horse, and proceed slowly. When done with his pipe, he would rinse his mouth three times with water from the bottle.

The treasure and the food supplies, the stores of clothes, and so forth were carried in the following manner. On the left flank, outside the ranks of the slaves, there were one hundred camels loaded with bread, baked and then dried, two hundred camels loaded with grain, this was called *sūrsāl*.²³ This grain was given out daily in allotted portions to the nobles and the servants of the Begams. On the right flank were two hundred camels loaded with clothes and vessels, silver pots, and so forth. Such treasure as there was came in the rear of the guard of slaves, which followed the Shāh; it was carried on mules and two-humped dromedaries.

Shāh Pasand *Khān* and Jangbāz *Khān*, with the *quwācht-bāshi*, were told off to the rear-guard and held command over its movements. The three thousand slaves, who rode in front as advance guard, fully armed and ready, bore each a lance whose head was either gilt or silver-plated, having a decorated (*muqiyash*) and fringed (*musalsal*) pennant. To the onlooker, owing to the multitude of lances, it seemed like the glittering of rain. In the rays of the sun the spearheads and pennants so shone, that you might imagine the stars were sparkling in the sky. It was wondrous as a garden in springtime, and a sight worth beholding.

On the day that the Shāh after the afternoon (*zuhr*) prayer set out to conquer the fort of Ballamgadh, the author in company of the Mir Sāhib [Sher Andāz *Khān*] was in attendance on His Majesty. By a lucky chance the ranks of those slaves formed up close to me. In whatever direction I looked, my eyes rested on countenances lovely as youthful Joseph, as if the slaves from Paradise, throng upon throng, had descended upon earth, and with their fairy-like dispositions were seated firmly in the saddle, thirsting for the blood of the children of Adam. By the Lord! I was so overcome that my head drooped to the pommel of my saddle.

A horseman named Mir Muḥammad 'Atā, by race a Barakki Sayyid, belonging to the troops of the 'Uṣmān *Khān* already mentioned, who, to a certain extent, was proficient in Arabic and Persian, and used to pay a daily visit to the Mir Sāhib, had set up a friendship with the author. At the time I have been speaking of, he was at my side. He exclaimed: "O So-and-so! What is the matter with thee? Thy complexion has turned saffron-colour and thy eyes red as the planet Mars. The hot rays of the sun have affected thee!" He offered me water from the *chāgal* or leather-bottle that he carried, and I re-opened my eyes. I answered: "I have no need of water"; and I repeated the following quatrain:

Quatrain.

*Ān roz kih ātash-i-muhabbat afrokht,
'Ashiq roshan-i-'ishq zi ma'shūq amokht;*

Az jānib-i-dost sar-zad īn soz wa gulāz,

Tā dar na girift-i-shamā' parwānah na sokht.

"The day when the fire of affection was kindled,
"The lover learnt from the loved-one the brightness of love;
"Through a friend arose this burning and melting,
"So that the butterfly should not fall into the lamp and burn."

²³ Turkish, "requisitions in kind levied from the enemy."

He said : " Say it over again ! What is it ? " I replied : " O brother ! seest thou not that this " crowd of lovely faces with white cheeks and rosy lips has brought affliction on my life and faith, " and robbed me of my heart ; and these dusky eyes with sword-wielding eyebrows and arrow-like " eyelashes, how they stab me as with daggers by their amorous and languishing glances, and spill " the blood from many hearts."

He gave a loud guffaw, and glancing towards them he brought forth a heavy sigh, and exclaimed : " Thou speakest truth, come on so that we may be closer to them. I am acquainted " and friendly with a number of them." I recited the couplet:—

Harzah-gard-i-bāgh chūn bulbul nayam; parwā- " A butterfly am I, no vagrant songster of the
nam, grove,
Mitawānam kard parwāzi, kih bas bāshad " I can wing my flight, and that is enough for
marū. me."

Two days afterwards the said Mīr, on some pretext or other, brought four of these slaves on a visit to the Mīr Šāhib; and to some extent an intimacy arose, and they came frequently. The Mīr Šāhib (God give him rest) treated them with great kindness, and feasted them and received them with civility. He even gave them money, as much perhaps as fifty rupees.

One of them sang Persian odes (*ghazal*) excellently, to the accompaniment of music, and possessed a heart-alluring singing voice. Every time he came there was a wonderful crowd. He got me to write him several *ghazals* and took them away with him.

One of them is the following:—

Ghazal.

<i>Turā, st qadd chū sarv, wa turā, st rūe chū māk,</i>	" Thou hast the cypress' waist, thou hast a moon-like face,
<i>Yake miyān-i-qubz, wa yake ba zer-i-kalāk,</i>	" The one girt in thy coat, the other showing below thy cap.
<i>Rabūdī az man jān, wa burdī az man dīl,</i>	" Thou hast robbed me of life, hast carried off my heart,
<i>Yake ba qadd chū sarv, wa yake ba rūe chū māk ;</i>	" One by this cypress-like waist, the other by this moon-like face :
<i>Khabar dahad lab-i-tū, wa nishān dahad ruh-i-man,</i>	" Thy lips tell a tale, and my face reveals it,
<i>Yake zi surkh-i-la'l, wa yake zi sard-i-gāh.</i>	" Those by their ruby redness, this by its hay-like pallor.
<i>Būd chū bakht wa qadam, chashm wa zulf-i-tū dā, im,</i>	" Be thy eyes and locks lasting like Fate and the Ages,
<i>Yake zi khwāb-i-nazhand, wa yake zi tāb-i-dū-tāh.</i>	" These by venerated sleep, those by their two-fold brightness.
<i>Zi darīd wa hāsrat-i-tū didah wa dīl-am har dār</i>	" From pain and grief of thee my eyes and heart for ever
<i>Yake mi-bārad khūn, wa yake bar-ārad āh :</i>	" The first rain blood, the other heaves a heavy sigh :
<i>Shudā, st mūe man as'ranj 'arāz, wa zulf-at,</i>	" By grief my hair is changed, while my locks
<i>Yake chū shir-i-sufed, wa yake chū qir-i-siyāh.</i>	" Are grown white as milk, thine still black as pitch."

Praise be to God ! Whither are my words wandering !

Hemistich.

Husn-i-in qissah 'ishq ast, dar daftar na mī- " The beauty of this tale is love, no volumes can
ganjad. contain it."

To return to the narrative. The retinue of the servants of the Bégams, which was called the retinue of the *Haram* of the Shāh, marched in the following order. After the morning prayers they started. Closed litters (*imārs*) were placed on camels; these had curtains of red broadcloth, some decorated, but most of them plain. On several of the camels were large closed litters, but on most of them two panniers (*kajāwah*), the furniture of which was also of scarlet broadcloth. There were about two hundred camels. In the midst of them, which was styled the *kalb*, or "heart," went fifteen to twenty persons, carried on *takhts*, or platforms, in the Hindūstāni manner, borne on the shoulders of *kahārs* (a caste of litter-carriers).

This procession, from the number of covered red litters, formed a sight worth seeing. In advance, at the distance of an arrow's flight, went five hundred mounted archers, and as an armed retinue (*qūr*) there followed one thousand horsemen. At five to six *gharis* ($1\frac{3}{4}$ to 2 hours) after sunrise they reached their encampment. The horsemen who came first gave a shout, using the words *Yurhā! Yurhā!* that is, "Withdraw on one side." In every lane and passage in the camp through which the retinue of the *Haram* took its way, every one, great and small, remained with his face covered by his skirt, until the last of the procession had gone by. If by chance any one ever glanced towards the retinue, one, two, or three horsemen would ride at him and without a pause most relentlessly thrash him. The retinue would take four or five *ghari* (90 to 112 minutes) to pass any given spot. All the people on their road, through the camp, were in a most extraordinary condition of apprehension, and you might say each of them was a man afflicted by God.

The camp of the Shāh was pitched in two portions. The first was the male and the other the female quarters. Between the two was left an open space of about the width of two or three arrows' flight. The female camp was called the *Haram*; the men's camp had two names; where the Shāh sat was styled *Khargāh*, and where the scribes of the office were placed was called the *Darikhānah*. In the screens of the *Khargāh*, facing the *Darikhānah*, there was one large entrance, constructed of wood, painted of an azure colour, and partly gilt, on which were beautiful flowers of many sorts depicted by the brush. On the top of the gateway was placed a large dome made of copper, two sides of which were gilt. This was called the *Qubba-i-Shāh* (the Shāh's cupola). It was so high that it could be seen at a distance of three to four leagues (9 to 12 miles?). If the light of the sun were over against it, it shone from afar, and the men in charge of the baggage train were guided by it to their destination. It was there that the Shāh's own tents would be found.

At each of the two wings of this entrance stood a large standard in a gold-embroidered scarlet broadcloth cover. From the top of each standard hung a bow upside down, and a flower-pattern cloth, *riz*, a waist-cloth, hung down from each end of it. To each bow notch a naked sword was attached to the bow-string (*chillah*). If a halt were ordered, the two swords were placed upright. If there was to be a march, then at nightfall, one sword was let down and placed upon the ground. These were the signals of a halt, or a march.

To go on with the story. When the Shāh marched from Faridūbād and reached his camp, the fort of Ballamgaḍh was three *kos* to the north. 'Imād-ul-mulk represented to him that the fort of Ballamgaḍh was close by, and the infidel Juwāhir Singh, son of Sūraj Mall, Jāt, with Shamsheer Babādur and Antā Mānkher, two Marhattah chiefs, were within the fort. His Majesty's wisest course was to detach a strong force to drive the fumes of overweeningness out of their heads.

The Shāh said: "My scheme is to uproot the forts of Dīg and Kumher. What is there for me "to attack in little forts like this?" He ('Imād-ul-mulk) represented: "If these rebellious "fellows did not happen to be in this fort alive, it would be of no importance. At this moment, when "the infidels have taken refuge so near to us, to leave them unmolested and continue our march, "will raise many suspicions."

The Shāh replied: "Take with you Afzal Khān, the Ghilzah, who is at the head of forty "thousand men, and invest the fort." 'Imād-ul-mulk and the said Khān arranged for the

investment of the fort. The garrison went on fighting with swivel-pieces and muskets until the hour of afternoon. The Shāh from moment to moment sent off express riders to ascertain progress. After the afternoon prayer the Shāh started himself and soon reached the spot. The Mīr Ṣāhib followed, and the author with him, as related above.

Then the Shāh in his own pure person inspected the fort from all four sides. He fixed on one direction and caused the ground to be measured with a rod up to the foot of the wall, and caused the cannon called *Kullah-i-khūnbārāh*²⁴ to be brought, and ordered it to be fired into the air. *Kullah-i-khūnbārāh* sent its charge up to heaven and it returned to earth within the fort. By concussion its two pieces, which were of iron in the shape of a large casket (*durj*), split asunder, and, wherever they went, reduced everything to splinters. What chance had a human being of standing against them! The firing continued for four or five *gharī* (1½ to 2 hours), the aim being constantly altered. Changing from one position to another, the balls were sent in one after another. In short, after the same fashion, four other mortars (*kullah*) were brought into action. A number of the infidels within the fort were killed, and great confusion arose there.

At this time the Shāh was engaged in the evening prayers, and continued to sit on his prayer-carpet till the time of sunset prayers (*namāz-i-maḡrib*), then night came on. All three chiefs of the infidels came out of the fort and slunk into the ravines adjoining the river Jaman (Jamnah). It was not known in what direction they had gone.

After the lapse of twenty to forty-five minutes, sounds not issuing any longer from the fort, the Shāh ordered it to be stormed. Strong bodies from all directions moved conjointly upon the gates in close formation and effected an entrance. The gates were broken open with axes, and all persons found within the fort were put to the sword. But of Juwāhir Singh and the others not a trace could be found. 'Imād-ul-mulk himself came into the fort and inspected the corpses one by one; but as he reported to the Shāh, the accursed one was not among them.

The skirmishers were ordered to keep a watch over the neighbourhood in all directions and take care that he (Juwāhir Singh) should not get away in safety. In spite of all their activity, no trace could be discovered. Some days afterwards, Hidāyat 'Alī Khān, *faujdar* of Shukohābād, was introduced to 'Imād-ul-mulk by the Mīr Ṣāhib. This *faujdar* told us he was in the fort with Juwāhir Singh. The Jāt chief, Shamsher Bahādur, Antā Mānker, and he (Hidāyat 'Alī Khān) dressed themselves in Qizilbāsh clothes, and, going through an underground chamber into the ditch of the fort, they threaded their way through the Shāh's troops, and hid in some ravines near the Jamnah river.

For two days and two nights they remained concealed in that spot, and got not a mouthful to eat. Such terror had overcome them that they would not emerge even to drink water from the river. When the Shāh had marched away, they came at night time by a route they knew before to a village, and there mounting a bullock-carriage reached a small fort in another village. There he (Hidāyat 'Alī Khān) went to sleep; where the other three vanished to he knew not. All he could find out from the guide was that ten matchlock-men and one horseman had come with three horses, and carried them in some direction or other.

To make a long story short, after the taking of Ballamgaḥ, the Shāh told 'Imād-ul-mulk to make out a list of all the cash and goods found in the fort, and produce it before him. Accordingly, there were found in the fort, twelve thousand rupees in coin, with pots and vessels of silver and copper, and gilt idols, 14 horses, 11 camels, clothing, grain, and much other goods. All this was confiscated. The grain was delivered to the *sūrsāt* (the food-supply department, see *ante*). Of the cash total five thousand rupees were given to Afzal Khān and two thousand to 'Imād-ul-mulk. Two camels were presented to the Mīr Ṣāhib. The Shāh made a two days' halt at this place and issued an order for slaughter and plundering.

²⁴ "The blood-shedding Heel," probably a mortar, and so named from its shortness or shape.

It was midnight when the camp followers went out to the attack. It was thus managed; one horseman mounted a horse and took ten to twenty others, each attached to the tail of the horse preceding it, and drove them just like a string of camels. When it was one watch after sunrise I saw them come back. Every horseman had loaded up all his horses with the plundered property, and atop of it rode the girl-captives and the slaves. The severed heads were tied up in rugs like bundles of grain and placed on the heads of the captives, who by the Abdālīs are called *Kannah*, and thus did they return to camp.

After afternoon prayer (*zuhr*) an order was given to carry the severed heads to the entrance gate of the chief minister's quarters, where they were to be entered in registers, and then built up into heaps and pillars. Each man, in accordance with the number of heads he had brought in, received, after they had been counted, five rupees a head from the State.

Then the heads were stuck upon lances and were taken to the gate of the chief minister. It was an extraordinary display! Wherever your glance fell nothing else was to be perceived but severed heads stuck upon lances, and the number could not be less than the stars in the heavens.

Daily did this manner of slaughter and plundering proceed: *Wa shab rū az faryād-i-zanān kih bah asīrī awardah, ba ānhā shūbat mī-kardand, goshhāz mardum kar mī-shudand*, It was a marvellous state of things, this slaying and capturing, and no whit inferior to the day of Last Judgment.

All those heads that had been cut off were built into pillars, and the men upon whose heads those bloody bundles had been brought in, were made to grind corn, and then, when the reckoning was made up, their heads, too, were cut off. These things went on all the way to the city of Akbarābād, nor was any part of the country spared.

In addition to all this, five thousand Rohelah foot soldiers had joined the army. Each man procured some thirty to forty buffaloes. The plundered goods, such as jewels and clothes, they loaded upon these buffaloes, and established a market of their own within the camp, where they sold all these things at low prices. Cloth goods worth ten rupees they sold at one rupee, and those worth one rupee for eighty *tankah*. Copper and other vessels that had been broken up were strewed along the route of the army and no one stooped to pick them up. Excepting gold and silver nothing was carried away.

In this manner Jahān Khān and Najib Khān went on ahead of us, as far as Mathurā. The towns of Mathurā and Bindrāban were subjected to a general slaughter, and completely plundered. The latter is a principal holy place of the Hindūs, situated upon the bank of the Jamnah; it is in the territory of the Jāt.

On the day that the Shāh marched from Shergaḏh, after the reduction of Ballamgaḏh, he pitched his camp near Ḥasanpur and Nadinah. The same day Jangbāz Khān arrived from Mīraṭh, bringing with him much booty. Among other things were four elephants, loaded up with silver only, seventy-six horses, and a quantity of other property. The whole was produced for the Shāh's inspection.

As to the plundered elephants and palanquins it was remarked that these two modes of travelling were specially used by the emperors and nobles of Hindūstān. The Shāh said, elephants were admirable means of baggage transport. But a mount, the control of which is not in the hands of the rider, and it can carry him whither it wills, should not be resorted to; while a litter is only suitable for a sick man.

Afterwards Jangbāz Khān was given robes of honour and a jewelled plume-holder. He was told that an envoy sent by Ghazanfar Jang, Ahmad Bangash, had arrived at Court; and he agrees to such and such an amount of tribute, and prays that some commander, with some properly qualified claimant (*tūrah*), be sent by the Shāh to reinforce him, so that out of dread of the Abdālī might, his

enemies may withdraw from his territories. Patents for the provinces of Andh and Bangālāh were in preparation in his (Ahmad Khān's) name. "Thou, who art of his tribe, hast been asked for, and as I look on you as my son, I wish to send you for the execution of this project in the place of any princely heir. I follow after you stage by stage."

Jangbāz Khān assented, made his obeisance, and straightway sought the chief minister at his tent. Mir Sher Andāz Khān was sent for. The papers stating the demands of Ahmad Khān were read. Then he (Jangbāz Khān) said to the chief minister: "I command no more than five thousand horsemen, while Ahmad Khān has not much of an army, nor any funds. How can I eject the Marhattahs or occupy *sudāh* Andh? Shujā-ud-daulah possesses a treasury and an army, and is the governor of that province. The same thing applies to the territory of Bengal. Thus, the undertaking of these enterprises is opposed to reason and wisdom. I decline to go."

The chief minister said: "When you were in front of the Shāh you accepted and then left his audience without a protest. Now you are raising difficulties. What does this mean?" Jangbāz Khān answered: "I was unable to say these words to the Shāh himself." Then 'Imād-ul-mulk intervened, saying: "The army is part of the provincial government. Whenever the province has been made over to Ahmad Khān, he can collect as many troops as ever he likes. The whole race of the Afghāns form his army, there must be two hundred thousand fighting men of his tribe. You are only nominally required to impress people with dread of the Shāh. Knowing you to be a brother of the same race as himself, Ahmad Khān applied for you."

Jangbāz Khān would not agree but continued to give a flat refusal. The chief *Wazīr* carried his words to the Shāh. His order upon this report was to send 'Abu-n-ṣamad Khān instead. The chief minister told the Mir Šāhib what order the Shāh had given, and asked him to write about it to Ahmad Khān, and call upon him to state his views. The Mir Šāhib pointed out that what Ghāzanfar Jang (Ahmad Khān) wanted was the nomination of some prince of the imperial family — as for the rest, he would see to it himself. 'Abd-n-ṣamad Khān commanded thirty thousand horse, and for the time being the daily expenses of such a force could not be provided. For this reason he indicated Jangbāz Khān, whose force is only five thousand men.

Then the Mir Šāhib proceeded to the tent of Jangbāz Khān and presented the shawls, *et cetera*, the gifts intended for him, as previously detailed. Out of the whole present he accepted only a pair of shawls and returned the rest, saying: "Nawāb Ghāzanfar Jang is the chief man of my tribe, out of politeness I accept a pair of shawls. I am no king or minister that I should extend my foot beyond my dug station." The Mir Šāhib insisted much, but not another article did he accept. As to marching himself, he absolutely declined to do so.

Two days passed in this fruitless discussion. On the third day, when the Shāh happened to make a halt at one of the camps, 'Imād-ul-mulk and the Mir Šāhib laid before him the proposal that he (the Shāh) in person should march as far as the town of Mathurā, and there make some stay. Then whatever Ahmad Khān proposed, if it seemed advisable, could be carried out. The Shāh said: "It is well."

Bubric. — March of the Shāh towards Mathurā on the representation of Mir Sher Andāz Khān, and after reaching it and making a seven days' halt, he starts on his return to his own country.

On the day that the Shāh entered the neighbourhood of Mathurā, he crossed the Jamnah and encamped near Mahmān (Mahābān?), where there is a *sarāe*, built by one Sayyid 'Abd-un-nabī,²⁵ and it goes also by the name of Sarāe Nabī; it lies two *kos* to the east of Mathurā.

²⁵ He was made *faujdar* of Mathurā on the 16th Rabi' II., 1079 H. (26th September 1668), and was killed in an attack on a Jāt fort upon the 21st Zuhl Hijjah of the same year (24th May, 1669), *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgiri*, 74, 93.

En route the Mir Sāhib paid a visit to Najib Khān, who was at Bindrāban with Jahān Khān. These two nobles had marched fourteen days earlier, and had carried out a general slaughter in the country round Mathurā and Bindrāban, and had halted there. The author went with him (Sher Andāz Khān). Wherever you gazed you beheld heaps of slain; you could only pick your way with difficulty, owing to the quantity of bodies lying about and the amount of blood spilt. At one place we reached, we saw about two hundred dead children lying in a heap. Not one of the dead bodies had a head. In short, we reached the quarters of Najib Khān and sat there some three quarters of an hour. The stench and fetor and effluvia in the air were such that it was painful to open your mouth or even draw a breath. Every one held his nose and stopped his mouth with his handkerchief while he spoke. The Mir Sāhib said to Najib Khān: "How can you relish your 'food or a drink of water?' " He replied: "What can I do, I am under the Shāh's orders; in 'default of his order I can move nowhere.'"

When I got to the town of Mathurā I saw exactly the same state of things. Everywhere in lane and bazar lay the headless trunks of the slain; and the whole city was burning. Many buildings had been knocked down. A naked man emerged from the ruins and asked me for a little food. I gave him some money and asked: "Who art thou?" He said: "I am a Musulmān, I was a 'dealer in jewellery, my shop was a large one. In addition to precious stones and engraved and 'mounted goods, I had 4,000 rupees in cash in the shop. On the day of the slaughter the Shāh's 'army suddenly appeared, when nobody had the least expectation of them; it was at dawn. 'A horseman, drawn sword in hand, came at me and tried to kill me. I said I was a Musulmān. He 'said: 'Disclose your privities.' I undid my cloth. He continued: 'Whatever cash you have, 'give to me that I may spare your life.' I gave him my 4,000 rupees. Another came and cut me 'on the stomach with his sabre. I fled and hid in a corner. My shop was emptied. For several 'days past I have had nothing to eat, but a few uncooked grains of corn. Camp followers come 'in day after day and knock down the houses. In many places buried treasure is discovered and 'carried off. But still there are hoards left in other places not yet found by any one. If you can 'take me to the camp with you and place men at my disposal, I will point out the hoards.'"

In brief, I made over to him a sheet to cover him, and brought him with me. When I reached the bank of the Jamnah, I found it was fordable. The water flowing past was of a yellowish colour, as if polluted by blood. The man said: "For seven days following the general slaughter, the water 'flowed of a blood-red colour. Now fourteen days have elapsed, and the colour of the water has 'turned yellow." At the edge of the stream I saw a number of Bairāgi and Suniyāsi huts, huddled close together. These men are ascetics of the Hindū faith. In each hut lay a severed head with the head of a dead cow applied to its mouth and tied to it with a rope round its neck.

To continue my story. I brought the man above referred to with me and produced him before the Mir Sāhib. The next morning, with the permission of the chief minister and 'Imād-ul-mulk, ten horseman of 'Uṣmān Khān's regiment were sent with him and several axe-men. He took them to a house. After they had applied their axes once or twice, a box was uncovered. It held two hundred gold coins, several pieces of diamond, half a *sér's* weight of jewelled ornaments, and the same quantity of plain gold ornaments. After that, several other places were broken open, but nothing was discovered.

We came back and displayed the property before the chief minister. The *Wazīr* made a sign to the Mir Sāhib saying: "Half I give to you and 'Imād-ul-mulk, half is mine." The Mir Sāhib represented that he had never accepted plundered property. "All belongs to Your Lordship, for 'you have come from your own country with the intent of upholding the Faith and expelling the 'infidel. You are engaged in a Holy War, and this is a special holy place of the infidel." The minister rejoined: "Well, I give it you from myself." But the Mir Sāhib still refused.

On the next day the Mir Sāhib attended the Shāh's audience. The Shāh was inspecting the lists of booty from Mathurā that had been drawn up by Jahān Khān. After he had done this, he

conferred robes on Jahān Khān and Najīb Khān, and told them to move on to Akbarābād, where there were many wealthy men, who are subjects of the Jāt. These must be either slain or made captives, and all their property seized and delivered over to the officials of his government. That same day they made their first march towards Akbarābād.

At the same audience the Shāh said: "Is there any one who can compose a rhyme on this 'victory; the meaning must be that I have given Islām peace from the oppression of the infidel, the words *durr-i-durrānī* to be included in the date-giving line." You must understand that the Shāh styled himself *Durr-i-Durrānī*.²⁶ At the head of his missives, instead of his own name, he wrote these words in gold ink with his own hand.

In the Shāh's army was an Afghān poet, a native of Kābul, whom he knew by sight. His name was Khawās Khān, and his pen-name was Bezhan. The teaching of Prince Taimūr Shāh was confided to him. The Shāh sent for this man and instructed him as to what he wanted, telling him to reflect on it and bring him the result. The Mīr Sāhib told this story to me.

Next day the Mīr Sāhib was at the quarters of 'Imād-ul-mulk. There Khawās Khān said that two days had gone by and he was still puzzling over that chronogram and the expressions required in it by the Shāh. He could not get it into shape. The Mīr Sāhib began to speak of me and then sent for me. I went to the place. 'Imād-ul-mulk said to me: "You, too, must try to think this 'out.' I gave no reply. He went on: "Certainly — you must have a try." I answered: "I have no choice left; but I must have till to-morrow to prepare it, and I will then produce it."

That same day I set to work and got the hemistich for the date, and then composed a strophe of two couplets, which I made over to the Mīr Sāhib. The hemistich for the date is:

Bu Hind āiman namūd Islām Shāh-i-durr-i-durrānī

1169 H.

"The King of Islām, the pearl of pearls, brought peace to India."

The morning afterwards, the Mīr Sāhib stated to 'Imād-ul-mulk that So-and-so (*i. e.*, the author), after reflecting two or three hours, had written this chronogram in a rhymed strophe. 'Imād-ul-mulk inspected it and approved it highly; then he said it was very excellently written and quite perfect. He sent for the writer and said to me: "Your Mīr Sāhib wishes to place this 'chronogram before the Shāh, while I say it is not wise to do so; for this reason that the Shāh 'will summon you to his presence, and will doubtless present you with a robe (*hullah*), but he is 'sure to say also, 'Remain in attendance on me.' He will appoint a monthly salary and rations, 'and carry you off with him. What are your ideas about this?" I repeated this hemistich—

Āi roshnā, i-i-ṭaba'! tu bar man balā shud!

"O sharpness of wit! thou art my damnation,"

and held my tongue. After a moment or two 'Imād-ul-mulk made a sign again to me, and said: "What is your wish, speak." I replied: "This loyal servant obeying your exalted order brought forth 'moist and dry' (*raṭb yābis?*). So long as the Mīr Sāhib does not turn me away, men 'may offer me *lakhs* of rupees, and I would not leave him." He answered: "The men of towns, in 'particular of those round Lakhnau, who are famed throughout the realm for their noble descent and 'valour, are extraordinary creatures, full of airs and graces (*bā ān o bān*)."

²⁶ "Pearl of Pearls." No doubt he, like the rest, had worn in his ear a gold ring, mounted with a pearl, when one of the household slaves of Nādir Shāh. Before he rose to power a *fāqīr* had prophesied his success, and styled him *Durr-i-durrānī*, "Pearl of Pearls." Hence his epithet of the *Durrānī*, "the man of the Pearls."

After the writer had returned to his quarters, 'Imād-ul-mulk, in my absence, said to the Mīr Sāhib: "Let me have Muḥammad Ḥasan, and he will live with me as your representative. I will appoint you to the office of Branding and Verification [of troopers' horses] and the inspection of the personal rolls of my soldiers; it will be your office and he will be your deputy." The Mīr Sāhib answered: "Muḥammad Ḥasan is my right hand; if your Lordship designs to amputate my hand, what objection have I?" These speeches were reported to me by the Mīr Sāhib that night, and he added: "Now let us wait and see what happens. Whatever country or whatever office it be, you will not go away from me."

To return to our story. As Jangbāz Khān persisted in his refusal, the chief minister and 'Imād-ul-mulk and the Mīr Sāhib sat from early morning to midday in consultation upon what should be done with regard to Aḥmad Khān's business. After much argument 'Imād-ul-mulk advised that one of the princes of Hindūstān should be appointed to the *ṣubās* of Audh and Bengal, and despatched in charge of him ('Imād-ul-mulk). Jangbāz Khān should also be sent. If he agrees, well and good; if not — it is the emperor's country, and in the non-presence of the emperor, the prince affords a perfect claim and title. Wherever he directs his steps, crowds of helpers will join him. The kingdom is his kingdom. Not one of the nobles and *rājās* of Hindūstān, except they be disloyal, will act in opposition.

Thus they reported to the Shāh that if His Majesty had planted in his heart the desire to assist the emperor of Hindūstān, then one of the princes, sons of the emperor of Hind, ought to be sent for; a patent for the eastern provinces should be granted to him, and he should then be sent off in company with Jangbāz Khān. In this manner the said Khān's (Jangbāz's) scruples would be removed, and all others concerned would be re-assured.

In accordance with the chief minister's proposals, the Shāh considered the plan and held it to be a good one. At once he wrote and sent off a letter to the emperor of Hindūstān, 'Alāziz-ud-dīn, 'Alāmgīr Sūnī, calling upon him to send a prince at once, without any delay. The emperor of Hindūstān selected two princes; the first was named Hidāyat Bakhsh, holding the title of Wālā Jāh, Bahādur. He was a son of this same emperor of India. The second was Mirzā Bābā by name and A'lā Jāh by title, the emperor's son-in-law. They were despatched under the care of Nawāb Saif-ud-daulah, the Chief Almoner (*ṣadr-uṣ-ṣadūr*). A patent for the Audh province was made out in the name of Mirzā Bābā, and for Bangālāh in that of Wālā Jāh, aforesaid. The emperor affixed his own seal to these, and handed them to the princes. At the time of leave-taking he said to Nawāb Saif-ud-daulah: "I make over these two princes to you in trust. If something in the shape of my heart desires can be accomplished, my purpose is fulfilled; otherwise, these pledges, entrusted to you, I shall demand again. See to it that they fall into no one else's hands."

The said Nawāb, taking the two princes with two elephants, one riding horse for each, and a mere soldier's tent, reached our camp by forced marches. The Shāh also issued to them patents for the provinces in accordance with those given by the emperor of Hind. The chief minister persuaded Jangbāz Khān, and the Shāh added: "My son, I will not leave you to be destroyed, my hand is at your back."

'Imād-ul-mulk received an aigrette and a plume. A handsome set of robes, along with a jewelled aigrette and a feathered plume for Nawāb Ghazanfar Jang, Aḥmad Khān, were made over to the Mīr Sāhib. At the time of leave-taking the Shāh said to the Mīr Sāhib: "Sayyid, wherever I may be, if a letter from thee reaches me, whatever request you make, it shall be attended to. Set your mind at rest."

As the weather was hot and it was the season of the spring harvest, a great deal of sickness appeared in the Shāh's army and it took one hundred rupees to purchase one *sār* of tamarind,

a drink made of tamarinds being prescribed with benefit. Daily one hundred and fifty men died. Finding that the climate was adverse, the Shāh arrived at a fixed decision in his mind to return to Wilāyat. He despatched the princes and 'Imād-ul-mulk and Jangbāz Khān to Farrukhābād; while he wrote to Jahān Khān and Najib Khān that as soon as they had read his letter, and wherever they might be, they must start for his camp. Giving over this letter to 'Imād-ul-mulk, he instructed him, and two days before his own departure started him and his party off for Farrukhābād. The Shāh himself two days afterwards marched from Mathurā, and, taking the route *viâ* Kābul, made his way to Qandahār.

Let us go on with the story. The Mīr Šāhib went stage by stage with that expedition as far as Akbarābād. Jahān Khān had carried out a general slaughter in that city as far as Nilah-gumbaz; then he invested the fort. Rājah Nāgar Mall and others were shut up in it. They finally agreed to pay Jahān Khān four *lakhs* of rupees, promising to produce the money on the following morning. Three hours after sunrise had passed, when 'Imād-ul-mulk and the others made their entry into Akbarābād. Owing to the general slaughter and the investment, the city was in confusion as if Judgment Day had come. The inhabitants of the city had disappeared.

* 'Imād-ul-mulk went straight to Jahān Khān and made over to him the Shāh's letter. After reading it he said: "I have a promise to be paid four *lakhs* of rupees to-morrow morning. I stop here to-day and up to midday to-morrow. On receiving the sum named from Nāgar Mall, I will begin my march." 'Imād-ul-mulk retorted: "That is impossible. This is imperial territory. What damage has been done cannot be helped. But now the Shāh is on the march and you have got this order. Relinquish the hope of collecting the rupees, for after the receipt of them there will be delay."

Jahān Khān said: "One *lakh* has been promised for this evening, get that paid over to me. Then what harm is there if I march." Thus 'Imād-ul-mulk sent word to Rājah Nāgar Mall. The latter thought it a lucky escape and sent the *lakh* of rupees to Jahān Khān the same day, and that Khān began his march at the time of evening (*maghrib*) prayer, and went away.

The day after this we made a halt in Akbarābād. The princes and Jangbāz Khān crossed the Jamnah and pitched their camp in a line with Katrah Wazīr Khān.²⁷ Then quitting Akbarābād they moved stage by stage as far as *parganah* Mainpurī. During these marches two or three things happened, the record of which is worthy of being dwelt upon.

From Akbarābād, Najib Khān sent his full brother, Sultān Khān, with four hundred horsemen in attendance on 'Imād-ul-mulk. When the princes, 'Imād-ul-mulk, Jangbāz Khān, and Sultān Khān reached Mainpurī, they consulted and decided to halt there. The Mīr Šāhib was to go on to Farrukhābād, and bring back Ahmad Khān with him. On his arrival, whatever was decided on, could be carried out. The Mīr Šāhib left the author with the tent and baggage at Mainpurī and departed for Farrukhābād. Nawāb Ahmad Khān sent two tents with screens for the princes, and one tent with screens for 'Imād-ul-mulk. They wrote to the author that he was to deliver these tents at their respective destinations and obtain and forward with all speed answers to the letters. The Nawāb himself would join the camp in four days. The author carried out the instructions sent him by the Mīr Šāhib.

On the fourth day, in the morning, a messenger arrived with a letter from the Mīr Šāhib, saying, that on that day at one watch after sunrise the heir-apparent, Maḥmūd Khān, would reach the camp in advance, and the Nawāb himself would reach it in the afternoon. I carried off this letter to

²⁷ On the left bank, opposite Rāj Ghāt, between Nawābganj and the river; see Constable's "Hand Atlas," plate 48.

Imād-ul-mulk. When he had looked at it, he said: "Go to Nawāb Yahyā Khān" (who had also come with us²⁸) "and on my behalf say to him that I am mounting to go out and escort into "camp Ahmad Khān. He, too, should mount." I went, gave my message, and returned.

At this point another messenger came in to say that Nawāb Ahmad Khān must have reached a place five *kos* distant, and his son, Maḥmūd Khān, was in his company. 'Imād-ul-mulk sent the author to Jangbāz Khān requesting him to mount and come out to act as escort. I went and said the Nawāb Wazīr had sent this message. He jumped up and said: "*Fulān-i-man* has mounted and "is coming to me, what care I, and why should I go out to greet and escort him in." I came back and repeated his words to 'Imād-ul-mulk. He was putting on his clothes, ready to mount. He sent the author back again, telling me to say that the Mīr Šāhib had handed me over to him when he left, and what could he write to the Mīr. I then left him. At length the said Khān also mounted. He and 'Imād-ul-mulk and Yahyā Khān went out four *kos* to meet the new arrival, and together with him they returned to the camp.

Early next morning 'Imād-ul-mulk went to the tent of Ghāzanfar Jang Ahmad Khān. The two of them then mounted in one litter, and in another litter was Maḥmūd Khān. In this mode they went to see the princes. When they reached the entrance there was a long stoppage and both *pā'lis* were struck by men with their maces of office, so that a great uproar ensued at the entrance and it lasted for some hour and a quarter. Everybody exclaimed that this was a part of the ceremonial of sovereigns, and nobles look on it as a part of their grandeur. In fine, after an audience, robes of honour were conferred on both, that is, father and son, with a sword and horse for Maḥmūd Khān.

In the afternoon Nawāb Sultān Khān came to visit Ghāzanfar Jang. Upon his reaching the entrance he attempted to enter. One Mushrif Khān, the chamberlain (*arz-beḡt*) of Ghāzanfar Jang, said: "Be pleased, sir, to wait a moment until I have announced you." He went in and reported. The Nawāb remarked: "Say to Sultān Khān that he must wait twenty minutes while I put on my clothes." On hearing these words Sultān Khān was offended, and made off to his own tent.

Ghāzanfar Jang remarked: "What idea had he got into his head? Is he not aware that he "was once in my service, and to this day the descriptive roll of Najib Khan is preserved in my record-room?" The words were carried to Sultān Khān, and he ordered his advance tents to be sent out in the direction of Dihlī, as next morning he meant to start for Shāhjahānābād. 'Imād-ul-mulk interviewed Ahmad Khān that evening, and said whatever the occasion called for, and gave him advice. An outward reconciliation then took place between the two nobles and they had an interview. After that Ghāzanfar Jang went to Sultān Khān's quarters, and one day entertained him at a banquet.

After one week we marched from Mainpurī, and all the chiefs on reaching Farrukhābād pitched their tents on the Ganges bank close to Faṭhgaḍh. Two days afterwards news was received that Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān, Rohelah, ruler of Aṇwalah and Bareli, had come to an agreement with the Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah, and they had exchanged turbans. Then 'Imād-ul-mulk proceeded to Aṇwalah and prevailed on Sa'dullah Khān, Hāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, Mullā Sardār Khān, Donde Khān, Faṭh Khān, sāmān, and the other leaders to march for the prince's camp.

At this time news came that 'Imād-ul-mulk had been made a prisoner by the Rohelahs of Kaṭeḥr. It so chanced that on the same day 'Imād-ul-mulk reached Farrukhābād in safety. The same day at noon another report reached us that the Marhattah army had arrived within two marches of us, and on that night or next morning would be at Farrukhābād. Ghāzanfar Jang brought away from Farrukhābād all the inhabitants, and conveyed them to our camp on the bank of the river. So complete was the evacuation that there was not a soul left in the city.

²⁸ The eldest son of Khān Bahādur, Zakariyā Khān, a former governor of Lāhor; his mother and 'Imād-ul-mulk's mother were sisters, daughters of I'timād-ud-daulah, Qamar-ud-din Khān, the Wazīr who was killed in 1748.

At the end of five days Sa'dullah Khān, with the chiefs named above, arrived on the further bank of the river and encamped there. They were written to and asked to cross over the Ganges and join our force. This they did, and the whole army was united near *parganahs* Mihrābād and Jalālābād.²⁹ The tent of Sa'dullah Khān himself was pitched three miles (one *farsakh*) from us.

Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah began a march out of his own territory and arrived at *parganah* Sāndī and there halted. Between the two armies there was a distance of nine *kos*. When a week had passed, he (Shujā'-ud-daulah) sent his wife's brother, Nawāb Sālār Jang, to Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān with a message that if at this time he would espouse his cause in this great and difficult business, it would be the height of favour.

Then Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah one day left his camp and drew up outside of it, and gave an order that commanders should report the mustering of their troops. On that day the regiment Mim Bāshī of Sādiq Beg, Mughal, was ordered to parade for inspection. Sardār Khān, the leader of five thousand Mughals, attended, but of his whole command only twenty-five horsemen put in an appearance at the muster. All the rest out of fear of the Afghāns — they having of aforetime received a terrible handling from Ahmad Khān — had fled with their families from Lakhnau, and Bāḡlah, [*i. e.*, Faizābād], some going to Benares, some to 'Aẓimābād, some to Allāhābād and other towns. No man of the Mughal race was left. From that day the said Nawāb discharged all of the Mughals. He was in a high degree anxious and perplexed.

The only course open to him seemed that Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān should, in whatever way was possible, put an end to the war and invasion. Nawāb Sālār Jang remained several days at Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān's tent, while some settlement of the dispute was being arrived at. One day there was a general report in Shujā'-ud-daulah's army that Sālār Jang had been made a prisoner. At that time great consternation arose, especially among the men from Shāhjahānābād, and the whole group of Begams was in a great state of mind. Next day they learnt that it was all a mistake.

To continue the story. With Ahmad Khān were about fifty thousand horse, old troops and recruits, as entered in the lists. The Rohelah force was even larger. Every day the princes' audience was attended by all the leaders, including Jangbāz Khān, Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khān, Mullā Sardār Khān, Bakhshī, and Nawāb Ahmad Khān. They remained until noon and held consultations; but Sa'dullah Khān would not agree to appear.

In the end 'Imād-ul-mulk said that Sa'dullah Khān must come to the princes' audience. That Nawāb paid no attention to this. Still, one day he came and was honoured by presentation to the two princes. A title was conferred upon him, *viz.*, Shams-ud-daulah, Mubārīz-ul-mulk, with the grant of robes of honour and a sword. The other chiefs admitted that they were willing to obey the orders of the emperor and of the Shāh; in whatever direction the princes might advance, they were ready to follow in their train and take part in the contest and battle-fray. Accordingly these assertions they supported by an oath. Sardār Khān, Bakhshī, Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khān, and Dondē Khān, went off to see Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān and informed him. He said: "You may fight, I do not forbid you; but not in the very slightest will I become ally or supporter of any man on either side."

They said he ought to remain with the army until the province of Bengal was recovered; no such opportunity would ever fall to their lot again. The said Nawāb, however, refused absolutely, and repeated his former answer. Then one day a report came to Jangbāz Khān that horsemen from the army of Shujā'-ud-daulah had driven off his camels while grazing. It was noon-time. As soon as he heard this, the said Khān lept from his place like a coal from a flaming fire and instantly went to see the princes, flung his turban on the ground and said: "At once 'I ride out to fight;

²⁹ These are to the north of the Ganges, on the Audh border.

"with you I have no concern." The prince took his own turban and placed it on Jangbāz Khān's head and said a few words. Jangbāz Khān came out and rode off, followed by his troops. The rest of the divisions, one after the other, mounted and took the field.

When they had come out two *kos* from the camp, a fierce storm arose, a cloud of yellow dust rose so high into the air that neither sky nor earth was visible. An hour and a half afterwards heavy rain came on, which lasted one and a half to one and three-quarter hours. All this wind and rain blew in their faces. So violent was the torrent of rain that the small streams could only be crossed by swimming. Jangbāz Khān halted where he was, in the expectation that when the wind lulled and the rain abated they would be able to move again, and begin the fight.

The wind and rain were so severe that all the tents in the army were blown over, the horses, pulling up their tethering pegs, dispersed in all directions, and the men were involved in difficulties and discomfort. The disturbance continued for full three hours, and the wind remained as high as ever and the rain as heavy.

Seeing no help for it, Jangbāz Khān ordered a return march from that place at three-quarters of an hour or one hour before sunset, and re-entered his camp. He remarked: "O friends! it seems as if we were acting against God's good pleasure. I am convinced now that for a further space of time the stay in this region of the Marhatṭahs and others, our enemies, has been decreed."

After two days he sent a message to the princes through Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān that Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah had agreed to pay five *lakhs* of rupees to the Shāh's army as a tribute. As Jangbāz Khān had heard that the Shāh had started for his own kingdom, he had accepted this proposal. Next morning a *lakh* of rupees arrived in cash; and a cessation of hostilities was arranged. Nawāb Aḥmad Khān lost heart, and was displeased; taking with him the princes and 'Imād-ul-mulk he returned to Farrukhābād.

Two days previously the author had started with a note from princes Hidāyat Bakhsh and Wālā Jāh Bahādur, in consultation with Nawāb Saif-ud-daulah, who to some extent had become estranged from 'Imād-ul-mulk; and Nawāb Aḥmad Khān had made several speeches to the Mīr Sāhib, through which his displeasure betrayed itself. Thus he, too, (the Mīr Sāhib) was a sharer in this consultation. He sent the author with the said note to see Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah.

This was the substance of the note. If a force were sent to a distance of two or three *kos* from us, we will leave this camp on the pretext of a hunting expedition, and come to join that force and then come on to you. You must also send twelve thousand rupees in cash.

When I (the author) got to Shujā'-ud-daulah's camp, I obtained an interview through Āghā Mirzā Muḥammad Sādiq and Mīr Ghulām Rasūl (*alias* Mīr Manjhle), grandson of Nawāb Sipāhdār Khān, deceased, whose grove is at Allahābād.³⁰ Shujā'-ud-daulah said: "To-morrow I shall be employed in getting together the *lakh* of rupees that I have agreed to pay. The day after that I will give you an answer and send you back with Mīr Ghulām Rasūl Khān." After this I went to visit Shekh Sāhib Shekh Allahyār³¹ and Sayyid Nūr-ul-ḥasan Khān,³¹ both being then in the service of Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah and commanders of cavalry regiments. With them I spent the day.

On that same date Nawāb Ghazanfar Jang Aḥmad Khān and 'Imād-ul-mulk, taking the two princes, recrossed the Ganges and returned to Farrukhābād. The Mīr Sāhib (Sher Andāz Khān)

³⁰ This man was the son of Khān Jahān, Kokaltāsh, 'Alamgīr's foster brother. He was governor of Allahābād towards the end of 'Alamgīr's reign, and died in 1130 H. (1718). The name of the grove has been now corrupted into "Bāgh Subahdār."

³¹ Both natives of Bilgrām. The former, H. M. Elliot's "accurate Murtaṣā Ḥusain," is the author of the valuable *Ḥaṭṭat-ul-aqālīm*, also written at the instigation of Captain Jonathan Scott. Nūr-ul-ḥasan Khān finally moved his home to Paṭnah 'Aḡimābād and died there.

also went back to Farrukhābād. The next morning, when I reached the site of the camp, I found nobody but Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān there; thus I stopped in his camp along with Mir Ghulām Rasūl Khān. As the zamīndārs were out on the roads plundering, it was impossible to proceed to Farrukhābād. It was with the greatest difficulty that I got a note sent there for the Mir Sāhib.

His answer was that I must stop where I was and begin a negotiation to get him (Sher Andāz Khān) into Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān's employment. I (the author) obtained an interview with the Nawāb through Mir Ghulām Rasūl Khān. The Nawāb said: "From this day I take you into my service, and as soon as I reach Aṇwalah, I will send a *parwānah* summoning Mir Sher Andāz Khān."

That same day Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān ordered his army to march in the direction of Aṇwalah, while he himself, unattended, went into *pargana*h Pālī to meet Shujā'-ud-daulah. After they had passed a night in the same place, Sa'dullah Khān returned to Aṇwalah. When he had arrived he sent a *parwānah*, inviting the Mir Sāhib to come with one hundred horsemen. The letter was made over to one Shāham Khān, whose home was at Mau,³² with orders to forward it by the hand of his own servant to Mir Sher Andāz Khān.

Ten days afterwards the said Khān's brother sent back the letter unopened and wrote that Mir Andāz Khān had been appointed *jaujār* of the *pargana*hs near Anūpshahr, which had been granted by the Abdālī Shāh to Nawāb Ahmad Khān. He had received robes of honour and had departed for his charge. The two princes and 'Imād-ul-mulk had started for Shāhjahānābād. Jangbāz Khān had remained on at Farrukhābād, awaiting the money payment promised by Shujā'-ud-daulah.³³

The author took the returned letter to Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān, or, rather, after I had opened and read it, I made it over to him. The Nawāb signed an order fixing the author's pay at forty rupees a month, and appointed me one of the gentlemen troopers (*yakkah*). Jangbāz Khān wrote from Farrukhābād for the money agreed on, as to which the Nawāb (Sa'dullah Khān) had made himself responsible. Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah paid one *lakh* of rupees, and in regard to the remaining four *lakhs* he made a promise to pay in fifteen days, and went back to Lakhnau.

When one month had passed and the money had not arrived, Jangbāz Khān came to Aṇwalah in person and demanded payment. Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān said that Rājah Mān Rāo, his *diwān*, was at Bareilly; when he came back a correspondence would be opened with Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah, and in a week the money should be handed over to him (Jangbāz Khān). A week went by, but the *diwān*, from several causes, was still detained in Bareilly and had not returned to Aṇwalah.

Jangbāz Khān crossed the Rāngangā river which flows between Aṇwalah and Bareilly, and went as far as Bareilly, where he surrounded the house of the said *diwān*, and there was a great disturbance. That very day he obtained the four *lakhs* in cash from the *diwān*, and then made a start for his own country. Thus the sum fell to be paid by Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān, and not a copper of it was recovered from Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah.

The author for twelve years remained in the service of Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān. Upon his death³⁴ (May God give him rest and admit him to Paradise), I was two years in the employ of Nawāb 'Abdullah Khān, the former Nawāb's brother and holder of *pargana*hs Sahswān³⁵ and Ujhyānī, *et cetera*. Having taken a few months' leave and gone home, I heard there that Nawāb 'Abdullah Khān, while engaged in playing with a large snake, was bitten by it and expired. I therefore decided not to return.³⁶

³² Mau Rashidābād to the west of Farrukhābād.

³³ The "Ser Mutāgherīn," III. 148, says 'Imād-ul-mulk had reached Farrukhābād on the 7th Shawwāl, 1170 H. (24th June 1757).

³⁴ Sa'dullah Khān died on the 5th Sha'bān 1176 H. (18th February 1768), aged 27 years—*Tārīkh-i-Muhammādī*. Thus the period of service under him could not have exceeded six years.

³⁵ Both now in the Budāun district, United Provinces.

³⁶ 'Abdullah Khān died on the 7th Ṣafar 1180 H. (14th July 1766)—*Tārīkh-i-Muhammādī*.

Nawāb 'Abdullah Khān was an able poet; his pen-name was 'Āsī. He was also a capable musician and painter; and he knew a lot of secrets about snakes, and spent much time in playing with them. At length his fate came from a snake's poison and by God's decree he passed from this transitory world. May God give him rest.

Couplet.

Dunyā, st dār-i-be-baqā, 'uqbā, st mashrūt-i-fanā "The world is a passing show, eternity conditioned by decay :
Bas khūb shud kiz yād-i-mā tn ham guzasht, ān "Enough that in memory of me this and that
ham guzasht. happened."

[The End.]

Additional Notes.

The chronology of this invasion may be here farther elucidated from the *Tārīkh-i-Aḥmad Shāhī*, B. M. Oriental MS., No. 196, ff., 62^b. to 98^b., and *Tārīkh-i-'Ālamgir Šānt*, B. M. Oriental MS., No. 1749, ff., 84^b—128^b.

Aḥmad Shāh sent out his tents from Qandahār on the 22nd Sha'bān 1169 H. (21st May 1756) and marched on the 27th (26th May). About three weeks later Īraj Khān arrived as an envoy from India. Kābul was reached on the 9th Shawwāl (6th July 1756). About the end of August, Qalandar Khān was sent to India with Īraj Khān. On the 22nd Zūl Hijjah (16th September) the march from Kābul began; the camp was at Jalālābād on the 8th Muḥarram 1170 H. (3rd October 1756), and his advance troops entered Lāhor on the 4th October. The Shāh reached Peshāwar early in Šafar 1170 H. (end of October). Qalandar Khān received his first audience at Dihlī on the 6th Šafar (30th October 1756). The march from Peshāwar was resumed on the 22nd Šafar (15th November). On the 27th Rabi' I (19th December 1756) Āghā Riẓā Khān was sent by the Indian Emperor to Aḥmad Shāh. Some time in Rabi' II. (23rd December 1756 to 20th January 1757) Aḥmad Shāh moved from Sonpat to Narelah. On the 4th (26th December), after a consultation, the emperor's tents were sent out to Kaṭrah Maḥaldār Khān (close to Bādli), and Ya'qūb 'Alī Khān, Afghān, undertook to obtain a favorable settlement from the Durrānī. On the 28th (19th January 1757) 'Imād-ul-mulk appeared in the Shāh's camp at Narelah. Aḥmad Shāh entered the Fort at Dihlī, sat on the throne, and coined money, 8th Jamādā I. (28th January 1757). Khān Khūnān (Intizām-ud-daulah) had been made Wazīr on the 26th January; and the marriage of 'Imād-ul-mulk to Mu'īn-ud-daulah's (Mannū's) daughter took place on the 20th of February.

Aḥmad Shāh marched eastwards on the 21st February and Jahān Khān carried out the slaughter at Mathurā on the 28th February 1757. The two princes, who had been sent for, left Dihlī on the 14th and reached the Shāh's camp on the 18th March. The Shāh's return march began on the 27th March; he reached Faridābād on the 29th, and on the 2nd April moved to a place between Bādli and Narelah. From that point his movements do not concern us.

The dates of the ineffective campaign against Shujā'-ud-daulah may also be given. On the 3rd April 1757 the princes were at Mainpurī, and Aḥmad Khān, Bangash, joined them. They moved on to the Ganges on the 4th and Hidāyat Bakhsh proceeded to Itāwah, while Mirzā Bābā remained at Qādirganj till the 19th. When Shujā'-ud-daulah came out, the prince retreated to Farrukhābād. The princes recrossed the Ganges on the 30th May and Sālār Jang arrived from Shujā'-ud-daulah on the 10th June. Terms were arranged, and on the 24th June the princes crossed back and returned to Farrukhābād. They moved on to Dihlī and 'Imād-ul-mulk followed with Aḥmad Khān, Bangash. They were at Kol ('Aligarh) on the 14th July, and four *kas* from Dihlī on the 23rd. 'Imād-ul-mulk on the 13th September 1757 introduced Aḥmad Khān at Court, he having been newly appointed Amīr-ul-umarā (vice Najīb Khān).

THE CHUHRAS.

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(Continued from p. 31.)

3. The Creation.

*Awwal Maulā sājiyā sab thīn pānī
 Pānī utlōn jōriyā, phir sab bayān.
 Allah Maulā sājiyā lau, kalam, samīn tē
 āsmān.
 Chānd tē sūraj sājiyā tārēdī nāl bhariyā
 āsmān.
 Barē barē hō gayē nē āqlān dē pardhān
 Tārē ginē nu jāngē, kārd hai jahān.
 Chēlē siftdī jōrīdī sab khōl bayān.
 Rōz qiyamat nūn sūraj akhīn kālāhēgā sōldh,
 Kals tē chandōē diān tadōn Shāhīdī nūn lōrdī
 Othē Bālā pir karēgā Shāhīdī diān gaurān
 Sāyā hōwēgā chandōē da, baddal diān lōrdī
 Du'd sunō khān mōminō, phir sat jugwālī,
 Khwāja Kālāk Dās hō khare nipālī.
 Ek paun vaggēgā jālim, dūyā chānd Shāh dēgā
 dikhālī
 Allah rasōi jēun lēi bah ikē thālī
 Jag sapūran hō gayā, Kālāk Dās dī vāri,
 Chēlē siftdī jōrīdī kar barī tiydrī.
 Othē Bālā ākhīyā Rabb nūn, mērd man sawāl*

*Allah dā nām karēgi mēri kālī sāl
 Tussān jag dē vich dānā, tēnā didār,
 Tūn jag sapūran hōwēgā, dargāh-i-darbār
 Allah othē Jhaumprē nāl, kīlā takār,
 Tērē Shāhī jag karngē vār āthō vār,
 Allah dassē khōlkē sārē narwār.
 Thān rakhīn pōchkē phullān dē hār
 Chhāndā sādā rakhīd āwāl vichkār,
 Dilōn ghundī khōlaṅgē tūn dēlīngē didār
 Tūn jag sapūran hōwēgā, dargāh darbār
 Chēlē siftdī jōrīdī, parh nām chatār.
 Jhaumprē aggē Rabb dē drj gujārī
 Jag sapūran na hōwēgā vār āthō vārī,
 Main nūn āthō ghat dē jūthē dōnah dī avārī,
 Shāhī mērē rakhīn, jē chand sitārē.
 Allah ākhēd Bālād, tērī pāk kamārī
 Apē kalam pakar lē, kagaz tē siyārī,
 Chaudān tabak bahshēd lē sārī lōkārī,*

First God created water everywhere.
 From this beginning all the story then
 He gave of the creation. God the Lord
 Made tablets, pens, the earth, the heaven.
 He made
 The sun, the moon, and filled the sky with stars.
 Full many wise men lived and died, but none
 Could count the stars. The world is vain.
 All this
 Disciples have in full recorded. Lo,
 Upon the Resurrection Day the sun
 Will ope his sixteen eyes; the canopy
 With golden poles will shade the Shāhs then.
 Great priestly Bālā then will help the Shāhs.
 The shadow of the flag will refuge be
 Like shadow of a cloud. Believers, hear,
 The true-age prayer, when Kālāk Dās will
 stand
 With Khwāja. Both will be our helpers. Then
 Tempestuous storm of wind will sweep the
 earth.
 The Shāh will come, in form a second moon,
 And God will sit and eat with him. What time
 The offering was made by Kālāk Dās
 It was accepted. Hymns disciples sing,
 So carefully preparing. Bālā spoke
 To God, and said, 'My supplication hear.
 My kindred black thy name adore; do thou
 For ever in the sacrifice preside.
 Appear to us, and prove our sacrifice
 Acceptable to thee within thy court.'
 A promise true God made to Jhaumprā. 'See,
 Thy Shāhs all must sacrifice — the day,
 The eighth, a sacred day must be.' And so
 God gave him knowledge of the mystery,
 Command to keep the altar swept, and see
 That garlands of sweet flowers encircle it.
 'The sacrificial portion due to me
 The inmost be — it is the first and best.
 If they their hearts unlock I will appear
 And will accept their sacrifice.' Now read
 And ponder well the record of His praise.
 So Jhaumprā made petition to his Lord.
 'To sacrifice on every eighth is hard;
 For me impossible; like moon and stars

*Têrî gal nahîñ phêrnî jô kar lî sâi.
Bâlê pîr pakar lî, kâgaz tê kânî,*

*Varhê dî jag karogê ik muddîmî,
Bâlê pîr ummat bahshâ lî kam hâyâ dîdî
Chêlê sîftân jôrdân, var Durgâ Bhôwânî.
Ôhi ik sach parûñ dhanî.*

*Awal sîft Khudd dî chêlâ bandê,
Mân tê pitâ nân sêriñ jain sansâr vikhâê.
Dêvî mâtâ sêvîñ, jain shabî sikhâê.
Pîr, paikambar, auliyê, Rabb âp bandê
Bhunnê dâñê bijwêñ jaun khêl jamê,
Jihâd lâwê ajmatân sôhi ôh pîr kahê
Aggê pahrê suoh dê, kuchh hô gayê nê hô,
Sach duniyâ thîñ tur gayâ, jhûth payâcê jôr,
Lâlach laggâ sach nân, Rabb bandiyâ chôr
Jhûthê painch hî manniyê, phirêñ barê lîlôr.
Is pahrê dê âdmî hôê barê atatt,
Ôrak sîfat sunâñî kôl lîñ nahîñ rakh
Sîdqânwâlê sunangê bêsîdqân nahîñ pak,
Jinhân suniyâ sîdq nâl, bîhishitîñ varñ bêshaqq*

*Auganhârâ chêlâ hâyâ Langar Shâh dê vâre,
Ôh sannhân bahut mâridh jhuggê bahut vjârê,
Ôrak dhatthâ ânkê shâhânê duârê
Jitnê aib sawab sôn bahshâ lîyê sârê
Ôs nînhân dharidh nâm diñ dhar sûtâr chârê
Chêlê âpar nînhân dê chadê kôl usârê
Nâm buniyâ itnâ jôn ambar târê
Barakat Bâlê pîr dî kôl hankâr na mârê
Chêlê sîft bandhî kî kîlî tadbîr.
Aggê Bâlê pîr dê hâyâ dîmanjîr
Duniyâ tîñ bê hîrs hân nahîñ jag na sîr
Âqibat vêlê baurîñâ tûcñ sachchâ pîr
Sîfat shurû karn dî man karê bichâr
Sab haqîqat pîr dî sunâwân zâhîr
Bâlâ pîr âyâ duniyâ tê das autâr
Chêlê dînishwânê lî hôê lakh hazâr
Unhân nâm bandiyâ itnâ kôl bêshumâr
Ôrak nahîñ âyâ nâm dâ sab châlê nîhâr*

Preserve my Shâhls, even if thou must
For ransom me cast into hell.' God said,
'O Bâlâ, thou deservest well: take pen,
And ink and paper, for I grant thy prayer.
Throughout the world thy followers shall be
saved.'

So priestly Bâlâ took a reed and wrote,
'We make a yearly sacrifice,' and thus
Great Bâlâ had his followers' sins forgiven.
'Twas easy. His disciples sang his praise,
Bhôwânî aiding, goddess eloquent.
The Lord of wind and sky alone is true.
The first of God's commands disciples sing.
To father and to mother honour give,
Who showed the world to us: the goddess too
Who taught us truth. The priests and
prophets all
Were made by God. If perfect seeds are sown
Straight barley grows from out the earth,
and so,
When fruits are good the priest is proved
a true
And perfect priest. The former ages all
Were times of truth, but truth has left the
world:
Untruth prevails: Desire attacked the truth
With onslaught fierce. God made this thief
desire.

False teachers are received, and proudly walk
Amid an evil age, where wicked men
Do wickedly. All this I must reveal.
The true will hear, the false reject, but those
That hear with faith at last will enter heaven.
A sinful man am I, disciple born.
Within the time of Langar Shâh. 'Twas he
Broke into many a house, and many a hut
He burned. At last he came, repentant he,
To seek the gates of Bâlâ's shrine, where he
Had all his sins forgiven. The name of God
He made foundation sure, and, as with plumb
And compass, straight he built a hiding place,
The base firm resting on the name of God,
The top far reaching to the stars of heaven.
The blessing Bâlâ gave accomplished this.
There is no room for boast. To write a song
Assayed the priest's disciple. Thus he caught
The hem of Bâlâ's garment as he prayed,
And said, 'O thou true priest, the world is
vain,
No sacrifice have I, no merit, none:
Be thou my helper in the end. How shall

*Sāddi jāndi tīydrīn mān karē vichār
Hukam Bālē pīr dā kadghān nāmōn qahār*

*Sidqānwālē sunāngē hōr lōk gawār
Jinhān suniyd sidag nālē hōr payē azdōn yār*

I praise thee in a song? My heart would sing
My theme shall be the virtues of the priest.
Ten times did Bālā come a priest indeed
Into this world—ten millions had he wise
Disciples—men that thought upon the Name.
But never yet could measure it. They left
The world and went in wonderment. I too
Will leave it, and my heart exclaims.' The
priest,

Great Bālā thus commands, 'Adorers of
The Name escape God's wrath: the righteous
hears,
The rest are ignorant. But those that hear,
And trust, shall be set free from fear of pain.

4. Story of Dhagānā.

*Andar Narwarkōt dē Shāh pīr Dhagānā
Ōhdā bāp⁸² pūrā hōyd āp rēhēd aniyānā
Chhē mahinē guzar gayē pīr murīdī jānā
Varīyā Dillī dīkē kar sūhā bānā.
Aggē Chuhṛā nambardār sī ōhdā nām Sadhānā.
Ōs palang dāhyā pīr dā sirē tē rakh sirhānā.
Turt ba turtī pīr dā chād kītā khānā
Pīr vėkhē palang tē (vėkh karm rabbānā)
Vagār pēi sarkār dī kōtwāl bhujāyā.
Thāpī varē dīkē nambardār bulāyā
Chūhrē sabbhō chē dē bāldshāh jarmāyā
Āi asddād jān nahīn ghar pīr ē āyā
Ih dāhēd kēlā nāng hai bāldshāh azmāyā
Is dē bāp Akbar Shāh dā manjā gagan
bhondāyā.
Isā Nand dīn kōlīdān bakhshīn sōhnō thān
bānwāyā.
Nālē chālī manjēdā dā hālā bakhshāyā.
Sawd pahr dīn charhiyā manjā dhart lahāyā
Ih bī kēlā nāng hai usē pīr dā jāyā*

*Asāddē ghar sahkedēd mī dī pīr ē āyā
Chhē sīfīdī jōrīdī, parh nām sunāyā,
Kōtwāl utthōn pālīyā Chūhrē nahīn jāndē.
Wazīr amīr pūshkēd tū lūyā nahīn āndē
Dāchhan Khair Dīn nū kītthē tur gayē wāndē*

In Narwarkōt there lived a great high priest,
Dhagānā. When his father died he was
A child, but, six months passed, the time
drew near

When his followers must be visited. He came
To Dehli clad in red. The *lambarādr*
A Chuhṛa was, his name Sadhānā, he
A bed prepared all for his priest, and placed
A pillow on it. Then in haste he cooked
His food for him. The priest regards the bed.
How wondrous are God's works. A messenger

In haste came running to the Chuhṛas' homes,
And to the headman orders gave to send
The Chuhṛas all—the king commanded. 'But'
He said, 'we cannot go to-day—our priest
Has come—beware, he is as dangerous
As any serpent. All this knows the king:
He tried him once, for this child's father sent
King Akbar's cot straight to the sky, for
which,

He gifted him the fertile village lauds
Of Isā Nand, a golden temple too,
And freed him forty villages from tax.
That priest all in the morning caused the bed.
Suspended in the sky to seek the earth.
This young priest too a cobra is, the son,
Of him we spake of. This we longed for, Sir,
He visits us.' This song all in his praise
His true disciple made. The messenger
Brought word, 'The Chuhṛas will not come.'
The king

Kōṭwālān tē Chukhrān muḍḍhōn vair jinndāde
Chaukidār khalōkē patid lāyā
Chūhrē nahīn āundē ghar pīr nē āyā,
Os dē bāp Akbar Shāh dā manja gagan bhū-
āyā
Gussā khādā Jahāngīr muḥḥ mukhā āyā
Uḥō pīr pakar lēaund na jāhā pāyā
Ōhu phāsi dēnd lēākē. Iḥō hukam suṇḍāyā
Lashkar bādshāh dē chā kītī dhāī
Aggē baiṭhā pīr sī Shāh dēh vaṭḍē
Bāl aiyānā ban gayā āyā Jag dī Khāī
Hūiyē phērē bādshāh dēssān rich sārē
Uḥō pīr pakar lēaund Rabb mērē bāp dē sīrōn
mihnd utārē
Chūhrē Chhappari Band sī nām Mang sālḍē
Os pīr andar lukāyā, aulād vīkhḍē
Bārāh baras dī laṭki lāp pīr dē lāī

Vīdh mātā jūrī vaṭ chhadī, kauṇ haṭḍē
Chēlē sīṭān jōrīn, parh nām suṇān.
Jān kandrē naddī dē pīr chīlā³³ kamāḍē,
Bārāh baras guḍrē phēr vīhḍē.
Rōza bārāh barsān dā andj na khḍē
Muḥḥ thīn Rabb dhēaun pēyā tap kamāḍē
Shāh namāna nām sī talōn pīr phēr akhḍē
Pīr karē tapassiyā chēlē ākh suṇḍē
Māīl Nūr Divānī ōdarī uṭh jangal jāḍē
Jangal suttā pīr sī. Jā khālī pōwāndī
Ōh dā mās gayā sūkkē bah kōl bulāndī
Talīn jhas jāgāundī muḥḥ thīn shīrānāī
Jēkar hōndā bāl, pīrā, maṇṇ pēs khadāndī
Angān disdā sōhnd kyān ōdar jāndī
Par maṇṇ laṭ laggi tuḍḍē mērī umar vīhānī
Maṇṇ ghar baiṭhī tuḍḍē bīn dammān bāndī
Pīr Dhagānd uṭhkē dalīl guḍrē
Burē burē balwant nē rannān nē mārē,
Kāwan Lank luṭāyē Sītā dē mārē
Kahn clurḍē mundrī Guzrī pair khīlārē

Demanded, 'O Khair Din, why brought you not
 Them forcibly? Where are the idle folk?'
 Police and Chuhṛas are old enemies,
 A watchman standing by adds fuel to fire.
 'The Chuhṛas will not come because their
 priest,
 Whose father sent great Akbar's bed sky high,
 Is come.' So Jahāngir was angry. Drops
 Of sweat stood on his brow. 'Go,' cried he.
 'Catch
 This priest, and see he flee not. Bring him
 here,
 And hang him!' So the king's command.
 The king
 His army marched against him, but he found
 No force opposing, for the priest there sat,
 Transformed into an infant who was brought
 To Jagdī Khāī, while every province round
 Was taught to seek and him identify.
 The king commands that he in chains be
 brought,
 If haply from his father's name God wipe
 The old disgrace away. A Chhappari-band,
 A Chuhṛa, Mang by name, concealed the
 priest.
 He hid him in his house and showed, instead,
 His children. Then in marriage to the priest
 He gave his daughter, girl of summers twelve.
 'Twas Vidh, the mother, that united them,
 And none may separate the pair. Now far
 The praises publish that the true disciple
 sang.
 The priest upon the river bank engaged
 In contemplation. Twelve long years he passed,
 Twelve years of fasting, solid food he'd none.
 He worshipped God, and lived an anchorite.
 Then God alone he knew, and so he came
 To be a worthy priest. Alone he lived,
 Until his own disciples came to say
 His wife, his Nur Divānī, missed him much,
 And grieved for him. She ran towards the
 wild,
 Even where her priest was sleeping. There
 she stood
 And bowed beside his feet. His flesh was
 dried
 Upon his bones. She called him, standing near
 She clasped his feet to wake him modestly:

³³ Period of abstraction and meditation.

*Rājā Bhōj ghōṛā bañ gayā, rānī chōbuk mārē,
 Aivēn jadd paikambarān lay mōē vichārē
 Nām lēō ummat dā sab rannān nē mārē
 Jahāngīr Chugattā bādshāh, Dillī dē lārē
 Uhnū gāh gayē dūmīn, assīn kaun vichārē
 Pīr Dhagānā uṭhē an nārā vāhyā
 Arsha, azīm kambiyā, bhuchāl sī āyā.
 Haibat dhartī Dhauṭ nūnd dōōh lālī āyā
 Khabar hūē dargāh vich, Rabb vēhī puchāyā
 Hukam zōrdārān dā vēhī bhāunā āyā
 Puchhiyā ākē pīr nū, Tussān kī farmāyā ?
 Main dīd dhariyā adkē vich tēl bī pāyā
 Battī dē chhad bāṭkē sach bar Khudāyā
 Dē nūr apnē nūr thīn na rahān trēhāyā
 Main maujā Bālā pīr hūn main ih farmāyā,
 Lē sanēhē pīr dē vēhī mur jāndā
 Jitnā hāl hawāl sī sab ālsh sunāndā,
 Ōh mauj dā Bālā pīr hai, tūn rāzī honddā.
 Jhōṭ pīyārē nūr dā Rabb dast pharāndā
 Dēn dōān nū vandhē ikkō jēhā chhāndā*

*Ih bī āwīn daslē Shēh Bālā āhndā
 Mat kōī chēlā is dī chā gal bhōwāndā
 Ih barā zōrdār pīr hai mat azmat lāhndā.
 Sārē āwīn daslē thīn āiwān
 Hūdā adab karnd kōī nāl dhiyān
 Thē chēd sūrā hō sīd, nahīn ant bayān.
 Ih chhattī jug jal bimb rich kītā ashnān.
 Par sippān andar rakhiyā khud nāl dhiyān*

She said, 'My priest, had you been still a child,

I would have fondled you as once I did.

Al me! had my dear home resounded sweet
 With children's voices, then I had not thus
 Been here. You wed me but my youth, alas,
 Is passing swift away. Oh let me stay,
 And serve you like a slave.' Dhagānā rose.
 And mused, 'A many valiant men have been
 Undone by women. Rāwan lost Ceylon
 For Sītā. Gujri fascinated Kahn

What time he stole the ring, and Ranja Bhoj
 A horse became; his wife applied the whip.
 And thus the sons of prophets fought and died.

They said they died for men — for women
 'twas

They died. Great Jahangir Chagatta, once
 The king of Dilli, gay bridegroom became,
 And lost his honour to a dancing girl.
 What will become of me?' Dhagānā cried.
 He rose, he shouted, till the heavens shook.
 The earth did quake; the white ox Dhauṭ for fear

Did tremble, and the light of day grew red
 Like blood. The voice straight penetrates
 Heaven's court.

Forthwith God sends His angel Gabriel.
 A message brings he from the Lord; he comes
 So speedily all to the priest and asks,
 'What seekest thou?' The priest replied,
 'A lamp

Have I prepared, and placed within it oil,
 And eke a wick: light thou the wick. True
 God

Who art. Light from thine own light give
 to me,

Quench thou my thirst, for Bālā priest am I,
 A wanderer free. My one request vouchsafe.
 So Gabriel, back bearing his request
 Presented it, with explanation, 'Lo,
 'Tis Bālā, wandering priest, that makes request,
 And will not be content till it be given
 A cup of sparkling light.' God gave it free,
 And placed it in the angel's hands. He said,
 'Give them, the husband and the wife, give
 both

An equal share, and say that Bālā comes
 Into the world again. Let none refuse
 To hear him, for he is a mighty man
 Of God. He may be angry, in his rage

Aggē gayā duniyā tē nau vēri jawān
 Huñ daswīn vāri tūkh ghar āyā parwān
 Par sadkē ih dē nām tōñ hūñā qurbān.
 Vēhī nūr diltā vandkē dassē pīr dē āinwān.
 Jēhṛē ih dē murūd nē, bihishṭī jān.
 Nakīn qadr firishtēdīn, śhnū āñ buldīn.
 Jūñ aggē Dharm Rāt dē khay jā puchdīn.
 Shāh Bālē dē murūd nūñ na pawē dhuwān
 Jitnē aib savāb nē sab baḥshē jān
 Jē Shāh Bālē dē murūd haiñ, nāl nek nigdīh
 Khullē darwājē rāḡā, hē bēpariōd.
 Massallī jēhṛē bañ gayē wihdīn di kōi nahīñ jā

Oh Narakē dākhāl hōñgē, dōzakī di bhā
 Munkir tē Nakir bī, phīr lēkhā māñgāñ,
 Nikāñ badīdīn puchhīngē, nāl haddīdīn bhāñāñ
 Jē Shāh Bālē dē murūd haiñ, na puchhāñ na
 jamāñ.
 Ohlā dīlar karnā itnē nālē pakhē jhulāñ
 Pīr jāyāla nūr dā pī ghar cal āyā
 Dicā balēd jōt dā śhnū Rabb vailhāyā
 Nau mahīnē gujar gayē pīr kukhē āyā
 Āyā rāt sōhāg di māñ shajāñ māñāñ
 Arshdīn thīñ firishtē ziyārat nūñ āñ
 Dīrēdīn dē bālē shamēlāñ jāñāñ
 Hūrāñ pariāñ baithkē sab māñgāñ gāñ
 Ziyārat karē pīr di Rabb pūrī pāñ
 Rāt sanīchar vār di pīr Bālā jamnī
 Bālā dīrē māt hōē nūñ dāñ bhāññ.
 Guḡhṭī āhī nūr di vich sōñē chhāññ.
 Pahlā darshan māñ kītā jis pāyā thāññīñ.
 Pīr daswīn autār jē sunē akhīñ tē kāññīñ.
 Nārīñ sadī gujar gayē aggē daswīñ punnī
 Pīr pandit ākhē, Pīr bhōrē pāñ.

He may dishonour some. Go, Gabriel, go,
 Declare to them the signs, and see that they
 Give him due honour. He is great, so great,
 His greatness none will measure. On the deep
 He floated six and thirty ages; then
 He gave oblations; in the shell I kept
 And shielded him from harm. Nine times
 before

He has incarnate been, now in thy house
 A tenth time he will come. Let all regard,
 And sacrifice themselves to him.' An equal
 share

The angel gave them, and the signs he showed
 'Who follow him will go to heaven at last,
 The angels dare not summon them, nor dare
 To bring them to the presence of the king
 That rules in Hell. No force unlawful will
 Compel the followers of Bālā Shah.
 Their sins will be forgiven who look with faith
 To Bālā Shah. All fearlessly they come
 And enter free the doors of Heaven, but those
 That are Masallis straight will enter Hell,
 Where flames await them. Munkir and Nakir
 Will strict examine them, a record true
 Of deeds, both bad and good, they will demand,
 And then they'll break their bones, but Bala's
 men

Will be nor asked, nor born again. All grace
 Will them be shown, and fans be waved on
 high

To cool them.' Bala drauk the cup of light
 And homewards sped — a lamp with heavenly
 light

Was given him. Nine months passed, a child
 was born.

One happy night the mother omens sought,
 And lo! from heaven high came angels down
 To see the child. Bright lamps were lit, and
 placed

On stands; bright fays and fairies came to sing,
 'Behold the priest, and God be with you all.'

On Saturday, by night, the priest was born,
 The lamps that burned grew dim, the midwife
 ran

In fear. The child's first draught was one of
 light

All in a golden cup. His mother looked
 And saw him first. She gave him milk and so
 The priest was now the tenth time incarnate.
 Hear ye with eyes and ears, the ninth is passed,
 The tenth great age begun. The Pandits said,

*Bārah varhē is nūn na vā lōdō
Sakht sītāra is dā jē sach puchhā.
Ih dōrtēdān vichchōn bayā hai; na gal vadhdō.*

*Hujrē Shāh Mugim dē kōi gaddi bhūri.
Pir sāhib dē pōtrē saiyid balkārī.
Kisi dūtī jākē ōthē chuglī mārī.
Tālī Chūhrān dē jār dī kōi bēshamārī.
Sunkē saiyid pir nē gaddi jōrdān
Kuhdrē unhūn uṭhā lēyē mōndhē dhar jar
nāidā.*

*Tālī dē hēṭh dīkē sab nazrān kardē.
Traē darē baṅgē sōhnē kārīgar sās kardē.
Phull lagangē takhtidān buhē sōhnē baīdē,
Sōhnidān baīdān chunīdān, ghar būrān dhīdān.
Saiyid apō vich bahskē salāh kaṭṭān dī kardē.
Pir Dhagāna jākē mūr arzān kardā
Nālē pir kahūdā pēyā, Rabb thīn dardā
Par chācha jis nūn ākhayē pand chū, nahīn
kharīdā.
Saiyid, zōrāwar nē, Rabb kīkar ih kardā
Pir Dhagānā Saiyidān dē nāl na hōyā kāhī*

*Hōr andar pir hai is tūlīwālī
Tālī hath nahīn laund, mat karō uchhlā.
Saiyid dhnlē, 'Lōā, Khān, tālī dakkaṇwālī !'
Pir Dhagānā partkē mūr ghar val āyā.
Qufal utār bhōrē dā ziyārat pāē.
Jitnā hāl hawāl sī sabh ākh sunāē,
Pir Sahib dē pōtrē tālī vadhan nē dē
Phir khālī us nē nahīn jāund bājh dēkh dikhāē
Tālī bābat kuchh nahīn jag mēhnā lē
Bālē nūrī bāp nūn phir arz sunāē
Sāddē dāhdē sahib dī tālī kavī vadhdē
Bakhsh zabānī rahm kar sir khādk rālē
Jekar sāya sāhibdā tur āpī jāē
Pir Dhagānā ākhēā, 'Tussīn bāl aniyādhē,*

'The child must hide twelve years in darkness
dear;
No light must see — his star is powerful. He,
If you the truth would know, among the gods
Is strongest. This keep secret.'

Shāh Mugim²⁴

Had his last resting place where Saiyids brave,
His grandsons, lived. An enemy brought
them word
The Chuhras dared them cut their *shisham* tree.
The *shisham* tree the priest of Chuhras loved
Is great. The Saiyid priest, this hearing,
yoked
The oxen to the wagons. Saiyids took
Their axes, shouldered saws, and stood beneath
The *shisham* tree. Regarding it they said,
'Yes, three good doors the tree will make, the
wright
The boards shall plane; we'll carve them fine
with flowers.
So beautiful they'll be — and lovely chairs
We'll make — our wives will run to own
them.' So
The Saiyids talked with purpose fixed and
firm,
To fell the tree, but Pir Dhagāna came.
He begged them to have patience, not to cut
The tree. A priest he was and spoke them fair
As fearing God. A man may make request
And humbly say 'Friend, help me with my
load.'
The friend thus meekly asked no aid affords.
Just so the Saiyids harsh comply not. What
Will God do now? Dhagāna, priest, was calm.
He to the Saiyids said, 'The Master is
Within; touch not the tree; you'll rue it else.'
The Saiyids angerly cried, 'Who's the man
That will prevent us?' Priest Dhagāna came,
Unlocked the door that led to chambers dark
Beneath the ground, and looking on his son
The rightful priest, the story told him thus:—
'The grandsons of the Muslim priest have dared
To come with purpose ill to fell the tree,
The *shisham* tree. But learn they must to
feel,
And recognise, our power. The tree itself
Is little worth; the insult offered us
Is great. The world will scoff.' But Bala said

²⁴ Mugim for Mukim: cf. *mugat*, which is probably for *mukat*.

*Andar is bhārē dē bārāh sāl rihānē
 Aōn utthōn naskē kai dukh rihānē.
 Nāl dagē dē mārē Nathōn bāj chhadānē
 Bē parādān uslān ch āpē jānē
 Bālē Nārī ākhigē, kypān hāl gōvādē
 Main nōn apnē dukh dā khēl patā sūnādē.*

*Khārē upar chūphkē mainūn chā nuhānē
 Chhattī sāl dē ban lūgē tēkhē āhē lādē.
 Jē manjūrī Sālān dē, fātch āpār pādē.
 Paqr namānē us nōn ik gal sūnādē.
 Būnē dāna bijadē jānē khēt jamdān
 Jihkar ānē jākē fātch upar pādē.
 Nahin tē dhārē apnē dādē kēt jamdān.
 Lēkē kārān bāp dē pīr kārē taiyārī,
 Dhānā nēkē rūng hai andarōn kōlē bārī
 Andarōn is dargah dē pīr lōtē tārī
 Dargah uttē jēlīgā, main nōn ban gayē bhārī
 Tūdhē parānē kōjē kar madatgārī.
 K'hā Rabb pīr nōn kyān sōch guzārī,
 Takabhar hath tabār hai nahin chaldē kārī.
 Qabza khēt tabār dē tu banh kē dhārī.
 Sūyid dē rasul dē panjī shēr dē mārīn
 Chālē sūyid jōyādā pāch nām chatārī.
 Pīr thōrōn ākhigē mā lōnē vārī
 Ohlā mathā Bālē chand dē jīnān āsmānē tārī
 Chanē jīnān āsmānē tē jīnē chamkādē mārī*

*Nār matthē dē amakādā lōnā lishkāre
 Pīr pōshādān pē chādā nuhānē Nār khārē.*

In answer to his father, 'Who will dare
 To cut the *tālī* tree, which is the Lord's.
 Forbid me not and I will lay in dust
 Their heads; if on me rests God's power,
 behold,
 Like chaff they go.' But priest Dhagāna said,
 'You're still a child—within this cell you've
 lived

For twelve long years: defeat means dire
 disgrace,

And if you're killed, a hawk escaped, alas,
 Is not more swiftly lost to sight than you.'

'The Lord is all resourceful,' Bālā said,

'Why weep you? Tell me all your grief, and
 seat

Me on a basket, bathe me, glorify

The Lord who gave me grace to worship Him

For six and thirty years. If He appears,

My adoration paid, then victory

Undoubted will be yours.' The father then,

Like hermit true, made this request. 'Essay

Your power: a grain of corn sow, which sown

Shall in an instant grow if victory

Is ours. If not, then insult and a grave

Beside your fathers will your portion be.'

The boy, his sire assenting, now prepared

To go. Like burning coal he went in wrath.

With speed as of a spear. His heart was
 fixed

In prayer all close within God's presence.

'Thou,

O Lord, didst send me to the world; behold,

Thy servant now is troubled. Succour me.'

The Lord addressed the priest, 'Why art thou
 sad?

Pride grasps a sword in vain; no wound it
 makes:

Grasp thou thy sword's hilt, sharpen it and
 cut

Clean off the lion's paws, Muhammad's race.'

These songs are sung, compiled by followers
 true.

Oh read and sing God's name. The priest
 emerged

From out his dark seclusion. Giving alms

His mother kissed her son—his forehead
 high

Was like the moon. It shone as do the stars

That shine in heaven, or like the moon soft

That beams and glows. The beauty of his
 face

Atar té amir né utté kam vichārē
 Pīr bhōrēōn nīkhiyā salām mē nūn karāḍ.
 Awwal sēōdā tuḥh nūn mērā pīr hai kharāḍ.
 Putr jān dēn tē mā dū jī nahīn karāḍ.
 Nain hōwēn gindhāḥlē, rag kalējā bharāḍ.
 Bībī ākhē Shāh nūn kiōn ih na jāc
 Mān putr rāḥ baīḥkē chā hēḥ vadhāc
 Nainē nīr na ṭhiliyā dūḥh kalējā khāc
 Pīr kāhlā hō pēyā mēt tālī maḥl tē jāc
 Vīḍiā hōyā pīr jī, mān khair pūkārē.
 Khatqat āi hamākē, lōg pīnḍ dē sārē,
 'Arzān kara hath banhkē sab dar dē mārē
 Shēr tē bhagiār dē, mauṇ uḡāhī dhārē
 Tālīwālā pīr hai, har kisi nūn jāppē
 Chhīnj tamishē rākhnē lōg agayē apē
 Lōg tamāshagīr nē, kōḥ jhurdē māppē
 Pīr Dhagāna ākhēḍ Allah karē suḡāppē
 Dōwēn ikatṭhe hō pāc jūt pūc nē sūnī

Pīr ih ākhē, Saiyidā, kōi dē nishām,
 Tālī vadkḥuṇē ā gucōḥ tainā hōi qirdm.
 Aitṭhē hī mar jarēṅgā hō jāṅgā fānī.
 Gussa āyā 'Saiyid nūn, aggān āyā
 Pīr nūn jhiḡkēḥ ṁs kōḥāpā chāyā
 Pīr panjā uḡharāḍ maḡar Saiyid dē lāyā
 Jitnā laḥū sarīr dā sab bāḥir dī
 Zamīn tē jā pōyā na bōlē bulāyā
 Manjē uttē pēkē sir najrān chāyā
 Khudīwālē nūn mūrīā Rabb ē āp fārmayā
 Jadōn chēḥḍ ravānnā kar rēḥā jadōn vadḍhan
 nūn sī āyā
 Shāh Dhīgānā ākhēḍ pīr lakh hajārī
 Ik miyān nahīn mēndīdīn huṇ dō talwārīn.
 Pēō putr nahīn jēuṇḍē rāḥ ikēḥ thālī
 Jān Nishaurā māl bahā jētē mūnḍ Khīyālī.
 Lēkē ṣān bāp dā pīr ghōrē charḥiyā
 Majjalōn majjuliāyā ā Nishaurē varīyā
 Aḡgē choudhri Rām Chend sī, jīs vāḡḡn tē
 pharīyā
 Bah ja jhandā lākē, kīḥḍ hariyā bhariyā.

Shot dazzling rays. The priest on basket
 bathed
 Now fully dressed and scented, issued forth.
 He made obeisance to his mother, who
 In reverence said, 'Tis I shall worship thee,
 O priest of all the house.' She grieved and
 wept
 At parting from her son. Her eyes were full
 Of tears, her heart was breaking. 'Husband
 mine,
 Prevent him.' So she spake and sat her down
 Beside her son, and fondly him embraced.
 Her eyes dropped tears, her heart was wrung
 with pain.
 The priest must leave her, for the tālī tree
 Was in dire danger; so he went and she
 Cried 'God speed' after him. A crowd of
 friends,
 The village folk, with folded hands, implored
 The priest to stay — they feared for him. 'A
 wolf,
 They cried, 'or lion who can face?' But he
 Was Tālīwālā priest — his name and fame
 Brought all the country round to watch the
 sport,
 And view the wrestlers, for they love to see
 A worthy match. The parents of the priest
 Were sad. Dhagāna said, 'God succour thee.'
 So face to face they came, an equal match.
 So thought the people. 'Saiyid!' cried the
 priest,
 'Show me a sign — why came you, tyrant,
 here
 To cut the tālī tree? Now die you shall,
 And perish quite.' The Saiyid angry grew;
 He cursed the priest in surly tones, and he
 Put laid his hand upon the Saiyid's back,
 Worn out there grushed a stream of blood,
 and prone
 The Saiyid fell. They laid him then, bereft
 Of sense and speech upon a bed, and brought
 Him from the arena home. God kills the proud;
 It is his Law. And so it was that day
 The brave disciple faced the Saiyid when
 He came to fell the tree: Dhagāna said,
 'A mighty priest art thou. O never shall
 Two swords one scabbard occupy: we may
 No more as son and father eat one food.
 Naushera by Khīyālī is thy home.'
 The priest obedient mounted then his horse,
 And reached by stages sure Naushera. There

*Bālā nārī pīr sī, rahindā mūñh suchché.
Chhatrē, bakrē, kōh lōyē mullāñ nūñ na puchché.*

Ram Chand, the Chowdri, seized his horse's reins,
And cried, 'Dismount! Unfurl your flag,
and dwell
O blessed man, with us.' Enlightened priest
Was Bala, pure and holy. Food unclean
He ate not, for he killed his own, both sheep
And goats. No Muslim priest he asked.

5. Story of Dānā.

*Atē Imminābād bi dūr nahīñ kōi lammi mukhé,
Ōrak khabarāñ hōñgīñ Dāñā vī puchché,
Rāj sī Chugattāñ Dillī rich phērā
Jahāngīr Chugattā Bādshāh niyāñ karē chan-
gērā.*

*Dāñā nūñ mūt ākhā, Ustād hai mērā,
Mainūñ karnū aundā tērā adab bahutērā.
Duniyā tē nahīñ āññā mūy dujjā phērā.
Lai lai mūñhōñ mangkē kōi mulk changērā.
Dāñā qāzī dil rich dalil guzārī
Dē chhadā Imminābād di bādshāhī sārī
Kīñ mērī na mūrē phēr Dillī tāzī
Halāl harām nakhēr sūñ chāupdyāñ tōzī
Imminābād likh dītā Jahāngīr Shāhzādē
Kītē kam Khulā dē phēr nahīñ durādē
Sharā kull Panjāb di vas tērē tē sādē
Chuglī jehāñ jā karē chuk dēñ durādē
Dāñā rāzī hōkē Imminābādē ā varā
Shahr dyā hōmākē lōk nuzrāñ dhardē
Khabar hō gayī Panjāb rich ā Dāñā varā*

Naushera town is near by Imminābād,
And Dānā heard of Muslim law profaned,
Chugattās reigned in Dillī. Jahāngir,
The king, did justice. Dānā was his friend,
He said, and teacher. So the king decreed
Him honour great, and said, 'I come not here
Again — man lives but once — make thy
request,
And I will give thee province good.' 'He
thought,
And said, this Dānā Qāzī, 'Give me all
Imminābād, without appeal to thee
In Dillī: I will cleanse the land of all
Unlawful things.' Great Jahāngir bestowed
Imminābād on him. The Lord's great works
Are wonderful. Said Dānā, 'Panjāb law
Is ours to make or change: who disobeys
Shall exiled be.' In gladness entered he
Imminābād. All men brought gifts. Through-
out.

The Panjāb it was noised that Dānā made
This entrance to the town. The Brahmans
feared.

They knew not what the Lord would do.
When'er

There was a wedding. Dānā first of all
In Imminabad was called, the best of food
He chose, and, though no gift he gave, yet he
Kept count of others' gifts. None dared
complain,

As fearing the Chugattās. Dānā was
A king among them. Beggars feared to beg,
And strangers ceased to smoke; *faqīrs* indeed
Shrank from him as a man shrinks from a
grave.

This song of praise the true disciple made
To glorify the name.

*Shahrīñ Brahman kambdē Rabb kīkar ih kardā
Jō kōi Imminābād rich vādī rachāē
Pichhōñ mēl dundā awwāl Dāñā jāē
Uhnūñ khāññ kōi na mōrdā jō khāñ sō khāñ,
Tambbōl lēndā likh, āp nōñdrā na pāē,
Mārē dār chāugattāñ kōi gal na hālāē
Aukhē lōg Dāñā thīñ kuchh pēsh na jāē
Dāñā Imminābād rich rāj sī baiṭhā kardā
Dardā Imminābād rich kōi d gadā na kardā,
Kōi musāfir d varē huggā pīyē nāl dardā
Faqīrāñ nū dār itnā jō azāb qabr dā
Chlē sīftāñ jōrīñ pēyā nām hī parhād.
Shāh Daulā faqīr sī, hai sī dariyāñ
Lagā jāñdā Gujrāt nūñ kar lammi dhāt
Rāh rich Imminābād ā uhnūñ kaun haṭāē*

*Varīyā shahrē jākē jā sadā buldī
Sakhtī vēkh faqīr di mēl Dāñā jāī
'Kalmē panj banā bī, mainūñ ākh suñāñd.'*

Shah Daulāh was

A famous saint who loved the streams. He
made

'*Maîn Allah dā nām jāhānā, hōr paṛhiyā nahīn.*'

*Dānā hōyā qahrwān sir bhār chukdī,
Lōkān ākh vēkhkē faqīr chhuḍḍiā,
Us mundē magar lōkē aggē bhajāyā,
Iṭān māran vāvehīn aggē bhannā āyā
Khairā tān ēi chhaḍḍiā jē shahrōn bāhar ēi āyā.*

*Bāwā Nānak Gurū ēi sab dā sānhjā,
Oh pūrā karāmāt dā tān gurū sadāndā
Uhnūn Hindā mathā tēkdē ōh jit val jāhādā
Sail karē saṁsār dā duniyā ajmān lā.
Rāh vich Imminābād ēi ōh var gayā vāndā
Thākūr duārē jākē Bābā dērā lā,
Shahr āyā hamākē lōj nazrān lē āi
Hindū mathā tēkdē, Sādā sat gur ē āyā
Khabar hō gayī Dānā nū ōh āpē ās
Dānā qāzī baithkē uhnūn gal sunāi,
Jō tainūn mathā tēkdē sab jhūṭh lōkū,
Hindūn dā tā gurū haiṁ zahirī kalā dikhāi
'Maîn sat Gur dā nām jāhānā, kuchh paṛhiyā nahīn.'*

*Aggē Bābā bōliyā, "Sun, mullā Qāzī,
Pir pūkumbar anbyē sab vadḍē qāzī,
Sānī nahīn kōi Rabb dā sab jhūṭhī bāzī.
Faqr Allah di zāt hai, sun aḥmaq qāzī.
Dānā hōyā qahrwān chaṛh gussā jai
Bābā andar dōkē chā chākkī chōhā.
Ōh pūrā karāmāt dā uttē chādar pūi
Jitnā dānā shahr dā hō āṭā pihjāi
Azmat pūrī tān gayā phir naskē jai.
Chēlē sifān jōriān paṛh nām sunāi.*

*Mirālīwālē dā mulvānā bahut kitābān paṛhā,
Aē gayē nūnchērā dhigānē ēi laṛdā
Āṭā khōke faqīrān dā Dānē kōi kharḍā
Chēlā ākhē gāviēn Rabū kīkūr ih kardā.
Jāndā jihri gāl val, rannān pēyā qarādē,
Mauḷi maihndē dhari sūrmān kōi na pādē,
Rannān nūn āyā qar itnā kōi phul na handāē
Kōi mard kīnī nāl gal karē ōh kafarat lagāē
Mullā aisd phīṭṭiā vadḍē chīrā lehāē
Chēlā aggōn gābōndā sārī gal sunāē,*

His way to Gujrāt by stages long
And entering Imminabad he begged an alms,
But all unhappy met with Dānā, who
'To try him asked the Kalmās five.
'I only know,' said the *faqīr* 'the name
Of God. Nought else I know.' Dānā was
wroth.

He laid a load upon the poor man's head,
Despite the people's prayers to let him go.
He set the city boys upon the saint,
Who stoned him from the town.

Then came a saint
Whom all men owned to be a teacher true,
The Gurū Nānak. Hindūs bowed to him,
As here and there he wandered trying the
world.

In Imminābād he stayed: the people brought
Their gifts to him and said, 'Sat Gur has
come.'

But Dānā came to see him, questioning,
'Men honour you without a cause: what sign
Show you that I should honour you who teach
The Hindūs?' Nānak said, 'I know but
this,

The name of my Sat Gur. Oh Muslim judge,
All priests and prophets, makers of the law,
Called men of God, are nought 'fore God. A
play

It all is — God alone is the true saint,
Oh foolish Qāzī.' Dānā angry grew.

He locked the saint up — made him turn the
mill

To grind their corn. So Nānak spread his
sheet

And ground the corn of all the town without
An effort. Fleeing then the town he showed
His power so. This song of praise was made
By true disciple. Read and glorify
The Name.

Mirālīwālā Mulla read
So many books, he met all men in strife
Of argument. He sent the poor saints' alms
To Dānā. Let us see, the Chelā sang
What the Lord does. The *mulla's* wont was to
Insult the ladies, who left off to use
Their lace and henna, ceased to dye their eyes
And wear their jewels; even wreaths of flowers
They dared not wear, and, if a man should
hold

*Gallān dhāḍān karḍē Bāv tē Sōḍī
Mullā Mirāḥwālē dā kōi pakḥā hōḍī
Musohān dhāḍān kakkān dāḥī sī khōḍī.*

*Mullā bēfarmān hai uḥḍī bhairī vāḍī,
Namās rōza nahīn jīndā chaur ustād baḥān dī.
Gullī lēndā jumerāt dī ghar ēkōī jēnī*

*Mirāḥwālēn tur pēyā Gahṇā mulvānā
Aggē garh Nishaurē ā gayā vōḥḥ jag
shahāna,
Vēkh sirishṭā pīr dā Gahṇā ghabrānā,
Chattrē bakrē kōḥ lē saddāḥ nahīn mulvānā.
Sarbaḥ kōḥ hē gayā Gahṇā mulvānā,
Chēla ākhē, Gahṇā, ih jag hī shahānā
Kōl pīr dē ānkē Gahṇā karē bayān,
Chohhattre bakrē kōḥnān karnān tū gyān,
Sharāwālē mulvānā, tēri kaddh lēngē jān.
Shamas Tabrēz pīr sī vich Multān,
Sharāwālē mulvānē ḥs dī ultī khall laḥān
Oh dā dhāḍā kītā aḍrā nāl dēn na khān.
Us sūraj ṭikkā bhuniyā tūn mānḥ lagā sī pān.
Itḥōn kīkar bāchēngā sānnūn das bayān
Chhattre bakrē sādḍē apnē sharā hai tuḥāḍī
Sharā nahīn mangaṇ asīn gayē tainū lārṇ dī
hai vāḍī
Bhājī tainū nahīn ghalliyā vich pā rikābī,*

*Sānnūn tēri khabar nahīn tū kōḥḥē ṭhān dā
qāzī
Oh Gujrānwālē na gayā, ḥh Imminābādē
dhānā
Bāḥ vich rōndā jāḍān Gahṇā mulvānā
Aggē majlis Dānē qāzī dī ḥthē jā kurlānā.
Pag lākhē pītḍēdī jā Gahṇā mulvānā
Dānē qāzī ākhiyā Ihnūn pakar bahāḥ.
Jān kīcī ihnūn māriyā main nūn puchh sūḍḥ
Jān ihnūn kuchh lār gayā kōi mantar pāḥ
Chhēl Kāinsar dā kharf hai ihnūn andar pāḥ,
Lōḥān uhnū pakariyā Gahṇā tad bī ṭappē*

Converse with any maid, a blasphemer
He straight was judged. The mulla grew
full rich
With bribes, and fat — the story I will tell.
The Bābas and the Sodhis talked about
The mulla. 'Rogue and rascal he,' said they,
'Mustaches brown and beard but scanty his.
He has no principles, his ways are bad.
The fasts and prayers are nought to him; he
would
Be called a teacher — takes his Thursday bread
From all the houses.'

Mullā Gahṇā, marched
To Garh Naushera: there he saw the rites
That Chūhrās practised in the sacrifice.
Their priest killed rams and goats himself,
nor once
Called in a Muslim priest. And seeing this
Gahṇā grew angry like a glowing coal.
'Oh Gahṇā,' the disciple said, 'observe
The way the Shāhīs sacrifice.' But Gahṇā said,
'You kill both rams and goats, how dare you
have
Such rites? We that do know the Law of God
Will kill you. Know you not that Shams
Tabrēz,
Priest of Multān, was by the masters of
The law hung up by the feet and flayed, because
He broke the law. They cast him out. They
would
Not let him eat. The sun approached, and he
Did roast his fish and ate his scanty meal.
They spared not him, then how will you
escape?'
The priest replied, 'The rams and goats are
ours,
The law is yours. We do not want your law,
Nor have we called you. Yours it is to seek
A quarrel. Go. We know not you, nor where
You dwell and execute your law.' But he
Went not to Gujrānwāl, but took his way
To Imminabad, to see the Qāzī. So
He went in tears. Gāḥṇā the priest appeared
Before Dānā the Qāzī. There he wept
Such bitter tears, and threw his turban down
So vehemently, and beat his breast so sad
That Dānā Qāzī cried 'Take hold of him.
Here seat him—and see he has been beaten, or
A serpent poisonous has stung him, so
Use charms. Or mayhap he has some disease.

*Chugli Bālā pār dī aggē Dānē dē dāssē,
 Chuhṛēā dā pār hai rich Nishaurē dē vassē,
 Chhattṛē bahrē kōh lai, mullān nū na puchhē.
 Dānā bahē sipāhīān nūh Uṭh karō tāyārī,
 Asvār hō jāō ghōṛēān khich lō talvārī.
 Pīr nūn gal bār na dānī phir d'ijī vārī.
 Aīhē pakar lēdānā, pīrī vākḥāngā sārī,
 Chhattṛē kōhāō vākḥ lān, vādā bākārī.
 Chēlē sīfān jōriān, Rabb pājī savārī.
 Sau asvār pur pōyā ghōṛiān lē charḥkē.*

Control him—and shut him up indoors.
 They tried

To hold him, but he cast them off and railed
 Against priest Bālā, saying to Dānā, 'He,
 The Chuhṛas' priest, lives in Naushera. He
 Kills rams and goats himself, and disregards
 The Muslim priests.' Thus spake he. Dānā
 gave

His soldiers orders to prepare to mount
 Their horses, ride away, and draw their swords,
 Nor let the priest resist by even a word.

He must not have their leave to utter word.
 'Go bring him here in chains, his priesthood I
 Will prove. I'll see if he kills rams himself,
 The headstrong man.' His own disciple wrote
 This song of praise. May God vouchsafe us
 peace.

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE TODAS. BY W. H. R. RIVERS, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. With Illustrations. London: Macmillan & Co., 1903, pp. xviii, 755, 40 Tables and Map.

EVERY visitor of Ootacamund has met the sturdy, shock-headed aborigines of the soil, who first greet him with a merry '*salām*' and then naively and confidently ask him for his tribute in the shape of an '*illām*' (as the Arabic word *in'ām* is pronounced by them). Their little colonies of barrel-shaped huts are scattered all over the Nilgiri plateau. Two of them are on the very outskirts of the summer capital: one near Sylk's Hotel and another close to the Government Gardens. Others occupy some of the most picturesque spots in the environs: near the Marlimund Reservoir, near the Umbrella Tree, at the top of the Sigur Ghat, in Governor's Shola, &c. From the time when the hills were first visited by Europeans (which is less than a century ago), the Todas have excited much interest, and a pretty extensive literature has grown up regarding them. No observer, however, has made so deep a study of them as Dr. Rivers, whose special accomplishments as an anthropologist, and whose previous experience of similar work in the Torres Straits, enabled him to gather very accurate and detailed information about their customs and beliefs. The result of his stay among them is the delightful volume to which I seek to draw the attention of all friends of India.

Dr. Rivers gradually examined nearly every individual of the whole tribe, which numbers

about 800 people. With the help of two interpreters—a catechist and a forest ranger—he extracted from them a vast mass of valuable items of information, which he checked and verified by cross-examination and independent statements. He found these uncultured savages extremely intelligent, voracious, and far from reticent except on certain tabooed matters.

The Todas are a purely pastoral race and do not possess any wealth or means of subsistence except their fine, fierce-looking buffalo-cows, to the care of which their daily life is devoted. No wonder that in their belief milk has become a sacred substance and the dairy a place of worship. 'The milking and churning operations of the dairy form the basis of the greater part of the religious ritual of the Todas' (p. 38). Besides the 'ordinary buffaloes' attached to any village, there are herds of sacred buffaloes which are tended by dairymen-priests. The holiest kind of dairy is the *tā*, and its priest the *pālāl* (i. e., milkman). Dr. Rivers gives a full description of the complicated dairy ritual, plans of the dairies, and photographs of the dairy-vessels, the priests, and their attendants. The most sacred object of the dairies are certain buffalo-bells (*mani*), which are kept in the innermost room of the dairy-temple, and to which a miraculous origin is imputed. The picture on p. 51 will interest Sanskrit scholars, as it shows the native method of churning, which is frequently alluded to in Hindu literature. Most of the dairies resemble in form

the ordinary dwelling-huts; but a few, such as the so-called 'Toda Cathedral' (pp. 44, 46), are circular, with a conical roof. To keep off cattle and wild beasts, both huts and dairies are surrounded by walls and have a very small opening, which can be passed only by creeping, and is closed by a sliding door on its inner side. The interior has two raised portions on which the people sleep.

One of the most striking customs of the Todas is polyandry combined with polygyny. 'Wives are constantly transferred from one husband, or group of husbands, to another, the new husband or husbands paying a certain number of buffaloes to the old' (p. 523), and 'a woman may have one or more recognised lovers as well as several husbands' (p. 529). The catechist who translated the Commandments was met by the serious difficulty that there is no word for adultery in the Toda language. Dr. Rivers has taken the trouble to work out, and has published, as an Appendix, the genealogies, as far as they were remembered, of nearly the whole of the Toda community. These pedigrees are valuable in various respects. They illustrate the complicated system of Toda kinship and provide statistical material for the study of the marriage regulations. The older census records show a considerable excess of men over women. Dr. Rivers attributes this fact to the practice of female infanticide which, as his new tables prove, has now almost entirely ceased.

As may be expected, Dr. Rivers' volume contains a full account of the funeral ceremonies of the Todas. I have witnessed cases of both varieties: the so-called 'green funeral' at which the corpse is burned, and the 'dry funeral' at which certain relics — a lock of hair and a piece of the skull — are finally cremated. On these occasions the fire is produced by friction, as I am able to confirm from personal knowledge. Before the cremation various articles, which the deceased person is expected to require in the other world, are placed near the body. As a *conditio sine qua non* some buffaloes have to be killed, which will supply him or her with milk and *ghi* in the future life. 'Formerly it was the custom to slaughter many buffaloes at every funeral. This impoverished the people and was prohibited by the Government about forty years ago, and since that time the number of buffaloes killed at each ceremony has been limited to two for each person' (p. 338). The two victims are caught and dragged to the appointed spot, where they are dispatched by striking the head with

the blunt side of an axe. The racing of the infuriated and frightened animals by muscular youths, the dignified bearing of the more aged spectators (who remind us of Roman senators), the lamenting of the mourning women, the musical (?) strains of the band of Kôtas (who receive as their fee the flesh of the slaughtered buffaloes), — all this combines with the grand contour of those lovely hills in producing a weird scene which no visitor will ever forget. The Todas call the abode of the dead 'the world of Am,' i. e., of the Hindu god Yama. It is believed to be situated to the west of the Nilgiris, and to reach it a river near Sispara has to be crossed by a thread bridge. Wicked Todas cannot cross it, but fall into the river, where they are bitten by leeches. When they get out on the further bank of the river, they have to stay in a sort of purgatory before reaching their final destination.

I conclude these hasty notes on Dr. Rivers' important work by reprinting from p. 386 the translation of a funeral dirge, which alludes to Ootacamund and its lake and the boats on it, and betrays the influence of the Zenana Mission, under whose protection the author of the poem had lived for some time:—

"O woman of wonderful birth, renowned were you born, O flower of the lime tree! Having found a proper husband, you married; having found a proper wife, I married. I gave my best buffalo to Piedr for you. I took you as a beauty to Kunder. A house we built, bracelets and buffalo-horns we made in sport. I thought we should have had many children and many buffaloes should we have enjoyed. Liberal you were and refreshing like the shade of the umbrella tree. We thought that we should live long. We went together as we willed. We bought strong buffaloes and we prevailed over injustice. Peacefully we paid our fine. We lent to those that had not. We went to see the bungalows and the reservoir. Many courts we visited and ships also. We laid complaints before the native magistrate; we made bets and we won. We said that we would not be shaken and would fear the eye of no one. We thought to live together, but you have left me alone, you have forsaken me. My right eye sheds tears, my right nostril smart with sorrow. I bewailed but could not find you. I called out for you and could not find you. There is one God for me."

E. HULTZSCH.

Halle, 9th March 1907.

ARCHÆOLOGY IN WESTERN TIBET.

BY THE REV. A. H. FRANCKE.

(Continued from Vol. XXXV. p. 333.)

III. — INSCRIPTIONS AT BASGO AND NYEMO.

THE villages of **Basgo** and **Nyemo** are situated on the right bank of the Indus, at the two ends of a long plain which is the site of the important **Battle of Basgo**, when the invading armies of the Mongols and Tibetans were defeated with the assistance of the army of the Mughal Emperor of India. The strong fortress of **Basgo**, the ruins of which come into sight, when the end of the large plain between **Saspola** and **Basgo** is reached, was not destroyed during the Mongol war, but by **Dogra** troops between 1834 and 1841 A. D.

(a) The Fortress of Basgo.

This fortress is mentioned twice in the *Ladākhī Chronicles* before the great siege of c. 1646-47.^o We first hear of it as one of the possessions of **Dragspa'abum**, the rival king to **'aBumde**, c. 1400—1440. **Dragspa'abum** may have found some fortifications in the place, but he seems to be the man who made a really valuable stronghold of it, and it is probable that all the thick ancient walls and round towers were built in his time. The supply of water in the fortress must have been continuous, as is shown by the length of the Mongol siege, and the existing brook was probably included in the fortifications. Also, there could have been during the war no lack of food, as the grain-stores of all the **Ladākhī** castles were almost inexhaustible, owing to the custom of adding some grain at every harvest. The castle store-houses sometimes look like very deep round wells, and at **Wanla** I was told that the grain stored there of old was not even yet emptied out.

The most conspicuous building in the fort, and the one which alone is still entire, is the **Chamba ('aByamspa) Monastery**, built by **King Sengge-rnam-rgyal**, c. 1590—1620. It contains an image of **Maitreya**, made of copper (clay and wood ?), gilt, in size "such as he will be in his eightieth year" (as the *Chronicles* say), i. e., about three stories high ! The face cannot be seen in the lower story, as is often the case with these statues, because the head reaches through the ceiling and must be inspected from a higher place.

* Of the once famous **Royal Palace** here, called **Babstan-lha-rtse**, there is not much left. A small building, which is locally known as the **Seljang** (probably **γSer-leang**) **Monastery**, is to be found inside the ruins. There is a court on the roof with covered galleries all round it, in fair preservation. There are here some very rude Lamaist paintings, with explanatory inscriptions in modern **dBu-med Characters**. One portion of the wall is covered with a very long inscription in black ink in **dBu-can Characters**, which probably tells of the construction of the galleries and the decoration of the palace. It is certainly of some historical value, but in such bad preservation that I could not make much of it. The middle and lower portions are quite gone. I tried to find a king's name in it, and the Lama who assisted me in the task, occasionally pointed to certain words in the inscription. When he took his finger off the wall, away went the word which he had pointed out, and I believe that it is in this way that the most important parts of the inscription have been destroyed. There is, however, some hope left that it will be possible to fix its date approximately. The inscription contains a great number of names of state-officials and similar well-known persons, whose dates will, no doubt, eventually become known by a collation of the various inscriptions in these parts. I copied one of the many names, that of a Lama, **Stag-thsangba-ngag-dbang-rgya-mthso**. The term *Stag-thsangba* plainly indicates that he must have been a disciple or

I find that the date of the siege of **Basgo** has been preserved by **Bernier**, the friend of the Moguls (see *Pinkerton's Travels*). He speaks of this battle as having taken place 17 or 18 years before 1664, i. e. 1646-47. I am convinced that a date preserved by a European is more deserving of our acceptance than one preserved by the Tibetans, on whose authority 1636-38 has been accepted up to the present as the date of the siege.

successor of the great Lama **Stag-thsang-ras-chen**, who flourished during the reign of **Sengge-rnam-rgyal**, mentioned above, and thus the date of the inscription has to be fixed at any rate about 1600 A. D. or a little later. The Lama **Ngag-dbang-rgya-mtho** is mentioned as a contemporary of **Sengge-rnam-rgyal** on an inscription from Saspol.

(b) Hymn in Honor of **Sengge-rnam-rgyal**.

(On Stone.)

This hymn (in **dBu-can Characters**) is found on one of the numerous *manī*-walls which are built along the trade-road, below the **Fortress of Basgo**. Close by is a tablet on stone, containing a hymn in honor of **Nyima-rnam-rgyal**, but the stone has become so much weathered that hardly any part of the inscription, besides the name of the king, can be made out. I also noticed in the neighbourhood a tablet containing a hymn in honor of **bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal**, but it has not yet been read.

Tibetan Text.

skye dgu phan bdei sbrang char silili
 mung bde dgabai lotog sosor smin
 snyanpai ruga chen nam mkhai ltongsnas rdungs.
 gragspai dpal ldan riboi rtse nas ryo.
 dpang tbsogs dragpoi dar skad 'ururu
 dge bu 'adzompai smon bya thiriri
 dar rgyas skyidpai glu len gyururu
 yulla ryang chags sala 'adurdu mtho
 chos rgyal pho brang rab brtan la rtse dang
 de sogs 'adzam gling yongsla dbang bsgyurpai
 'ajagsmed sengges btegsapai khri stengdu
 Nya khri btsanpo zhes byai sa bdag byung
 mkhyenpa rab rdzogs 'ajanpai dbyangs dang
 mthsungs
 'ukha mnyam sa skyong thugs rje chenpo 'adra
 thub bstan skyongba rgyangbai bdagpo bzhiin
 chos rgyal chenpo sengge rnam rgyalgyi

Translation.

The rain which is of great advantage to all
 beings, makes *silili*
 And the different kinds of fruit (harvest) ripen,
 pleasing in their own beauty,
 The great and melodious drum of heaven is
 beaten in the zenith,
 And shakes [the air] from the zenith of the
 famous and glorious mountain.
 The strong voice of the noble company [of gods]
 makes 'ururu,
 The prayers in which the ten virtues are
 gathered, sound thiriri.
 The song of the spreading happiness sounds
 gyururu.
 In the land pleasure grows, and high joy on the
 earth.
 The palaces of the kings of faith, **Rab-brtan**
lhartse,
 And the others, were raised by the fearless lion
 who
 Really is the wielder of might in Jambudvīpa.
 On the throne
 Originated a lord of the earth, called Nya-khri-
 btsanpo.
 He is like the perfectly wise 'aTam-dbyangs.
 (*Mañjughosha*).
 He is like the protector of heaven and
 earth, the great Merciful (sPyan-ras-nyig;
Avalokitesvara).
 He is like the protector of the doctrine of
 Buddha, the Lord of mysticism (Phyag-rdor,
Vajrapāṇi).
 May the life-time of the great king of faith,
Sengge-rnam-rgyal,

sku tshé brtanceing dbu rmog mthoba dang
chab srid beassu rtagtu rgyas gyur eig
sgrolmai rnam sprul bska! bzang rgyalmo bzhugs

sras dang longs spyod chab srid rgyaspar shog
yzugs mdzes spyau legs lhai sraspo nono rgyal
sras

bDe ldan rnam rgyal sras Indra Boti rnam rgyal
stod

lhay! srasmo ycesma Nor 'adzin rgyalmo bzhugs

yab yum drungdū chosla dgābar shog

chos blon chenpos dgu dgā mangpo dgā.

Remain firm, and his helmet remain high!

And may also his political power spread!

There resides also queen bSkal-bzang, the incarnation of the (white) Tārā.

May her children and abundance increase!

Praise to the princes of beautiful shape and good faces,

bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, and Indra Boti-rnam-rgyal!

There resides also the daughter of the gods, the beloved princess Nor-'adzin.

May [she] rejoice in the religion before father and mother!

The great ministers of faith are enjoying ninefold happiness.

Notes.

* *smon bya*; the word *bya* is probably related to *byedpa*, and the meaning of the construction would be 'doing prayer,' pray.

'adurdu, the exact meaning of this word I find it impossible to ascertain. In my translation I have considered it parallel to *nyangs-chags*.

Rab-brtan-lha-rtse is the vernacular name of the castle at Basgo.

Indra-Boti-rnam-rgyal; according to the *rGyal-rabs*, the name of the second son is Indra-Bhodhi-rnam-rgyal. The name testifies to Sengge-rnam-rgyal's inclinations to Hinduism, which are also mentioned in the *rGyal-rabs*. The last lines are somewhat injured and cannot be read with absolute certainty.

(c) The Ancient Ruined Monastery of Basgo.

Outside the present village of Basgo, a little to the east of it, on the plain between Basgo and Nyemo, there are the ruins of an ancient monastery which is generally known as **Sogpoi mGonpa, the Mongol Monastery**. It is locally believed to have been erected by the Mongols during the siege, c. 1646-47, but at Basgo and Nyemo almost everything ancient, of which there is no certain record, is nowadays thought to be connected with the Mongols, who are also believed to be the erectors of many a ruined *mchod-rtse*. In most cases, however, it is quite improbable that the Mongols had anything to do with them.

As regards the Monastery, it is quite probable that it existed as such at the date of the Mongol War and was destroyed during that war. This supposition is strongly supported by the fact that there are **mani-walls** along the two paths which branch off from the main road and lead to the ruin, because **mani-walls were hardly built before 1600 in Ladakh**, as a study of the votive tablets on them proves; and it is not likely that *mani-walls* would be constructed on a road to a ruined building which had lost its significance. These considerations go to show that these two particular *mani-walls* were constructed between 1600 and 1646.

The Monastery consists of a large hall, twelve paces square. On the right and left of the East side are two smaller rooms which project out from the east wall, and probably formed the ends of a gallery that once connected them. The walls are still in existence, but as the roof has long fallen, rain has destroyed the paintings with which they were once decorated. The only traces of paintings now existing are the **raised medallions**, the forms of which are still quite distinct. In the plate attached the arrangement of those on the West (fig. 1) and of the North and South walls (fig. 2) are shown. The East wall had none, but contains the door. Their existence creates the presumption that the Monastery was built by Kashmiri monks.

Monasteries with raised medallions on the walls are very rare, and, as far as I know, only in a single instance, that of the **Chigtan Monastery**, are the original paintings on the medallions, or at least traces of them, still preserved, a fact which makes the Chigtan Monastery to be of the greatest importance with regard to the ancient Kashmiri form of Buddhism in Ladakh. A Muhammadan *mullah* is said to have covered the paintings there with mortar, and when I visited the place, the mortar was still on them. But possibly the mortar may prove to have been the means of their preservation, for I can quite imagine that, by working carefully over them with a brush, these ancient pictures, overlaid and hidden probably in the eighteenth century A. D., can be brought to light again.

There are some ancient ruined *mchod-rten* at Basgo, which probably go back to the first days of this monastery, say, between 900 and 1000 A. D. Most of these are to be found in or near the gorge, West of the village, on the road to Saspola. Several of them take the form of a staircase-pyramid, with a ground-plan of star-shape. They thus remind one of the ancient ruined *mchod-rten* at Alchi.

(d) The Ruined Nunnery at Nyemo.

On a rock above the Eastern part of the village of **Nyemo**, near the gorge leading up to the plain between Nyemo and Phyang, are the ruins of ancient buildings, which are popularly known as **Jomoi-mgonpa**, the Nunnery. There is but little beyond the foundations to be seen of it now, and, besides potsherds of the ordinary sort, there is nothing on the spot to remind one of its ancient occupants.

South of Nyemo, on the right bank of the river, there are ruins of a huge castle built in cyclopean style, of the origin of which even local tradition knows nothing; and not very far from this castle, which is called **Chung-mkhar**, in a little enclosure of rough walls, is a stone image of rather rude make and very ancient appearance. This is generally known as the **Aphyi-Tomo-rDorje** (Grandmother Nun rDorje), and is apparently believed to represent one of the ancient abbesses of Nyemo. The figure wears a crown of five points on her head, and carries a crozier in her right hand (see fig. 7). Such croziers are not used nowadays, so I am told. On her face is a black spot which is due to the hot butter which is smeared over it at times; for the cult of this old image has not yet ceased, and on certain occasions, especially on **New Year's Day**, the whole village assembles, and drums and clacsonets are played before the image for several hours. For the rest of the year, the image is in the care of a peasant, called the **Chung-mkharpa**, who is the owner of the ground near the castle.

By the name of the ancient abbess, said to be thus represented, one is reminded of the famous **rDorj-ephagmo**, **Vajravarāhani**, who is nowadays continuously incarnated in the abbesses of the **Samding Monastery** on the **Yamdok Lake**. But it is practically impossible to decide now, whether in the name of the image at Nyemo the ancient name of the abbesses of Nyemo has been preserved for us through popular tradition, or whether the name merely represents the fame of the abbesses of Samding.

Between the ruins of the Monastery and the Castle are several ancient *mchod-rten* and traces of rows of *mchod-rten*, which seem to have contained 108 *mchod-rten* each. These rows are the predecessors of *mani-walls*. Popular tradition assigns these relics of a former age to the Mongols, and says that the Mongols constructed all of them during their siege of Basgo. This is, however, quite improbable, because after and during the reign of **Sengge-rnam-rgyal** (c. 1590—1620), the building of *mani-walls* became a popular custom, and entirely superseded the former rows of 108 small *mchod-rten*. This obliges us to date all rows of *mchod-rten* before 1600, and especially those rows at Nyemo, which are in a particularly dilapidated condition and probably several centuries older than the *mani-walls*. Historical information about the Nunnery is hardly likely to ever become available, but the stone-image of the abbess appears to belong to 10th or 11th century A. D.

REMAINS AT ALCHI & BASGO.

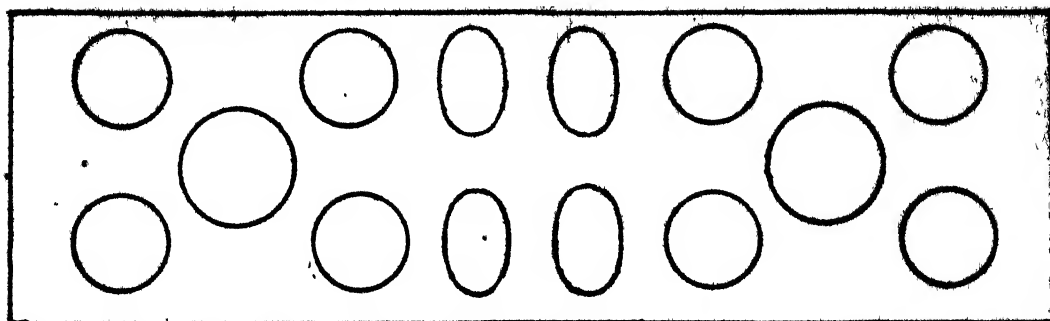


Fig. 1

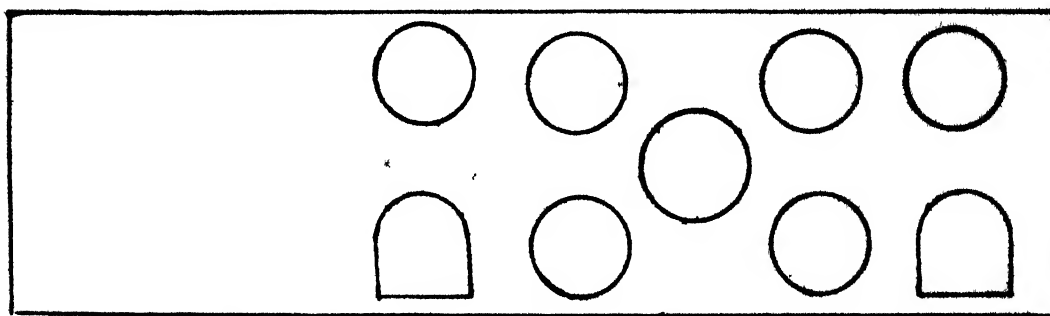


Fig. 2

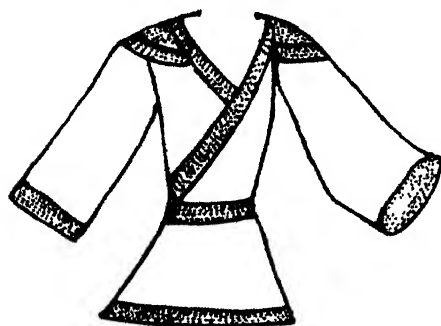


Fig. 3.

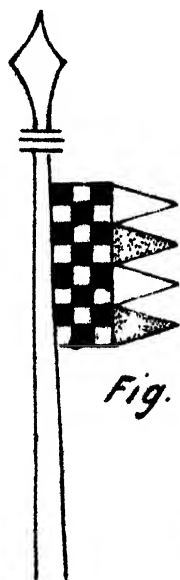


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

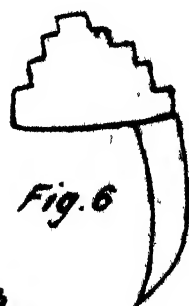


Fig. 6

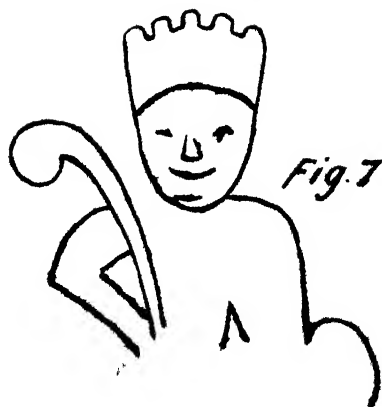


Fig. 7

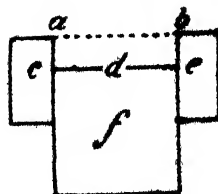


Fig. 8.

Description of the Plate.

Fig. 1. Western wall of the ruined monastery at Basgo, showing arrangement of medallions.

Fig. 2. Southern wall of the ruined monastery at Basgo, showing arrangement of medallions.

Fig. 3. Dress from the historical pictures in the ruined monastery at Alchi. Dress white, the spotted parts red.

Fig. 4. Flag from the historical pictures in the ruined monastery at Alchi; black, white, and red.

Figs. 5 and 6. Hats from the historical pictures in the ruined monastery at Alchi.

Fig. 7. Rough sketch of the sculpture of the abbess at Nyemo.

Fig. 8. Ground plan of the ruined monastery at Basgo; *f*, central hall; *c*, *e*, side halls; *d*, door; between *a* and *b* was probably a wooden gallery.

IV. — INSCRIPTIONS AT DARU.

The village of **Daru** is situated a little above the trade road on the large plain, which extends between the villages of Nyemo and Phyang. It is of little importance and hardly ever visited by travellers. It has, however, a ruined castle, which is said to have been built by the ministers (*bkā-blön*) of Daru, who were servants of the kings of Leh.

(a) Inscription of King Lhachen-kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal.

Not very far from the trade road, South-West of the village, there is a boulder, about nine or ten feet high, which has two walls abutting on its Eastern face, and having the appearance of being the remains of a hall. The face of the boulder, which formed one side of the hall, has on it **five or six sculptures**, among which the figure of **Vajrapāni** is the most prominent. Besides the sculptures, there are several inscriptions on the boulder in various stages of legibility and possibly of different times; those on the right side being carelessly executed and having the most modern appearance. One of the clearest of all the words is the name of the king, which has still the traces of its original red colour.

The present writer also found a number of inscribed fragments of stone-tablets lying about the boulder, which he took to Leh and deposited at the Moravian Mission. But in spite of much time spent over them, it was found impossible to fit any two together, and they seem to belong to several different tablets. There may be more fragments under ground, which might be brought to light by the spade. On one of the fragments the syllables *rGyalmo-rTan* Queen *rTan* could be read. Had the historiographers of Western Tibet thought it worth while to mention the names of the various queens of the country, such fragments would have a great historical value.

Of the inscription on the rock, which is mostly in **dBu-can Characters**, I was able to make out the following portion :—

Tibetan Text.

On the left side.

. . . . cam, cam palun

lha chen gun dgā rnam rgyal.

lag ygo (or *mgo*) 'ajam yangs skyab khomd (?) shi (?)

Under central figure.

blon chen phyag rdor jo, log bas (?)

To the right of central figure.

phyagna rdorje
blo bzang don 'agrubo
dkon mchog bkris dang . . .

To the right of the preceding.

. . . e zhen
. . . . grubpa
bkris.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

It is almost impossible to give a translation of the inscription; because those parts which can be read with some amount of certainty, consist only of names, and it is in several cases doubtful whether they belong to human beings or to mythological conceptions.

cam is probably a defective writing of the word *lcam*, spouse. The first name would be that of a queen: spouse (or queen), Palun (perhaps Paluna). She is not mentioned in the *rGyal-rabs*, but, as already stated, the names of only a few queens are given in that work.

Lha chen gun (kun) dgā rnam rgyal is doubtless the name of a real king (see below); *gun*, instead of *kun*, corresponds to the actual dialectical pronunciation of the word.

'ajam yangs, is doubtless the word *'ajam dbyangs* (Mañjughosha); but, as the other words in the line are not clear, we do not know, whether it is meant as a name of the mythological or a real person.

skyab [s], help, in the same line, may be part of a personal name; but it may also be part of a prayer to *'aJam dbyangs*.

About the other words in this line, there is not much certainty. *Lag* means 'hand,' but the connection is not clear.

blon chen phyag rdor jo; *blon chen* means 'great minister'; *phyag rdor* is Vajrapāṇi; *jo* means 'lord.' If the inscription refers to the mythological being, the title 'great minister' remains strange. There may have been a real minister of such name.

phyagna rdorje is once more the Tibetan name of Vajrapāṇi. This name in its Sanskrit and Tibetan forms is carved also on the west side of the rock several times.

blo bzang don grub is either the name of an ordinary person, or that of the third disciple of Tsong-khapa, who lived about the year 1500 A. D. One of the sculptures may thus refer to him. If that could be proved, we should have to date this part of the sculptures and inscriptions at any rate after 1500 A. D.

dkon mchog bkroshis (bkris) may be the name of a locally famous lama or a state-official.

e zhen is too incomplete to suggest any translation.

grubpa, fulfiller, is probably the second part of the name of a lama.

bkris (bkroshis), happiness, may also be the second part of the name of a lama or other person.

Identification of king Lhachen-kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal.

This name, which can be read with the greatest certainty on the boulder at Daru, cannot be found in the *rGyal-rabs* of Ladākh. Does this mean that he was a Tibetan king of a line different to that of the kings of Leh, although bearing their dynastic name?

If the ministers (*bka blon*) of Daru are the descendants of some old line of local kings or chiefs, that line cannot have remained independent long after the arrival of Central Tibetan Dynasty, about 1000 A. D. Also it is not likely that any chiefs of Daru could be in possession of the same dynastic name as the kings of Leh. So *Lha-chen-kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal* is not

likely to have been a local Daru chief, and he cannot have been one of the Parig chiefs, because their dynastic names were quite different. Nor can he have been a Balti chief, because the Baltis were Musalmans at the time that they overran Ladakh. And, lastly, there is no history of the arrival of any Central Tibetan kings after 1000 A. D.

These considerations preclude any identification of this king outside the line of Leh, and there is, moreover, much to show that *Lha-chen-kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal* must belong to that line. The names of the Tibetan kings generally consist of two parts: the dynastic name, and the proper name. The dynastic name of the ancient line of the kings of Lhasa was *bTsan* or *bTsanpo*, and is found in many of their names, *e. g.*, *Nya-khri-btsanpo*, *Srong-btsan-sgam-po*. The dynastic name of the first dynasty of the kings of Leh was *Lha-chen*, and is found in most of their names, *e. g.*, *Lha-chen-dpalgyi-mgon*, *Lha-chen-naglug*. Whenever it does not occur, as in the name *bKra-shis-mgon*, it may be presumed that the king was not the eldest but a younger son of his predecessor. As the second dynasty of the kings of Leh was descended directly from the first, the name *Lha-chen* was added to many of their names at their pleasure. The dynastic name of this second dynasty was *rnam-rgyal*, and it is found at the end of every one of their known names. This dynasty is particularly well known, not only from the chronicle *rGyal-rabs*, but also from its many inscriptions. Such a name, therefore, as *Lha-chen-kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal* would be that of a king of the second dynasty, but it is curious that the name *kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal* does not occur in the chronicle, although even after the second dynasty had been robbed of its power by the Dogras, the syllables *kundgā* occur as part of a very long royal name in *'aJig-med-(etc)-rnam-rgyal*.

If, then, *Kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal* is to be held to have been one of the kings of Leh, and cannot be found among the list of kings of the second dynasty, it remains to be seen if he can be placed among the kings of the first dynasty. There is a passage in the *rGyal-rabs*, hitherto held to be doubtful, which may enable us to so place him. Karl Marx's MS. A. of the *rGyal-rabs* puts king *Lha-chen-jo-dpal* directly after king *bKra-shis-mgon*, but Marx notes that Schlagintweit's text of the *rGyal-rabs* (which is quite in accordance with his own MS. A., at any rate in those early parts) places a king, *Lha-rgyal*, between them.

Lha-rgyal, taken by itself, is a strange form, and suggests the omission of something between *lha* and *rgyal*. My explanation of the circumstances is as follows:—The ancient MS. from which both Karl Marx's MS. A. and Schlagintweit's original MS. were copied had some fault in the place where some such name as *Lha-chen-kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal* originally stood. Several things may have happened to create the omission; *e. g.*, the right bottom corner of a page may have been torn off in such a way that only *Lha* remained of the first part of the name, the last syllable *rgyal* being preserved on the left top corner of the next page. If a European scholar were to find a MS. in such a condition, he would feel it to be an obligation to inform his readers of the fact. It is different with a Tibetan. He believes he has done wonders if he copies all he can make out. Usually he simply leaves out a doubtful passage altogether, and goes on as if nothing were missing. These habits will account for the difference between Schlagintweit's and Marx's MSS.

The presence of the dynastic name of the second dynasty in the names of this king creates a difficulty; but it may be pointed out here that the name *rnam-rgyal* was not new when it was made a dynastical name in c. 1500 A. D., but can be found in central Tibetan names about the year 1000 and perhaps earlier.

If, therefore, this theory of the identity of *Lha-chen-kun-dga-rnam-rgyal* with the *Lha-rgyal* of Schlagintweit's MS. of the *rGyal-rabs* be correct, we have to date this king c. 1250—1275 A. D., which date would very well account for the ancient character of this part of the inscription.

(b) A Passage from a Votive Tablet of King bDeldan and Prince
(or King) bDe-legs.

On one of the *mani*-walls, a little below Daru, towards Phyang is to be found a votive tablet containing the name of Prince bDe-legs, beside that of his father bDe-ldan, in the form which was usual, while bDe-legs was the heir-apparent. I have not yet found any votive tablets containing the name of bDe-legs as king, but on a tablet at Domkhar can be read the name of bDe-legs alone, with the title *rgyal-sras*, prince. This is remarkable because votive tablets of bDe-leg's father and son (Nyima-rnam-rgyal) are not at all rare. The easiest explanation of the omission of the reign of bDe-legs from votive tablets is that the Lamas forbade the people to mention this king on them, and destroyed all those bearing his name which were in existence, because after the battle of Basgo he was obliged to become a Musalmân. That *mani*-walls were constructed during his reign, we know from a votive tablet at Nyurla (aNyungla). On this tablet instead of the name of a king, that of a high Lama, Mi-pham-mgon, is given who is styled rGyal-tshabs or Viceroy. After the battle of Basgo, the great Lama Mi-pham-mgon, for whose name rGyal-rabs wrongly inserts that of Mi-pham-dbangpo,⁷ was sent to Ladâkh by the supreme government of Lhasa, to conduct the peace negotiations, and the authority of bDe-legs was so much shaken that the great Lama took the place of the king in the minds of the people.

Text.	Translation.
(In dBucan Characters.)	
. . . lha chen bde ldan rnam rgyal bde legs rnam rgyal, dbu rmog mtho zhing chab srid rgyaspar shog . . . . .	. . . . the great gods, bDe-ldan-rnam- rgyal [and] bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal, their helmets being high, may their reign (or progeny) spread!

Note.

The reason why the inscription was not copied in full was want of time and the fact that some parts of it were in such bad condition that the reading proceeded very slowly. I may here mention that another tablet containing the names of both these kings was discovered at Phe, on the Indus, below Daru.

(c) Sanskrit-Tibetan Votive Inscription by the Minister
Thse-dbang-dongrub, c. 1800 A. D.

(On Stone.)

Along the wall of the present government garden at Daru there is a *mani*-wall, which is furnished with two large votive tablets. Although both the wall and the tablets are only about 100 years old, the latter are not in particularly good preservation. The state of preservation of an inscription depends entirely on the kind of stone selected, and the softer the stone the shorter the time the inscription lasts. The Tibetan part of the inscription was originally copied in full, but the paper containing the latter portion of the inscription has unfortunately been lost,⁸ and I can now offer only the first part of the Tibetan text.

⁷ *Mgon* and *dbangpo* are almost synonyms, which explains the fact that the name occurs in two forms.

⁸ Together with the copy of the Alohi Bridge Inscription and others.

Text.	Translation.
(In dBucan Characters.)	(Of the Sanskrit by R. C. Dutt, C.I.E.)
Sanskrit.	
Om namo(m?) B[h]agavate aparimīta ayur dznyāna subhanitsitastana tsoradzāya ; tathā- gatāya ; arhate samyaksambuddhāya ; tadya- thā ; om [punye punye] mahāpunye aparimīta punyer dznyāna sambharopatsito om sarvasam samskāripārishudha dharmate gagana samu- nagate subhava bishudhe (vishudhe ?) mahā- naye parivariye svahā !	Om, adoration to the Lord, the immeasurable, the life of contemplation, the soul fixed on holiness, the Tathāgata, the Arhat, the awakened, the self-existent ! Om, to him of perfect holiness, of great holiness, of immeasurable holiness, of unmeasured righteous knowledge, of radiant soul ! Om, to him who has done all sacraments, to him of pure religion whose way is high as the heavens, to the well purified, to the great teacher and traveller in the righteous path, — Glory !
Tibetan.	(Of the Tibetan.)
Mi dbang choskyi rgyalpoi phrinlas ysergyi shing rta gyendu la drenpai 'akhorlopa bkā mdzod the dbang dongrubkyi sku the mdzadpa stobs	When the great minister, Thse-dbang-dongrub , the upwards driving coachman of the golden carriage of the works of the king of faith, the powerful over men died, power

Notes.

La drenpa, an idiom meaning about 'driving upwards.'

bkā mdzod, literally 'treasure-house of words.' I translated it by 'minister,' but it may more properly mean 'wise man.'

sku the mdzadpa, 'making his lifetime,' used in the sense of completing his lifetime.

V. — THE ROCK INSCRIPTIONS AT SHEH.

There are three inscriptions at Sheh, one accompanied by various sculptures on the rock on which the castle is built, and the two others on the **Maitreya Rock**, a little below the village on the Indus, which is now popularly known as **Sman-bla**.

There are traces of several other inscriptions on the Maitreya Rock, in both Persian and Tibetan characters, which have been effaced, probably during some war. It is probable that when either the Balti or the Dogra armies marched up the Indus valley, they destroyed the Tibetan inscriptions, and carved others in Urdu or Persian on their place. If this happened, the Ladākhīs would in turn destroy the new inscriptions, as soon as the hostile army had left the country. The two very ancient Tibetan inscriptions that have escaped destruction owe their escape to their positions on the rock. One is carved so high up that it cannot be reached unless special arrangements are made, and the other was hidden behind a masonry-wall so that it could not be read, until the wall was broken down by the missionaries in January, 1906. Indeed, I am told that some lines have not even yet come to light.

Nos. I. and III. of the legible inscriptions have been copied by bLo-bzang-thar-rnyed, meteorological observer at Leh : No. II. by bDechen-bZodpa.

INSCRIPTION No. I.

Position: High up on the Maitreya Rock.

Text.

idkon mehog ysumla phyag 'athsal dang, nga
 (da?) skvabs su ysolte, rgyalpo chenpo, tsan po
 lha sraskyi sku yondu mngārisikyi' abangsla
 rigste, phyogs beui semscan thamsadkyi
 bsodnamssu bsodsnas, 'aphagapa byams dpal,
 khor tang beaspai sku yzugs
 . . . pa mthar brtan
 bgyis.

Translation.

I greet the three highest beings (Buddhist Trinity)
 and ask [them to come] to my help. Making
 it as an offering of the great king, the **Tsanpo**,
 the son of the gods, and for [the benefit of] the
 subjects of **mNgāris**, and for the benefit of all
 the beings of the ten regions, the images of the
 august **Byams dpal-(Maitreya)** with his
 attendants *stūpa* made.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

ysolte; the style of the writing used for this word reminds us of the **Endere Inscriptions** in Turkestan, where we find the final consonant of a syllable written not *after*, but *below*, the preceding one. In this case the *l* is written not after, but below the *s*.

mngārisi, instead of later **mNgāris**. This is the ancient name of Western Tibet, as is proved by the *rGyal-rabs*, though in more modern times it has been restricted to the most Eastern part of that country.

rigs is the classical *sgrigspa*, arrange, &c. See *Ladakhi Grammar*, Law of Sound, No. 3.

bsodsnas; I take this word to be another instance of placing the second consonant under the first. Otherwise the word would have to be read *bsngosnas*, which would give it the sense of 'resolve to go the way of Nirvana,' according to Sarat Ch. Das' *Dictionary*.

byams-dpal, the glorious Maitreya. This shows that the inscription refers to the figure of Maitreya with his attendants carved along with it on the rock, giving the same date both for the inscription and its attendant sculptures.

mthar-rten. I am told that this refers to a particular kind of *stūpa*.

INSCRIPTION No. II.

Position: Behind the masonry-wall at the same site.

Text.

dkon mehog ysum dang, 'ajigrtengyi mgonpo
 kunla skyabssu ysolnas, khyaba phagapa
 byamspa 'akhor dang beaspai sku yzugs khra
 svalpa mthāi bardu choskyi 'akhorlo dampa
 myurdu bslobpar skulla ysoldcing, dus mehod-
 kyī rkyen sbyardpala sogspai bsodnams dang,
 'aphag-pa rnamskyi byin rlabs kyis, btsanpo
 lha sras ydung rabs dang phyogs beui semscan
 phalpo che . . . thamsad, bdeskyid phon-
 sum thsogs shing, blannedpai sangsrgyassu
 myurdu grubpar stonte 'aphagapai sku yzugs
 rdo 'aburdu bgyispao, yaskyi dgebaī bshes
 nyen rnamskyis kyang thson ysal bur bgyiba
 dang brtanpar bgyio.

Translation.

Asking the three highest beings (Buddhist Trinity) and all the lords of the world [to come to my] help, the image of the august **Maitreya** with [his] attendants [was made]. Praying that the glorious (bright shining) one may quickly teach and admonish the holy wheel of religion until the ends (of the earth), and that there may be the merit of the confirmed effect and such like of the periodical sacrifices; and through the blessing of the exalted ones, may the *btsanpo*, the son of the gods and (his) family, and the ordinary as well as the great beings of the ten quarters remain in perfect blessing, and be taught to attain soon to the very highest Buddhahood. [For all this] the image of the exalted one was made of stone. All the friends of the virtue of the right hand will [from time to time] renew the colour (make clear colour) [of the image] and protect it (make it safe).

Philological Notes.

khyaba-'aphagspa, I am told that this is a locally well-known title of **Maitreya**; but what *khyaba* means I have been unable to discover.

khra svalpa (or *ysalpa*), I am told that this expression means 'very bright, shining.'

sbyardpa, perfect stem of the infinitive *sbyor[d]pa*.

rdo 'aburdu, used in the sense of 'according to stone,' 'of stone.'

Epigraphical Notes.

Though the characters of this inscription are of the ordinary **dBu-can** type, there are a few peculiarities in them, which point to its antiquity.

(a) The letter *ng* has a stroke attached to the right end of its lower line, which makes it look almost like a **dBu-can** *p*. This peculiarity has not yet been observed at **Endere** (Stein Collection), nor anywhere else.

(b) The *i* sign has not always the position of the **Dēvanāgarī** short *i*, but often that of the long *i*, as is also the case in the **Endere MSS.**, and many other ancient inscriptions.

(c) The second or final consonant of the syllable is written below the first consonant. Of this we have one certain and one probable case in the previous inscription. This peculiarity is also found at **Endere** and in the **ancient Balti Inscriptions**.

A Comparison of the **Ladākhi** and the **Endere Inscriptions**.

It will be useful here to review the peculiarities of the **Endere relics**, as they are the oldest datable specimens of Tibetan orthography, and to compare the most ancient West Tibetan Inscriptions with them. The question is a very important one, because on it the possibility of dating the Tibetan Inscriptions depends.

The peculiarities of the **Endere MSS.** and **Sgraffiti** (8th century) are the following : —

- (a) The *i* sign takes the shape of the **Dēvanāgarī** long and short *i* interchangeable.
- (b) In several cases the final consonant of the syllable is written below the first consonant.
- (c) The masculine definite article is in most cases *phā* and *pha*, instead of modern *pa* and *po*.
- (d) In many cases the ordinary *c* and *ts* are replaced by *ch* and *ths*; and both *ch* and *ths* have *r*, *d*, or *b* prefixes attached to them, whilst in the classical orthography they are furnished only with *a* and *m* prefixes.
- (e) When *m* comes before *i* or *e*, a *y* intervenes.
- (f) Words ending in *r*, *l*, or *n* are furnished with a *d* suffix, called *drag*.

A comparison of the ancient **Ladākhi** inscriptions with those of **Endere** discloses the fact, that several of them exhibit some of the peculiarities of the **Endere** epigraphy, but not all. This leads to the supposition that the six characteristics of **Endere** orthography were not dropped all at once, but one by one, and Dr. L. D. Barnett has observed that, according to the **Endere** relics, the *drag* was even then on the point of disappearing (8th century A. D.).

In **Ladakh**, the peculiarities of the **Endere** epigraphy are exhibited in the following inscriptions :—

- (a) Interchange of long and short *i* is found in Inscriptions at **Sheh**; at **Alchi-mkhar-gog** (but only in the oldest); and at **Sadpor** (**Baltistān**).

(b) Subscription of the final consonant is found in the inscriptions at Sheh; in one at Khalatse (at the bridge); and at Sadpor.

(c) The masculine article *pha*, *pho* has so far only been discovered at an ancient gold-mine near Nyurla, where a personal name is spelt *danarnapha* (or perhaps *tanarnapha*).

(d) *ch* and *ts* for *c* and *ts* are found in the Balu-mkhar Inscriptions.

(e) *y* intervening between *i* or *e* and initial *m* is found in the Sheh Inscriptions (see Inscription No. III., below); in the Alchi-mkhar-gog Inscriptions (the oldest); in those at Sadpor; at Khalatse (at the bridge); and at Balu-mkhar.

(f) The suffix *drag* is found in the Sheh Inscriptions.

The latest peculiarity of the ancient orthography to disappear would appear to be the intervention of *y* between an initial *m* and *i* or *e*, as this is exhibited in *all* the ancient inscriptions; and the latest of them which can be dated with some amount of probability, is the Khalatse Bridge Inscription (probable date 1150 A. D.). Peculiarities which disappeared much earlier are certainly the masculine articles *pha*, *pho* and the suffix *drag*.

The Sheh Inscriptions exhibit the interchange of long and short *i*, the subscription of the final consonant, the intervening *y*, and the suffix *drag*.

This last point is of great importance, as the use of the *drag* was supposed to be on the decline at Endere. I propose, therefore, to put their date between 900 and 1000 A. D.

The King of the Inscriptions.

Both the Maitreya Rock Inscriptions are plainly by the same king, and both refer to the same subject, the carving of the image of Maitreya. The personal name of the king is not given, but this omission seems to have been customary at that time, as the Khalatse Inscription also speaks simply of "the great king." We find, however, two dynastic names, in the Maitreya Rock Inscription, the name **bTsanpo** and **Lhayi-sras**. The former is the dynastic name of the Central Tibetan Dynasty, from which the Western Tibetan kings descended, and the latter, which means 'son of the gods,' not only reminds us of **Lha-chen**, 'great god,' the dynastic name of the earliest Western Tibetan kings, but is also used interchangeably with **Lha-chen** by the later kings. We may thus, with some confidence, attribute these inscriptions to one of the kings of the **bTsan-po-Lha-chen** line of Central Tibet and not to local chiefs. The first of this line of kings was **Skyid-lde-nyima-mgon**, the conqueror of Western Tibet, who reigned, according to Grünwedel's *Chronology*, c. 975—1000 A. D., or, according to Sarat Ch. Das' *Chronology*, 20—30 years earlier, and I believe that it was under him that both sculptures and inscription were set up. Votive offerings of this nature were mostly made by the kings, not so much for their own spiritual benefit as for that of their parents, as we learn from the *rtigal-rabs*, and my belief is that the king caused the figures and inscription on the Maitreya Rock to be set up for the spiritual welfare of his father, who may have died when he was in Western Tibet. This supposition at once explains the use of the word *bTsanpo*, as Nyima-mgon's father was the last of the *bTsanpos* in the family, and the word *bTsan* was actually part of his name, **Lde-dpal-akhor-btsan**. It is of some interest that, in the Inscription, the wish is expressed that the sculpture may be a means of blessing to the people of Western Tibet. Apparently, the king wished to please his new subjects with it.

The result of this examination of the Inscriptions is that they must be most probably dated c. 950—1000 A. D. and must be assumed to be by **Skyid-lde-nyima-mgon**, the conqueror of Western Tibet, for the spiritual benefit, in the first place, of his father **Lde-dpal-akhor-btsan**, and secondly, for that of his new subjects. In any case, the probability is that they are earlier, and not later, than 1000 A. D., and refer to some Central Tibetan king. At the same time it is difficult to see why any king earlier than **Skyid-lde-nyima-mgon** should have taken an interest in the village of Sheh, as it apparently became the first capital of Western Tibet after its conquest by him.



Ancient stone figure at Changspa, Leh.

Photo: Dr. F. E. Shaw.



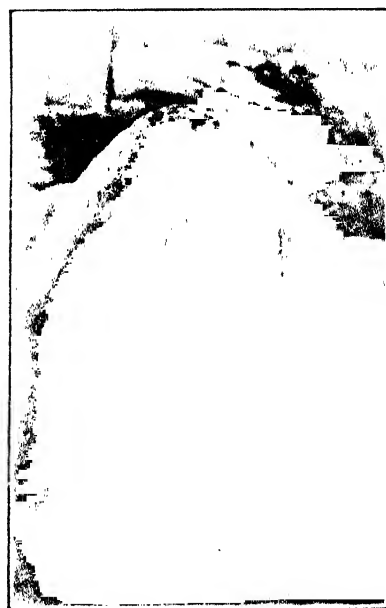
Image of Maitreya in the garden of the
Moravian Knitting School, Leh.

Photo: P. Bernard, Lieutenant French Army.



Ancient stone figures on the Yarkand
Road, Leh.

Photo: Dr. F. E. Shaw.



Ancient stone figure by the brook,
Changspa, Leh.

Dr. F. E. Shaw.

INSCRIPTION No. III.

This inscription is carved high up on the rock below the castle of Sheh, above an image of Maitreya, and can only be read with the greatest difficulty, even with the help of a field glass. It is impossible nowadays to get close to it. The following is bLo-bzang-Thar-nyed's reading of it:—

Tibetan Text.

dkon mchog ysumla bstaste, phyog cu gyal khangs myo zangri bter chos khal ga phulbai byang lha byamsbai nyu ku rdo 'abar ('abur?') gi mchodpa dang ku sdob; kbo chengyi zhir myig tsang cing byorbar byas skyong dang tsangyis (or: skyongba tsangyis) en skarba

Notes.

A translation of this is impossible, as it is evident that it has not only become more weathered than the others, but is also written with a more careless orthography. From the few words which can be made out, it looks very much as if it dated from about the same time and referred to a similar object.

dkon mchog, &c. The first line means 'looking at the three highest beings' (Buddhist Trinity) 'phyog[s b]cu, the ten regions.

byamsbai (or *pai*), of Maitreya.

rdo 'aburgyi mchodpa, 'offering of a stone statue, image.'

myig tsangcing, probably 'the eye getting clear'; *myig* instead of *mig* is a case of the ancient orthography.

skyongba tsangyis, 'by the protector, by the Tsanpo.' Thus, the king at Sheh would appear to call himself Tsanpo, as a descendant of the famous Tsanpos of Tibet. The term may perhaps, however, signify a name of Phya-g-rdor, similar to the form Thub-bstan-skyongba.

APPENDIX.

The Age of the Buddhist Stone Images of Ladakh.

All the stone images of Ladakh are in relief. They are found on the living rock as well as on raised slabs of stone, and are in varying states of preservation. The following have come to my knowledge:—

(a) *Outside Leh*. — The images at Dras; the famous Chamba (Byamspa) at Mulbe; the medallion at Sadpor in Baltistan; the rGyalba-rigs-lnga at Spadum in Zangskar; the images at Kartse in Purig; a stone with sculptures at Tingmogang; a similar stone at Saspola; several reliefs on the living rock at Spitug, the stone abbeys at Nyemo; the Vajrapāṇi at Daru; the Sman-bla and figures near the castle at Sheh; the Maitreyas at Igu, with ancient frescoes close to them.

(b) I am told by Dr. F. E. Shawe, who made a collection of photographs, that in Leh and its environs there are a great number of them. Of these the best known are:— four stones with images on the Yarkandi road; one stone with several sculptures at Changspa; three stones with single figures about the brook near Changspa, and another in the village; one figure at Gonpa, above Leh; an inscribed figure in the garden of the present Moravian Knitting School; one, painted red, near the palace of Leh, close to one of the former city gates; one on the plain, south of Leh, in a *mani*-wall among a large number of *mchod-rten*; one at Skara, below Leh; and one below king bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal's *mani*-wall on the Sheh road. This last has figures on all four sides.

With regard to the date of these figures we can safely say that they are never made nowadays, and, according to local tradition, it is a long time since they were made, a fact which does not hinder the people from still worshipping some of them. As a few of them have inscriptions, it is possible to assign approximate dates to them. The figures thus made dateable are the following:— The Maitreyas at Sheh, c. 950—1000 A. D., as shown above; the Sadpor reliefs (pictures and inscriptions, *vide* Miss Jane E. Duncan's *A Summer Ride through Western Tibet*), c. 1000 A. D.

from the orthography employed; the Dras figures, with inscriptions in Kashmir *śāraḍa* characters, most probably of the Kashmir Buddhist emigration to Ladākḥ, which was at its height 900—1100 A. D.; the Vajrapāṇi at Daru, c. 1250 A. D. (or 20—30 years earlier according to Sarat Ch. Das' *Chronology*); the figures at Spadum in Zangskar of the time of the Mons, before the Tibetan conquest, which took place c. 950—1000 A. D.; the figure in the garden of the Mission Knitting School at Leh, c. 1000 A. D., from the accompanying inscription. On the whole, although one of the dates is as far forward as far as the thirteenth century, I feel much inclined to believe that the year 1000 A. D. should be taken as roughly the date of these images.

I would draw attention to the striking similarity which many of these sculptures have to the ancient Buddhist images at Gilgit, one of which is reproduced in Biddulph's *The Tribes of the Hindoo Kush*. And although the art was continued for some time under the rule of the Tibetan kings of Leh, I feel much inclined to believe that it is Pre-Tibetan, and probably Dard in origin. At any rate it is Indian.

The inscription on the Maitreya at the Knitting School, Leh, runs thus:—

Text.	Translation.
nga zharba	I, a blind one,
ma shii bardu rje	Until death
sam chodeching rkyan	May offer high thoughts and
bai bsodnamskyis	Through the adorning [religious] merit
grol bya sem	May (or will) be delivered, the soul . .

Notes.

rkyan is probably for *rgyan*.

Signs of age in the Inscription are: three inverted *i* signs; *ching* instead of *cing*; and the form of the *sh*, which reminds us of *sh*.

THE TRAVELS OF RICHARD BELL (AND JOHN CAMPBELL) IN THE EAST INDIES, PERSIA, AND PALESTINE.

1654—1670.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from Vol. XXV. p. 210.)

PARTING from them, my boy & I tooke Councell wth way to steere; My boy advized a back way, for that y^e people of that Contrey weere verry bad, and theires a Towne 12 Corse [*kōs*], w^{ch} is 6 English mile of; Theire we will goe & buy p^{vi}tions, w^{ch} we did, And after Travelled 17 days wthout touchinge at either towne or howse till we caime to y^e great Citty Guzzurratt. These Contreys [*Rajputana*] are not as others, but haue many Kings. Some haue not aboue 600 people feighting men vnder them, so^me 5000. I got safe to Guzzerratt, tho very weary of all my Travells. This was y^e first iunct money [*chungum*, custom, poll-tax] I paid, otherwise cald head money, soe much for a Man & doble as much for a horasse.

I lived in that Citty 17 days privatt in a brammonists [*brahman's*] howse, by reason my sarv^t told me I must live as his sarv^t if I intended to travell safe in that Contrey, wth I did, for in those parts they are great Enemies to a Xpian.

They Mervelled to see a whiteman, never seing one before in that Contrey, Caused my Man, then My Maister, to say he bought me in the Bloches Contrey, & I was his slaue. Next morning, I rideing out to water wth my horasse, y^e people stareing on me, A Naagg [*nāik*], y^e

is a greatman, mett me, And askt me in his Lingua who I served, & followed me home to y^t howse I lodged at, being I had not the Lingua. My man, then Master, discorsing wth him, y^o Naagg demanded wth Lingua I could speake. He told him I was but a new sarv^t & could speake noe Lingua. Then, S^d y^o Naag, how doe y^u vnderstand him. He replied, by Signs. He was verrey earnest to buy me, but my Man put him of, telling him I was his Brothers sarv^t. The cause of my staying soe longe amonge them was, Wee could not Travell, They being in warrs one wth an other.

I had not scaped Sellinge but y^t my boy was trusty, w^{ch} is rare of a Cannarry [Kanarese], for y^t Contrey he was.

From Guzzeratt to Brampoore [Burhānpur] is 400 Leagues. I was 4 Months in goeinge it. When we caime to Junkann [custom-house], I lighted of my horsse & gote on y^o Ox, w^{ch} carried y^o boy & things, & the boy mounted On my horsse as Maister Att seuerall villages, for there was noe Cittys on the way; forts there weere, but we went out of the way to misse them. In every 40 Leagues there was Junkanns [custom-house officers], who tooke head money. Wth much trouble wee past, My man haueinge y^o Lingua, but I not. And the people weere verrey inquisitive what I was, being a white man, w^{ch} was rare in y^t Contrey. When we caime wthin 60 Leagues of Brampoore, my Man told me, this is y^o great Junkinn Towne called Halloe [Halabas, Allahabad].

When we caime wthin sight of the towne, beinge on the edge of a hill, S^d my sarv^t, Maister stay here, I will observe if we can miss the towne. I told him he knew it was daingerous to goe out of y^o roade way, but left it to his discretion. M^r, S^d he, I beleive yor money is almost gon. I s^d, by tow such Cotte [*Bhūi, tu sach kahtā*], Brother, thou speakest trewth. S^d he, after we had Consulted together (but I had y^t about me my sarv^t knew not of), we haue a way we may passe, but if not, y^u haue freinds at Brampoore, & y^u shall pawne me heere till y^u send releife. After we had refresht o^r selfs, my boy said, Haw'dow'ca'noun challa [*Khulā kē nām, chalō*], Lets goe in the naime of god. Am'ar'ra ser'vp'ra bout'bos'hey [*Hamārā sir ūpar bahut bhōj hai*], I haue, s^d my man, for he was gray wth age, A great Charge vppon my heade. Am'ar'ra', Jou'row char, be'te Amorra Zam man hey [*Hamārā jōrū, chār bēṭē, hamārā sāmīn hai*], My wife & Children lie at stake for me to yor freinds if y^u get anie hurt. Hodah io'hey [*Khudā ilō hai*], S^d he. Theirs but One god, Se'de'ra decking'ga' [*Sīdhā rā dikhāṅgē*], w^{ch} shall direct vs y^o right way. When we had past y^o towne Holloe [Allahabad] towards Brampoore [Burhānpur], we mett wth a Company of horssmen, w^{ch} had taken 24 Marchants, w^{ch} had past & not paid there Junkin money. S^d my man, these are Rogues; They haue laid wait both wayes, because they knew y^o Marchants would pass by y^o vpper way to save there Junkin money. Ou'ta' amora' bail asway [*Uṭhū, hamārā bail aswār*], Alight p^sently [at once] & get vppon y^o Ox. He mounted p^sently on y^o horsse & rid towards them, And said to me, Ton asta asta pecha hey [*Tum āhistē āhistē pichhē āō*], com you Softly behinde. Comeinge to them, he knew one of the horssmen, who askt him from whence he caime. He S^d, I caime from Gusaratt, And I and my man are goeinge for Brampoore to buy some swords and knives for such a Naag [nāik] in Guzuratt whose sarv^t I am. When I caime neare, S^d my Man, then Maister, to me, Get y^u a heade, this boy is a foole, & cald me naimes, Telling his acquaintance of me was but small. S^d y^o Man, Kiss was ny marra [*kīs wāstē nahīn mārā*], Why doe you not beat y^o Rogue. S^d my M^r, Ka'poyn'ge' as ham du'han'na o'mar'ra'ga [*kyā pāūngā is ham dīwānā mārēgā*], What shall I get by beating a foole. My man puld of his girdle & gaue it y^o horssman, w^{ch} pleased him well. Tam'cou a 'marra'sad ca'poss [*tum kahō hamārā sāhib kē pās*] w^{ch} is, When y^u se my Maister, (S^d he to y^o Marchants, who weere for Guzzerat), ham is voc'cat dalgeer [*ham is waqf dilgir*], I am at this tyme sad & Mellencolly, because he sent a sarv^t wth me I am forst to be a nurse to. The Marchants replied, & y^o Soldiers, Tom bar'ra sa'fect' adam me' hey'tom better ny gente Kiss wast to mor'ra pass Chocke'ra leta

[*tum barā saʿfēd ālmī hai, tum behtār nahīn jāntē; kis wāste tumhārā pās chokrā lētā*], yⁿ are an Antient gray man; methinks yⁿ should vnderstand better then bring a Child in yo^r Company. He tooke his leave, I beinge got a full English mile before them. When my man caime vp full speed a head, he asked me laughinge, ham ho'po' sad ne [*ham khūb sāhib nē?*], Am not I a good Maister. I told him, yes. S^d he, now its yo^r tyme to be Maister; I did this for yo^r saife deliuerance vnder god. In 3 days afterwards we arrived at Brampoore [Burhānpur], Where I was in saifty out of all troubles. The Gouverner there is cald Dowd Caune [Dāūd Khān],⁹⁴ wth whome I had formerly beene In armes, This beinge in the Magulls Contrey. He treated me verry well, but was Jealous [suspicious that] I had runn away from y^e Magull, yet S^d nothing to me, for he knew I could not pass without his leave, questioned me many things but I resolved him nothinge. Beinge there 6 days, weary when I caime but now well refresht, in that tyme caime the french Embassado^{rs}, who had beene att John a Badd [Jahānabād], y^e Magulls Court, But wth litle honor.⁹⁵

These 2 Embassado^{rs}, One from y^e french Kinge for his p^{ti}culer⁹⁶ to greet y^e Magull, One from him for y^e East India Company,⁹⁷ in ān 1668, when they Caime neare y^e Court, y^e Emperro^r had notis & Wee the English. They caime not in y^e state vsually y^e Eng^l or Dutch come in, Soe y^e Emperro^r thought himse^{lf} vndervallewed, And sleighted them, Commanding them stay 2 Leagues from Court when they expected to come to rights. Besides the Embassado^r for the K[ing of] ffraunce had Express order from his King to deliver his Letters to y^e Emperro^r owne hand, w^{ch} was refused. However, the English had leave to vizitt the fr [French] Embassado^{rs} & did send them there tents & other nessarys they wanted. The Embassado^{rs}, Concluding y^e Emperro^r affronted them, they p^{ro}vide to goe back, w^{ch} the Emperro^r had notis of, & Commanded them to be brought back wth all there goods and attendance, Saying, did they thinke to goe out of his Contrey without Leave. The next night The Embassado^{rs} weer assalted in there tents, robb^d of all, 3 or 4 Sarvts kīd & they sadly affrighted. In this Condition They staid a day or two. But after[wards] There Money & Goods weere found & restored & they ordered to come to Court, The English accomping. When they caime at y^e Court gate, there armes weere taken from them & there pocketts sercht, But y^e Eng^l went in wth sword & Target & pistols by there sides, w^{ch} greived y^e Embassado^{rs}.

M^d! This affront was p^{ro}ly occasioned by y^e Contrivance of y^e Eng^l, for that, in y^e tyme of ye last Dutch warr, y^e french caused y^e English letters to be given y^e Dutch, w^{ch} was delivered into there hand to be Conveyed for y^e est India Company.

They⁹⁸ would [have] p^{re}sented there letters to y^e Emperro^r, but they weere not p^{er}mitted. They then desired y^e fr [French] father⁹⁹ might interprett them, but y^e Emperro^r Askt y^e Eng^l if they could not doe it, they being in Lattin. M^r White s^d yes, Soe they weere delivered to him. The

⁹⁴ This is probably Dāūd Khān Qurū-sh, governor of Allahabad in 1670. Mr. Irvine tells me he is mentioned by Manucci.

⁹⁵ The author is incorrect. Only one of the French ambassadors (Écher) came to Burhānpur from Agra (not Delhi) in the company of Tavernier, at the end of 1667. I am indebted for this, and the two following notes, to Mr. Irvine.

⁹⁶ De la Bonillaye Le Honz was the King's man. He went eastwards to Patna, and was never after heard of again. He was probably murdered by his hired guard, who mistook his box of books for treasure.

⁹⁷ Écher was the representative of the French East India Company. The story of the embassy is given at length in Tavernier's "Receuil."

⁹⁸ i. e., the French ambassadors

⁹⁹ Mr. Irvine suggests that the "French father" may possibly be Father Busée, S. J., a Fleming, who was in India about this time.

Embassado^r for y^e Company had his desire granted, his deport humble, Soe they weer dystemist,¹⁰⁰ And from Brampoore I travell'd wth them as followes. But to returne to y^e Gouverner who stopt me, haueing sent to y^e Court to know If I had come without license. But they redy, y^e Embassado^{rs}, I showed the Gouvernor my pass from y^e Empr, w^{ch} gaue me my liberty, And in 28 Days we arrived at Surratt, w^{ch} is but 60 Leagues from Brampoore. Att Surrat I staid 14 Days, Sr George Oxenall [Oxinden]¹ President their for The East India Company, with whome I had seuerall affairs, And haueing dispatcht, I left it, But he was verry importun[ate] wth me to know how I succeeded in my Jurney into Prester John; but I knew well what I should tell him would be in England before me. But some things I told M^r Robt Smith, the Minister.

From Surratt I went to Madderaslepotan [Madras] in Bengall, in w^{ch} is the Kingdome of, Gulcandar [Golconda], Wher are all the Dymond Mines, w^{ch} is A Months Jurney or about 600 English Miles; from thence to MasLepotan [Masulipatam], w^{ch} is 60 Leagues; Thence to Checacull [Chicacul, Ganjam district], a great City, w^{ch} hath a Kinge of it selfe, a verry stronge place; Thence to Muscatt, w^{ch} belongs to the Arrabbs, the King of it called Wyley²; Its a place was taken from the Portugalls.³

In that time I was there, they sent an Armadoe to retake it, but in Vaine, beinge wth loss & shame beaten away. After this, King Wyley [the wali] sent out 11, Elleaven, vessels wth about 800 Men to y^e Portugalls Contrey, to a City cald Dew [Diu], A stronge fort & Garrison. They Landed, stormed & Plundered the Towne & brought 800 Prisoners away, Men, Weomen & Children, 8 Chests of Silver, 4 Chests of Gold. This I, John Cambell, se brought into Muskatt in the Month of August 1668, All don in 14 Days.⁴

This was great dishonor to y^e Portugall affaires, they cominge to looke out for the Arrabbs & had gon on y^e Pertian Coast and tooke A litle money Dew to them for custome out of Conge [Kung] and returned, On w^{ch}, S^d y^e kinge of y^e Arrabbs in my heareinge, They haue com out to seek me; I will now goe to seeke them, And offerd me great rewards to goe wth him, but my answer was, they weere Christians And I was one, Soe could not gratify his desire.

Att my beinge in Goa, in Anno 1668, was a Portugall ship; the Capt. of hir⁵ had not only y^e Command of the ship but all y^e Ladinge. And beinge One day at a Gameinge howse (for play at Dice is much vsed there), And there beinge many flydalgoes [fidalgo], verry rich, this Capt fell in to play wth them, And lost not Only ship, but all his Ladinge, w^{ch} don, in great trouble he went to a Surgion, And caused him cut of his left hand close at y^e wrest; y^e Surgion haueinge don his Dewtie, he, y^e Capt, bought a box inst fitt to hold y^e hand Cut of, & it being put in & y^e Key in his pockett, he tooke it vnder his Cloke & went to y^e Gameing howse, where was at play y^e felalgie who had won his ship & goods wth a great heape of money & gold

¹⁰⁰ In a letter from Surat to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 26th March 1667, there is the following account of the French embassy:—"The Transactions of the French have bin much wondered att by all, one of the Two that came hither and went upp to Court, he that was sent from the King of France with letters Reccomendatorye hath bin much slighted and att last is gone away alone, some say to Bengalla, Leaving his consort, who after a tedious attendance, finding none that would prefer his cause to the Kinge, in regard he came Empty handed, was Returning hither, but was robd of all he had, one dayes Journey out of Agra, and Received three or Foure wounds, which comming to the Kings eare, tooke pittie on him, sent for him backe, gave particuler order for his care, and afterwards admitted him into his presence, Received his petition, Gave order he should be paid out of his Treasury what was pretended to be taken from him."—*India Office Records, Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, Vol. 2.

¹ Sir George Oxinden was President of Surat from 1662 till his death, on the 14th July, 1669.

² The author mistakes the Arabic title wali, a governor, for a proper name.

³ In 1650.

⁴ In a letter to Surat, dated from Ispahan, 5th Sept. 1669, Stephen Flower refers to "wt. had past at sea between the Portugalls and Arabs in this Gulfe" and to "the Arabs proceedings at Dio," but there is no record of the occurrence, as given by Campbell, in 1668.

⁵ Hiatus in the MS.

before him, & he haneing y^e Dice, y^e Capt puts downe his box & s^d, para esta. At it, s^d y^e fydalgoe.⁶ Theire gr^t. play is passage, & its y^e play theire, if y^e Caster throw awmes,⁷ ace & a tray, he pays doble y^e stake he throwes at. The fydalgoe or K^t. threw awmes, ace & a tray, & seing it, said, open yo^r box & tell yo^r moley, pushing his heape to him. Hold, said y^e Capt., & tooke out y^e Key of his box & opend it & showed his hand & y^e arme it was Cut of, & s^d, y^e haue lost both yo^r hands. They caime to Composition & y^e Capt had his shipp & goods and doble hir vallew. The Capt is now in Lisbon, And knowne to me Jn^o Cambell & many others, who se his hand & Arme it was Cutt of.

Att the same tyme in Goa, I was Carried to see a father, counted a holly man of y^e Order of y^e Pollistians,⁸ borne in Dunkirk, who had beene deade almost 12 Monts before, but lay aboue ground to be seene by all y^t caime; & of seuerall Nations round about theire caime, viz^t And see him lie as at y^e tyme of his death vnbowelled, or wth out anie art don to him saue y^e shaueing his face every weke & paireing or Cutting his nailes, wth a Naturall fresh Culler. The faime of it caime to y^e Pop^s, as nothing don almost in Anie p^t of y^e world, but theire are padreys to give advice. The Pope sent for the boddie of this Padre; y^e Pollistians who are y^e richest Scotietie of fathers in y^e world, denied it. But the Pope demanding his right hand, it was granted & Cutt of, Jn^o Cambell then p^sent, and it bled as fresh as if it had been Cutt from y^e Boddie of a liveinge man. They indeavord^t after to p^serve him from Corruption but could not, soe 3 days after he was buried.

One day, I sittinge wth King Wyley [the wali], 3 brave Weomen p^soners weere brought before him; 2 Weere Brammonists [Brahmans] wifes, theire husbands being kild. The 3^d was a Portugall, w^{ch} I freed. She told me she had to pay me what I laid out, & Did 3 doble, when I delivered her in Conge [Kung]. S^d y^e Kinge to me, will yo^u free thother two. I s^d this is a Christian & I an other, They Gentues.

Two of King Wyleys Sarv^{ts} being by, wth Katârs [daggers] by theire sides, These 2 Brammonist weomen drew each a Katâr from them & before y^e Kinge rip vp their Bellys & Dyed.

The next day, about 8 Clock in the morninge, theire Arrived A ship of ours from Bumbay, 220 Leagues by Sea from this place. Wyley y^e Kinge of y^e Arrabbs sent for me & s^d, wth doe y^e make this ship to be. I S^d, English. Welcome. S^d he, y^{ts} or Brother. Comeinge into y^e rode, his Ladeing was rice & Butter & Coquer Nutts, w^{ch} was great Reliefe to y^t Contrey, for, Except y^e great Ones, they eate only Tanmer [ta'ama], viz^t, Dates & fish. The contrey is very barren, & haue great respect to y^e English y^t furnish them wth p^vitions, for they are often vexed wth faunin.

Capt William Hill was commander of the vessell & was verry glad to meete wth an Englishman theire, y^t king Wyley esteemed, & could Speak y^e Lingua, for y^e Cap^t could not. I delt wth the Kinge for him, for his Rice Butter & y^e rest of his Ladeinge, & truckt wth y^e Kinge for 350 p^soners, Both well pleased, And for my Curtesey Kinge Wyley p^sented me wth a Black boy & Cap^t Hill a Dymond Ring, w^{ch} I accepted.

From Muskatt I went to Conge, in y^e Pertion Dominyon, wth my Lady p^soner, for soe she was, & hir husband slaine at Due [Din]. I was much made of & gratified.

Thence I went for Commerroone [Gombroon], w^{ch} the English haue A factory at,⁹ & Receive halie Custome of it for theire good Service in helping y^e Pertian to take y^e famous Ormous, Once

⁶ Mr. Donald Ferguson suggests the following reading of this passage:—"The Captain put down his box and said, 'Para esta' ['I wager this — caiza = box]. 'Atido' ['Done!'], said the fidalgo."

⁷ i. e., ambs-ace, double ace, the lowest possible throw at dice.

⁸ i. e., a Paulinist, the local name for the Jesuits. John Campbell seems to be alluding to the shrine of S. Francis Xavier, whose body was removed to Goa in 1554. According to his wont, Campbell alters dates to suit his purpose so that he may appear to have personally witnessed the events he describes. The right arm of the Saint was sent to the Pope in 1614. See *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval* (Hakluyt ed.), Vol. VI. p. 61, f. n.

⁹ The English factory at Gombroon was established after the taking of Ormus, in 1622. In a letter to the Court from Surat, dated 2nd Nov. 1636 (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, Vol. 2) the Council remark that they have a "Right to the Gulph of Persia and port of Gombroon, by a firme League and Covenant made and Concluded att the Expulseinge the Portugall, which cost our nation both men and money to purchase."

see ominent in y^e portugalls tyme, from whome It was taken by y^e Pertian,¹⁰ That its said of it, If y^e world weere a Kinge, Ormous was y^e Dymond in it.¹¹ But now in the Dust, And Bossara [Basra],¹² w^{ch} is 15 days Jurney from Commoronne, y^e great port.

Wee had not beene at Commoroon 2 days, but advice caime Capt. Hill was arrived at Due, haueinge soe good a voyage by my means. Mr Gayrey,¹³ y^e March^t, not knoweing me, writt to M^r fflowers¹⁴ that if such an English man caime, discribinge me, wheere he had Cognizance or interest y^t he would serue me, though, S^d he, meauinge me, he did me a discortesy once, yet hath he now served me beyond my Expectation & made me trebble mends [amends].

The discortsey I did him was in Conveyinge S^r Humphry Cooke out of India,¹⁵ for M^r Garey would [have] sent him to y^e Company because he traded in India in y^e Companys goods.

My Lord Cooke¹⁶ his father being sent by y^e King of England to be Gouverner of Bumbay, a Towne Given by y^e Portugalls as part of y^e Dowrey of or Royall Queene Katheran,¹⁷ lyeinge 24 howers Saile from Surrat & is an Isleland and the best port in India The Christians haue.

My L^d was sent wth 600 English Soldiers, & y^e vice Roy of Portugall had order to deliver it to y^e s^d L^d Cooke, but tooke snuff [offence] y^t he was not treated or respected aboard y^e Engl^e vessell as he expected, set them a shore in a part of y^e Isleland wheere they had noe fresh water & would not d^d [deliver] the Towne Bumbay till most of y^e s^d 600 soldiers wee[re] kild wth a flux by drinking brackish water.¹⁸

M^r John¹⁹ Flowers facter for y^e India Company at Spahawne [Ispahan] & Commaroon, My Kinsman, I left him att Commaroon & went for Spawhowne & by M^r fflowers order had y^e vse of y^e Companys howse theire for my entertainm^t.

¹⁰ Ormuz was taken by Shāh 'Abbās, with the help of the English, in 1622.

¹¹ Thomas Herbert gives the proverb in this form :—

"If all the world were made into a ring,

Ormus the gem an i grace thereof should bring." — *Some Years Travels*, ed. 1638, p. 105.

¹² The Company established an agency at Basra, in 1640.

¹³ Henry Gary was Acting Deputy Governor at Bombay in 1587, and assumed the title of Governor after the death of Sir Gervase Lucas, in 1638. He was never confirmed in the office, and was censured by the Court for his arrogance in 1671.

¹⁴ Stephen Flower, with whom Campbell claimed kinship, was a factor in the E. I. Co.'s Service. He was "second" at Gombroon in 1333 and "Chief" from 1635 to 1339.

¹⁵ I can find no foundation for this story.

¹⁶ Sir Humphry Cooke was Governor of Bombay for the King, from April 1555 to the end of 1606, during which time there was constant friction between him and Sir George Oxinden, the Company's representative at Surat.

¹⁷ In 1631 Bombay was ceded to the British Crown as part of the dowry of Katherine of Braganza, wife of Charles II. It was transferred to the E. I. Co. in 1668.

¹⁸ This statement is incorrect.

¹⁹ Stephen Flower was the Company's servant at Ispahan and Gombroon. It is strange that if Campbell really were his kinsman, that he should mistake his Christian name. A paragraph in a letter from Flower to Campbell, dated Gombroon, 21st January 1369, shows Campbell in a very different position from what he leads us to infer, at this time :— "On a Junke y^t (in Company eight more from Seinda) lately arrived att Congo laden with goods, etc. provisions, came passenger one M^r John Cambell who had served y^e King of India as a Gunner seven or eight yeares and having obtained licence to depart for his Country (to w^{ch} his freinds had often solicited him) his resolutions was to travell overland for England, (wth w^t moneys etc. hee had gained in y^e time of his service to y^e v^lue of 7 or 8000 rups.) towards w^{ch} hee was advanced as farr as Soynda, when in Company of about 40 persons more in y^e Caphila, they were unfortunately mett wth by y^e who robbed them all of their money and goods stripped him to his shirt and hardly escaped with his life, in w^{ch} miserable condition at his arrivall Soynda finding noe remedy, hee chose rather to proceed on his Intended Journey though with nothing than returne againe to the service of his old Master, and about six dayes since repaired hither for my assistance, upon y^e relation of which sad story, I have taken his present condition into consideration, and furnish'd him with w^t necessary to carry him to England, where God sending him safely to arrive, I have hope of receiving from himselfe or friends satisfaction, in two or three days more he departs in Compa : a Portugall Padre to Basara where I shall Commend him to y^e fathers courtesy there for his safe proceeding to Alleppo, and there noe doubt but y^e consull to whom I shall alsoe write will befriend him in what further needfull, It would bee a shame not to commiserate and assist in such cases as this our owne country mⁿ from whose misfortune God defend us." — *Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. 105.

But from Commoroon I tooke in the way to Spawhawne [P^hLar] w^{ch} is 70 Leagues from Commoroon, hauinge a note from M^r Jⁿ flowers & y^e Commendore of y^e Dutch, we English haueinge noe howse theire but the Dutch had, y^t I might haue entetainm^t theire; 3 days I lodged theire w^{ch} was in the tyme of Gouverners fast, soe could not speake wth him. But at night, After I had spooke wth him, that night caime a letter from M^r flower to me,²⁰ Telling me of Monsier Demingoes invitation of all y^e English, f^rench & Dutch, wth sarvants, to a feast he had made, being y^e f^rench Agent at Commoroon.

The f^rench Agent at Dinner Dranke to y^e Dutch Commendore; y^e Dutch Commendore had noe sooner plaged, but s^d to M^{se}ieur. Demingo, I am poysoned. Sr, S^d Monsier Demingo, theirs noe poyson in my howse, & tooke vp the same Glass & drank of it. He had noe sooner dranke but he fell alsoe to vomitt, & S^d, I think its poyson indeede. This broke vp y^e Mirth, they both sick. Thanks be to god, noe other tastel of it, But had it beene given when we had after Dinner begun to drinke as vsuall, all y^e Company had beene lost.²¹

We Examined y^e Attendants & found it to be Contrived by y^e great Banion [Banyan] who ought [owed] y^e Company of y^e Dutch 30000 Tomaine [tomān], every tomaine 30 Ropees, w^{ch} is Eng^l money 3l 7s 6d. And Thretinge y^e Boy who fild y^e wyne, He Confest y^e Bannyon, did hyer him for 20 Tomaine, & gaue him the poyson to poyson his Maister & all the Company. This boy or slaue went away p^{re}sently wth y^e Banyan & his sonn. They herd they went towards Larr. M^r flower writt to me at Larr & desired me for his hono^{rs} sake to lay hold on them, for we haue laid hold of all y^e rest heere, telling me y^e Cause as aboue. They comeing to Larr, herd of a strainger there, tooke me for a Dutchman Soe tooke y^e Gouverners howse Vockeele [vaki]²² I had my spies abrode, w^{ch} told me they had given & p^{re}st [the] Vockeel money & p^{re}st to turne Moores [Muhammadan]. On w^{ch} I tooke horsse & went to y^e Gouverner howse, A mile from my Lodgeinge. When I caime, I sent word into y^e Gouverner I desired to speak wth him. He gaue me leave to com in to him; his naime is Auguee [Aghāji].

When I caime in & wth my armes, not vsuall for a Strange[r] to doe in y^e Contrey, One of his men tooke my Armes, y^e Gour bidinge me sitt downe. I showed my letter. S^d he, I cannot vnderstand it. I told him my grevance. Is theire, s^d he, such persons heere. I told him, yes, in [the] Vockeels howse. He sent for [the] Vockeel & the 3 persons wth a gard to bring them Before he questioned them, he s^d, poyntinge to me, Doe y^e know this man. They said noe. But theire songe was they would be made Moores. The Gour askt theire reason, saying, we never knew a Gentue or Banyan turne Moore, but for some great falt. The Casa [qāst] being by, S^d, can y^e deny to make a heathen a trew Beleiver. I, hearaing this, s^d to y^e Gouverner, shoifma me danney che gusta [shumā mī dānī chah guflā], doe y^e know what y^e say. S^d he, be'ne'she'en [bā nishin], sit downe, be not soe force. I s^d these are y^e men, & I charged him wth Shaw Sollyman

²⁰ From Flower's own account, given in the next note, the 'feast' seems to have taken place at Gombroon and not at Ispahan.

²¹ In a letter to Surat, dated at Gombroon, 10th April 1669, Stephen Flower gives the following account of the poisoning affair:—"The heats being entred many begin daily to fall sicke of feavours & others dead, among whom y^e Kings Vizeere Sonne to his Exceeding greife, but 3 dayes since & it were well if this were the onely hazard y^t poore Europeans are subject to in these parts, where many come to untimely ends by poison, both of English & Dutch, by theire owne Servants and y^e brokers as too apparent appeares and hath bin proved by a late accident and Example of that nature, hapned in y^e house of Deputy Marriage, where himselfe and y^e Commadore by drinking and tasting a cupp of beare had almost lost their lives as might the rest of y^e Company (among whom I was present) had itt not pleased God by a timely discovery to prevent soe greates an evill, for w^{ch} and all his mercies and deliverance this or at any other time I hope I shall remaine truly thankfull, for a particuilar relation and more satisfactory acco^t of this sad story I desire you will be referred to the verball repetition of Sr Nicolo Vidall and others." — *Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. 106.

²² i. e., took refuge in the vaki's house.

de Roy [Shāh Salaimān's *duhāt*].²³ When he herd y^e word, he rose vp & made 3 Sallams towards his kinge. I told him, these are y^e men haue, or would [have] beene y^e death of 25 March^{ts} besides their Sarvants; y^a haue them in y^{or} Custody; looke to them; I am goeing for Spawhawne. S^d y^o Gouverner, two of these men looke like gr^t men. Pray, s^d I, question them, He then questioned them & said, tell me trewth, Ile make y^a Moores, & then y^a are fre from all harme. He found they weere guilty of wth I accused them of, And Committed them to a Roome; Soe I left them. The Gouverner att ptinge [parting] S^d, y^e Eng^l, Dutch & french are o^r good freinds, Shall we loose 3 places for 3 men, in w^{ch} are Thowsands.

Next morning he sent for me betimes & askt me where I was bound. I s^d for spawhaun. He askt what service I would command him. I told him noe service, but desired Good iustice. He is Gouverner of Conge, Commoroon & Larr. While I was thus talking, came in 3 wth chaines & Locks on their hands. Said y^e Gour, how like you this; I S^d well, & y^t y^e Eng^l Dutch fr & portugalls would Commend his good iustice.

S^d y^e Gour, I haue don this on y^{or} word & caused a letter to be written & I to set my hand to it & my seale alsoe, y^t if I had abused them wthout cause, the franks must give acct of it, and that befoge I left Spawhawne.

Next morning they weere sent away wth 20 horse as a gard to Coñroon, wth a post before, w^{ch} would goe y^t in 3 days (I was 7 in comeinge), & demanded of me to stay till answer was returned. The 5th day after came answer from y^e Gour [of] Coñroon that they had hanged the Commendores alane, And 2000 Tomaine was gathered by y^e Banyans, 1000 for y^e Gouverner of Coñroon, y^e other 1000 for y^e Gouverner at Larr & 80000 for to be devidid amonge y^e Marchants [who] weere their, franks, To saue the Banyans lives; & never anie Banyan to Broak or serve in business to y^e Christians On that Coast, w^{ch} is 100^{ds} of thowsands to their losse, for they did all business for y^e factories.

From Larr I tooke my Journey for Serash [Shīrāz], 140 Leagues from Larr. First I came to y^e padreys there. Next day came y^e English Broker to me & told me It was not fit I should be here & Carried me to y^e English howse.

The Gouverner of Serash being a great Caune [Khān], y^t is Lord, & for some reason then not knowne, forsake his meanez And b tooke him to a Mountaine privat, & for 2 mo had a day noe more then y^e quantity of a penny white loafe. His desire after sōme tyme there was to know how all did wth his family. A spirritt appearinge to him told him he could not goe to see his family wthout he would doe one of y^e 3 thing when he came there he would p pound to him, vizt lie wth his Mother And Daughter or be Drunke. He answerred y^e last he would Doe. He went to his howse & great pitions was made, And being Over come wth drinke he lay wth Mother & wth Doughter. Nex morning, Remembering what he had don, tooke his Doughter, it being in the tyme of y^e raines, and Threw hir into a great Tanke. She was taken vp by others & knowne to be such a L^{ds} doughter. The L^d, after he had throwne in his daughter, went to y^e Justices & told him what had past, & y^t he iudged himselfe not worthy to live.

The iustice & Gouverner past it by, but sent for the Mother & Doughter & askt if it was as the L^d had told. They both denie it. In came y^e Men y^t took vp y^e Doughter out of y^e tanke, & herd what they S^d & Quest how she came there; y^e L^d hir father made answer I carried hir there. S^d y^e Doughter, father now I must speake, begg y^{or} pdon, I confess y^{ou} forst me to it. A counsell was held & y^e L^d was put in Irons. His Brothers sonn, then Gouverner, S^d, my vnkle since he left y^e Gouvern^t hath drank bangg & post,²⁴ w^{ch} makes him talk Idley.

(To be continued.)

²³ Fryer gives the same spelling 'Deroy, an interdict.' It is an appeal to the King for justice.

²⁴ Bhang and post, a preparation of opium.

THE CHUHRAS.

BY THE REV. J. W. YOUNGSON, D.D., CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSION ; SIALKOT.

(Continued from p. 83.)

Dānā paikkī bahut karē, vāgān tōn pharkē,
 Aggē dhar k'ānūā, nāl k'ānū pharkē
 Ethē pakor k'ānūā vākhōgē na kharkē.
 Unhān ghōrī lō bhajā Atārā langhē;
 Kitē kam Khudā dē phār hōngē chāngē.
 Sōkhē rang āh nē jikrē Maulā rangē.
 Pēyā āyā gaj dā k'ākar lāmē laggē,
 Ōh rang Niskaurī ānkē, milē ānūā Jānu nāi,
 Jitnā hāt karāt si sab ākh sunāi.
 Pīr pahilē pahīr bāt jē phir jawān hō jāi,
 Dīgar nālī lōf hai budhārā sadlē.
 Dīhārā langhē āh, trūc unār kaudāi.
 Kūnā nālī balim dē kōi bārī dānāi.
 Apnē āp sambhātē, mān kakhnā jē nāi.
 Ik sipāhī partkē, jā arz sunāi
 Asīn tūn tērē gulām hān, Dānā pēyā kōhāi,
 Chālī chaphiyā tīr hai pasittā na jāi
 Aggē khācēn na pōhē, hōldhāmē jāi.
 Chālī sipāhī jōyān payē nām sunāi.
 Pīr sipāhīān nūn puchhā ; Dānā kī farmāi.

Na kuchh chālā chukiya na churā k'āi,
 Na us zāmin kōi sāmā dānē dālāi.
 Takhnā sārī phōbar hai tassīn utthōn āi
 Rang sipāhī dē udhāi, kuchh chālā na chālāi.
 Jichār k'ā vādī ghār rīch hōwān tharthālāi
 Ik dīn na lagē khōvān dē gallāi
 Gal thōn pakorē kadhā na kuchh bānhdī
 pallāi.
 Udā rang sipāhī dā, kuchh chālā na chālāi,
 Ikhās sipāhī dē (jāc jī !) kuchh mān nakhāi
 pallāi.
 Bālē pūr dīl rīch dālī qazārī
 Pīr paikambar chāl gayē ā gayē sādī vārī.
 Dhānsar hāt chāl gayā tarlōkē dē vālī

A hundred horsemen marched—they rode in
 force,
 And Dānā gave them orders strict to seize
 And chain him ; thus to bring him quickly, nor
 Take time to look again towards him, but
 To hasten back. They spurred their horses—
 passed
 Atāwā, all the Lord's great works are good.
 Those lines above are beautiful that he
 Has painted — Lo a thunderstorm is here.
 How will it pass ? They to Naushera came.
 And first a barber Jānu met them. Straight
 He told them all about the priest, the man
 Who had been boy till just that morning, since
 The boy had in a trice grown man, assumed
 The form of age in the afternoon, and so
 Was called old man — all in a single day
 He reached the third stage — youth and mid-
 dle age
 He passed, and entered white old age. To talk
 With calmness is the property of age
 And wisdom ; therefore said he calmly, ' Sirs,
 Beware of harm. I do not seek to vex
 Or injure you.' A soldier then approached
 And said, ' Your servants we—Judge Dana calls
 You. Fixed upon the bow the arrow lies :
 It cannot miss you. If it does, 'tis ours
 To throw again, to make it sure.' Disciple I
 Have made this song. Repeat it. Asked the
 priest,
 What wants your judge with me ? I have not
 bought
 His property ; I have not stolen his goods ;
 He gave for me no pledge that I might have
 Sufficiency of corn. What reason is
 That ye have come from him ? ' The soldier's
 face
 Grew pale ; he nerveless grew, just like a
 shrew
 That while she stays makes neighbours trem-
 ble, but
 A day comes when rebellious she denies
 To do her husband's will, and he grows fierce,
 Rough seizes her, and casts her out disgraced.
 So stood the soldier, (Praise the priest),
 abashed ;

Mūsā naḥḥā maūt thān chārē kūḍān bhāḥān
 Ōrak gabrē jā pēyā khā girā pōhāḥi
 Aidē aidē ohaḥ gayē maūt kisī nahēn ḥāḥi.
 Bālē pīr dil vich phir pāi jāḥi
 Akbar hāḥē chal gayā, ohhāḥ gayē nē Dillī
 Eḡī jad paikambarān jinḥān dhartī mallī

Runn picḥḥē lay mōē nē, kōi mat ut challī.
 Bālē pīr dī sunī gayē dangāh-i-faryād,
 Likh chīḥḥī Rabb ghalliyā phir kītā yād.
 Baithā tū kyān Bālīd, phir hō nārāz,
 Jē tērē khāss murīd nē vich biḥishtān eḡs,
 Phir chḥattrē khān nūn milāḡē khāḡē nāl
 mizālḥ
 Chēlē sifātān jōrīān kar ijij niyāz.

Il Chāḥḡēḡān vichḥōn nikālḥ baḥ musallī bahindē.
 Bēḡmān muft dē dujjā dōzakh jamīdē.
 Picḥḥōn poḥkhātāḡē jōḡān aggē na jāndē,
 Chēlā ākhē Musallīd, kyān dōzakh nān jāndē.

Kōl Pīr dē bālīkā Multānī Shāh dēyē haḡkārā
 Shāh Bālē dā bālīkā laggē bahut piyārā.
 Athān kōḥān vich shahr hai kull sabḥō sārā
 Jhandā talī tē dhar lawān, na laggē bhārā.
 Pān vaggē Rārī dā, Pīr jā, kōi bēshamārā
 Har Rārī vich ōḡh sār, rūrḥ jāc sārā
 Vichḥē Dānā rūḡh jāc shārā puchḥānwālā.

Chēlē sifātān jōrīān kar aḡl niyārā.

All shamed and helpless, of authority
 Divested. Bālā priest thus thought in heart
 'Beth priests and prophets, all have run their
 race ;

Mine may be ended. Men like Dhainsar died,
 And those that ruled three realms are gone.

One ran

From death, even Moses — sought he hard to
 hide

From death in all the quarters of the earth,
 But no, he fell at last in weariness

Into a grave. Such men have died and failed
 To conquer death.' Then Bālā thought of
 God.

Great kings like Akbar died and left their
 state

And Dillī all behind. A great prophetic host
 Have graves that fill the world. They
 fought once here,

Espoused a woman's cause, but perished ; all
 Their plans were frustrated, but God did hear
 Our Bālā's prayer. The Lord a letter wrote
 To him. He summoned him, and thus he
 said,

'Why sitst thou there, O Bālā, why shouldst
 thou

Be so disconsolate and sad ? Be sure

Thy followers will enter heaven : for food

They shall have rams, yes, more than need
 demands.

They shall be fed to all satiety.'

'Twas his disciple made this song with all
 Humility. Some traitors are that false

Desert the Chuhras, and become great knaves,
 Musallis. Vainly thus they go, for nought

It boots, and then, besides, to hell they go.

Grieved will they be some day when from

God's face

They are excluded. 'Why, Musallis, why
 Go straight to hell ?' the true disciple asks.

Multānī Shāh, disciple, stood beside,

A follower true of Bālā, much beloved,

Who said, 'The length and breadth of this
 good town

Is eight full miles — I will take up the flag.

It is not great beyond my strength to raise,

And then the Rārī will o'erflow its banks

And flood the town and judge. In it I'll
 drown

The town, and Dānā, too, will perish with

The rest, because he dared insult our law.'

*Pir kéhá Multání Sháh, Phir Rabb thán daryé,
Sai manán dé jór nán ik sa'at jaryé,
Rabb páé né muámalé sir utt dhariyó
Shahr rassé ammé jammi chal gallán kariyó.
Bálé pir naháké póshák hai páé
Bók band amari bádalá narma safédi.
Zarí dōshálá paliñké pag sōhñi badálá.
Báhar áyá pir ji, léy dékkañ séji
Bálé pir charñ nú ghórá mangáyó.
Utté ghattíñ urukáñ zín dōshálé pówáé,
Muñh kandiyálé déké hath rágiñ páé.
Charñtal Bálé pir di phir lakhi nu jáé.
Hundi sárñ akh na, sūraj lachkáé.
Jón rát dévállé Hindúñ charáy jagdé.
Chéle sūrat dīthlá, tán sifut banáé.
Bálá pir charñ péyá, jhagré té turyá.
Budhwár dá róz sí máh Bhádrón, charhiyá,
Dhuppé turé óh vé jinñán aukhiñ baníyáñ*

*Ohññ sáyá baddal hó gayá phir páñi diññ
kaññññ
Thandé jhólé rá dé náñé sukhmanññ.
Traé pir dé bákké Rōshan Sháh té Multáni,
Tríjā Hazrat Kailánwálá, Mihrón bhar jarwáni.
Chhinwén kayó charñ sí náñ Dabú Bhágú
giyáñ.
Sabbhó hath bannhké, phir 'arz sunái
Asñ té tóri madad hññ, Pir ji, tú kyññ nahññ
jáné.
Chéle sifññ jōñññ, parñ nám dhiháné.
Pir kahé phir Bálaké, tusñ sabbhó hó mundé,
Chér ávé kisé nññ kaññ páñññ raiñé?
Sáddé thán pakarké Dáná kinññ mangé?
Rang sōhñé óh né, jihrá Maulá rangé.
Paindú áhé itná jōññ khuyálé langhé,
Kité kam Klondá dé jihré hōngé changé,
Pir Nishauréñ pu péyá chavulhri sí Gujrán-
wálé
Uhnññ jáké dassiyá Shám barwálé,
Óh pir kúthé hai jññ dé náñ baiñññ saññ dáré.*

With prudent judgment the disciple made
This song. The priest said, 'O Multání Sháh.
Let us fear God. Even though our strength
could lift
A hundred maunds, we must show patience.
God
Has sent this grief. Let us bear up like men,
And let the town live prosperously in peace.
We go to talk with Dáná.' So he bathed,
And dressed himself to suit the interview.
A silken girdle donned he on a coat
Of velvet; vest of white, a silken shawl,
A turban beautiful. Thus from his house
He came. They flocked about him. Then he
called
For's horse, caparisoned in gold — rich shawls
Were placed for saddle — bridled was the
steed,
And Bálá caught the reins. He lightly placed
His foot in stirrup, laid his hand upon
The pommel — but in writing who can show
The grace of Bálá Pir? Eyes could not stand
His glory — even the sun could not endure
To look. 'Twas like (the) Dēvállí with its light
Of many lamps, which this disciple saw —
He therefore wrote this song. So Bálá rode
To this great controversy. Wednesday it was
Of the week, the month of August. They
who make
A journey in the sun must needs have care.
A cloud o'ershaded him; small drops of rain
Began to fall, a gentle cool breeze blew
Refreshing. Happy was he; with him were
Multání, Rōshan Sháh, and Hazrat of
Kailánwálá — doughty wight was he
By grace of God, for ninety-nine crores
Of soldier angels, Dadu Bhagu too,
The bards, did follow him. With folded hands
They made petition to him thus, 'O priest,
We are your helpers, be assured.' This song
A true disciple made. O read and seek
With reverent heart the Name. The priest
but said:
'O children mine, all young you are, untried;
If one receive a wound who then shall share
His pain? My capture and not yours.
Will please this Dáná. Only hues that are
God made
Are beautiful.' The journey, though 'twas long,
Was quickly made. Whate'er the Lord does
must

*Uhnân pēi sipāhī shara' dē, lē gayē sīrkārē.
Chaudhrī ūhōn ūphiyā hath hathān tē mārē.
Chēlē sīstān jōrīān parh nām chitārē.*

Be good. The priest had left Naushēra when
The headman came from distant Gujrānwāl.
Shān, village watchman, went and told him
all.

'Where is,' he cried, 'the priest that used
to sit

And talk with you within the rest-house here?'
'The minions of the law have seized him, Sir,
And taken him away to judge him.' Up
The headman sprang and struck one palm in
grief

Against the other. The disciple made
This song, and thinks upon the Name. Forth-
with

From all the land the Sainsāris' mares were
brought,

And bridled all and saddled, so forth rode
The Sainsāris, firm grasping with their hands
The reins. The mares were good, of Afghan
breed

And swift. So near Atāwā met the bands.
With threats the headman faced the captors
of

The priest, and to the priest, he said, 'Why
did

You go and leave us? Say, what were your
plans?

And why, if forced to go, you told me not?

All rough and ignorant are we, but fear

We know not, No. We bruize our flour when
you

Do knead it, and we knead our rice when you
Do thrash it. This our way. O priest; our
law

Is force.' The priest replied, 'A prisoner I
Bound hence for Dilli.' Quoth the soldiers,
'Sir,

Be patient. No great business calls him there ;
To-day he will return — it is not far

From your Naushera. Only here we have

A slight dispute about religion. For you

There is no business there.' The priest
said, 'Take,

My friend, no foolish step, for Dana will
Become your enemy, and ruin your home.

Why break a lump of salt in earthen plate?

Wait on the Lord, nor e'er impatient be.'

To whom the headman, 'We our band retain.

Five hundred horsemen have I, fighting men,

Without them what can I? And if I go

Without you to my village, what will then

*Jitnā tappā Sainsāriān diān ghōṣiān sab
mangwāiān,*

Mūnh kanḥēdīān dēkē uttē kāphān pōvāiān,

Chayhē rikābī lat dē hath rāgān chāiyān.

Ghōṣiān jāt valāiyatī bhar lēn kalāiān.

Aṭārē dē mūndh jākē wārhān mī āiyān.

Chaudhrī ottē jākē mūr dē dukāiān

Chaudhrī puchhē pīr nā Tērī kī sī salāh,

*Ācōn tū anpuchchiyā jānā sūi khwāh ma
khwāh.*

Assīn tān jā gōwār hān kōi bē nawā.

Dhān pānūṣē gunnhē āṭē dā gāh.

Thō sādḡdā karm hai, pīr jī, dhakḡḡē dā rāh.

Main tē baddhā jāndā tōr Dillī dī rāh.

Sipāhī ākhan chōudhrī kyān paindēn saurā

Ōthē āṭḡḡā kam nahīn kōi lammā chaurā.

Ajōī mūr ārēḡā, nahīn dār Nishaurā.

Ōthē masḡḡē dē bāt hai kī matḡḡā tērā?

Pīr ākhē chāudhrī tū kachhī khā layī

Dānā khātē pawēḡā tērā pind wājī,

Kahnā bhainḡḡē lūn nūn rich dharkē thālī,

Allah dā kam rēkh khān nu kar tū kḡḡḡī.

Chaudhrī ākhē pīr nā varh nālē challē,

Panj sai mērī ghōṣī hai kar pavēḡī hallē.

Vārḡḡ pichhān nū mor sūn mērā vās na challē.

Tē khālī jō main mūr giyā kī karāḡḡā pallē

*Ik sipāhi dāurke mur Dānē kōl jāē,
 Jitnā hāl hawāl sī sabh ākh sunāē,
 Pīr pahilē pahar bāl hai, mur jawān hō jāē.
 Digar nāl zaif hai, budhā sadhāē.
 Dihārā langhdā ik sī traē umar hundāē
 Nālē sāyā baddālān, phir kañiān pāñ.
 Aggē tērī marzi jō izan farmāñ.
 Shirkōñ bāj ā jā, ih bhālī hai, bhālī,
 Rūh Mōhammad yār dā Rabb āp banāyā.
 Zamin tē āsmān kahndē Rabbe āp banāyā
 Na phir sāyā baddālān? Na kañiān paē?
 Jāñ garbebandā bālīk? Baddāl char dikhāi?
 Jāñ lāyā ilm Bangālōñ, pēya umar vañdē.
 Lōk āhndē auliyā hai, Dānā azmāē.
 Kārigar sab shahr dē, Dānē mangwāē,
 Shahr dē vich bāolī othē lē jāē.*

*Bharīān ohdiān pauryān banērē bhanwāē,
 Kēi umbar kāgatān Dānē rangwāē,
 Utē sañtē rāñ dē bhār kakh na chāē,
 Rakh qābē nūñ sāmhiā, mirāb banāē.
 Kandhōñ labbañ pakkīān, pūñ phirwāē.
 Jitnē āshig Rabb dē Dānā chā likhwāē.
 Hukm Dānē qāzi dā phir kōi na mōrē,
 Masit duālī hūñjiyē, ittān tē rōrē.
 Kēi phar kastūrīān Dānē cha rōrhē.
 Jihārā langhē kōldōñ oh dāurā jāē.
 Bālīkē āhndē pīr nūñ, sun murshid mērā,
 Imminābād dis pēyā, hūñ ē āgayā nērē.
 Dō gharīān nūñ machangē sab jhagrē tē jhērē,
 Painā vas mulvāñēān, hō jāñ chauphērē.
 Parhē hōē Qurān dē, ricāyatān nē jēhrē,
 Qurān tē kitābān dē, pīr jī, maslē hain ulhērē.
 Sāqā lāhū-khushk hō gayā, aqāq aqāq bērē.
 Sānnā khōl sunā khāñ, kī pallē tērē.
 Ikkō sachchā nām hai, sahaiñsē nūñ.
 Rabb dūtā sī jōr Har Nāshak tūñ,
 Usē apnā āp jupā lēyā, nikkē, vaddē tūñ,
 Ohnūñ thammāñ vichōñ baurā, Rabb jāñ tūñ.*

My people say? A soldier ran to tell
 The tidings of the day to Dānā, how
 That coming this same priest was but a boy,
 And, strange, at noon he was full grown, and
 then
 When evening fell an old old man was he.
 And people called him Old Man — just a day
 Had seen the changes three. And on the way
 A cloud o'ershadowed him, and rain came
 down
 Refreshing. 'Do your will; you may;
 command.
 But do not spiteful be. It will not serve.
 Muhammad's soul, God's friend, was made by
 God
 Himself. This heaven and earth proclaim.
 But how
 Did never clond o'ershadow him, nor rain
 From heaven refresh him?' 'Nay,' said
 Dānā, 'Nay.
 A babe is he who's newly born. The clouds,
 How could he summon clouds? As for his
 form,
 He may have learnt in Bengal arts for this.
 The people say he is a man of God.
 I'll try him.' So he summoned artisans
 And led them to a well within the town,
 And gave them orders to fill up the steps.
 To raze the higher part, and even it
 Close with the ground; to dye great spreading
 sheets
 Of paper, which he laid on the well mouth.
 So thin it would not bear a straw's weight.
 Then
 A paper mosque he made around it, with
 Its mihrāb towards the Qāba, and its walls
 So brick-like painted, and white-washed, with
 names
 Of God's most faithful written upon it. For
 The will of Dānā must be done, and none
 Dared disobey. He caused his men to sweep
 The court, remove all dust, and handfals sweet
 Of fresh kastūrī³⁵ throw, that passers by
 Might tempted be to enter. To the priest
 A follower said, 'O hear us, teacher mine.
 In sight is Imminabad, quite near; soon will
 Disputes arise. The mullas will with zeal
 Surround us. The Qorān they know. They
 know

*Ohô aukhâ veld assân tē, Rabb baurē sahaṣ
 , subhān,
 Bālikē ānhē pīr nūn, tū Bālā pīr sudānā,
 Aṭṭhīn pahērīn rōz tū dargāhē jānā,
 Kalma parhēn Oh Ik dā, kam karēn kamānā.
 Gullān karēn Janāb nāl, sānnā asmānā ?
 Lōi bhagat Kabīr dē ghar sūkhā ā,
 Ghar ann na sujṣe pañṣān, bhukhē trihās,
 Lōi nē dēh gahē chatkē chha sūdh rajāe,
 Ōrak qarṣa dēṣnā, bāniyē kōl jāe,
 Aggē baiṭhā bāniyā phullān chhēj vichhās.
 Lōi dhil na rakhiyā charḥ chhēj jāe.
 Ihḍi kahlī Rabb nē shitābī jāe.
 Sainat kar gayā Dhaul nūn, dharti hilās.
 Bāniyē dē man vassiyā munh mammā pās.
 Tē Lōi vāngān baurē Rabb dhil na lās,
 Imminābād shahr dē dis pēyē munārē,
 Āe lōk hamākē ziyārat dē mārē,
 Bhannīān jān kōvārīān var māngānhārē
 Var dēo pīrī bandē laggaṅ bahut piyārē.
 Pīr murādān dittiān har arz natārē.*

*Chelē sifān jōrīān, parḥ nām chitārē.
 Jitnē qāzī mu'tbar Dānē lēyē sadās,
 Sabbhō jākē bah gayē masit dē duāllē,
 Hēṭh bichhāṭṭiyān shutrānjān galchē nē dālē,
 Sāmhnē hōkē bah gayē pīr dēkhaṅ dē mārē.
 Qāzī kōl masit dē baiṭhā mall maidān,
 Matā pakāyā qāṣiān Shāh Sandalwālī makān.*

Traditions also -- intricate and deep
 Their doctrines are -- our blood is dried for
 fear --

We tremble. Tell us plainly if you have
 The gift of superhuman power.' Said he,
 'I have the One True Name -- which has in
 the world

A thousand different forms. God gave great
 power

To great Har Nāshak, him who caused all men
 To worship him in place of God, Polād
 Obeyed him not. He bound him fast in
 chains;

From red hot pillars God released him. God
 Was then believed in, and even now He will
 In this great trouble aid us in His own
 Good time.' Then the disciple, 'Bālā priest
 Art thou. Thou goest to the house of God
 Once every third hour of the day. One God
 Alone thou worshippest and wonders dost.
 The Most High is thy friend: thou triest us
 To prove us true. Once on a time the Sādhs
 To Lōi came, the wife of Saint Kabīr.

She had no food or water in the house
 And they were hungry, thirsty all, so she
 To feed them sold herself, and then at last,
 As debtors must, she went to pay, and he,
 The Bāniyā creditor already had
 With flowers prepared his bed, but Lōi quick
 Ascending straight the couch, God heard her
 prayer,

And made a sign to Dhaul to shake the earth.
 He touched the Bāniyā's heart, who like a
 child

Began to suck her breasts. As God helped her,
 He will not then delay to succour me.'
 The towers of Imminābād were now in sight,
 The people came in crowds to see the priest.
 The maids to get good husbands made request,
 'O priest, a blessing seek we -- husbands good
 Whom we may love.' He granted their
 requests

As they preferred them one by one. These
 songs

Of praise the true disciple made; he reads,
 And still he glorifies the Name. Resume
 We Dānā's story. Priests and lawyers all
 Sat round the mosque on rugs and carpets
 spread

All in the open field, a great concourse,
 Desiring they to see the priest. The saint

*Tainûn sârî lhabar hai, zêmîn té âsmân.
Pirî ihdî vèkh dî phir karké dhiyân,
Sandalwâlî pir dá jâ karé didâr,
Rabb tériân qudratân tu apar apâr,
Ih miyânôn bâhar hai sân chayhi talwâr,
Té Dâné dé karm hiñê hô gayê karmân ditti sâ
hâr.
Qâzî Sandalwâlî nûn lèkê, bahñ durâddê.
Kî kuchh âyâ rékhkê, das aggê sâddê,
Jhuthâ makr pir dá kî dîrâ jâgê,
Bañh hathiyâr luygâ kî aggê bhâgê,
Sandalwâlî âkhudâ phir nâl imân,
Jhuth main nahîn âkhnân, janâ chhad jahân,
Ih khambânwâlî sap jê, udd chayhiyâ âsmân.*

*Kaun banîgê mândrî, kaun patârî pân.
Âkhê mîrî lay jân, wo banê aiyân.
Sulâm kar dî sir o pân, tû kar dî dâñ.
Qâzî gussê hô pâyâ, rot muthê ghattê,
Tîrê jêhê durindê ghattiyê phir chér uchakkê,
Tû bî Imminâbâd dî tukrê haiñ chahakkê.
Sach nahîn tû âkhdî, phir hât hai zâhîr,
Main gurûb fajir jê tukrê mang khândâ hân
chôñ,
Bhârên kadâh chhod bhân shakrôn bâhar râñ,
Vâñg batîrê taraph dî hûñ jâl taiyâr,
Mat' taggê âñkê na jhogê jute,
Qâzî karm akâhân, pir nâl oh puñhê.
Shamâ tudh nahîn samejhiyâ kân chhattre
kuthê?
Sharâ ottân sir cardê, pîô putr nû puchê.
Mordâr khâñwâlîñ chhattre nahîn parwân.
Harâm âkhê mordâr nân phir kull jahân.
Shamas Tabrez pir kî phir rich Multân.
Sharâwâlî usê nîñ kholl lûhân,
Pîô jê âkhêâ Dandâ, chîññ châr harâm.
Khândêñ mar jâgê, maikhâ ik harâm.*

Shâh Sandal they addressed, 'Thou knowest all,
In earth and heaven. Try this man's right to be
A priest by insight spiritual.' He went,
And seeing the priest he cried, 'O Lord how strange
And wonderful Thy works! This is a sword
Outside its scabbard, whetted, ready drawn;
The fate of Dâná now is sealed; 'tis clear
That fortune is against him.' Leading then
Aside Saint Sandal all the lawyers wise
Interrogated him, 'What hast thou seen?
How can the lamp of falsehood of this priest
Keep on to burn? Say, will he fight or flee?'
But Sandalwâlî said, 'No lie speak I.
As sure as death is sure, he is in truth
A winged serpent. He can fly aloft
And touch the sky. There's none can charm
him
And dump him in a basket. My counsel hear,
Be not like children — yield obeisance meet,
And give him gifts.' The Qâzî straight
grew wroth.
He said, 'Away with such as you, you thief,
You rogue! For nought you eat your share
of food
In Imminâbâd. You lie. You seek to save
This priest from shame.' But Sandalwâlî
said,
'Tis plain. I am a poor *fajir*; I beg
My four poor bits of bread from door to door.
Expel me if you will, but know that like
A quail you're fluttering — the net is spread,
And ready for you.' So the Qâzî did
Not dare to meet the priest in argument,
But trifled with him, saying, 'You have no law.
Why did you slaughter sheep? Men give
their lives
To uphold the law; a father for it will
Behold his son. And those that eat the dead
Must not kill rams. The dead, as all men
know,
Are food unclean. Even Shams Tabrez the
priest
In far Multân was hanged and flayed, because
The law abiding willed it.' 'Dâná,' said the
priest,
'Four things unlawful are; poison that kills,

*Dujjá paisā dhī dā, trēyā gussa harām,
Tē mardār khākē mukarnā chauthā tū harām,
Panjwaqt namāz guzārā bah andar parhād,
Talāsh karēn Qurān dē kitābān parhād
Murdār akhīn nazr jō āwē us wal qadam nahīn
dhardā,
Wdā karēn Rabb dā muh thīn kalma parhād.
Dānēd, kulma parhād muh thōn tuddh Rabb
nahīn yād,
Murdār atthē pahar khākē lēindā rahēn swād.
Sira khāēn sātē dā vadād bhar rikāb,
Murda dabban tān dēndēn jō lē lēnd askāt.
Ih farmāda Rabb dā mardēn nūn kadōn kadī
lagī zakāt.*

*Kēhri gallōn Dānēd, mardār thīn hōnd tū pāk?
Dānē nū pata lag gayā mardār dā tōlā lish-
kānd.*

*Chūhrēn dā pīr hai, kōi bard sāiyānā.
Gallān karē Janāb dīn, vēkhō Rabb dā bhānā.
Parhiyā kisī masit na, na vaid sujānā.
Pīr ākhēd, Dānēd, hath Rabb dē bāzī,
Zātīn Rabb nahīn rījhiā, bhagatān tē rāzī.
Aidē aidē maularī, kitthē khāngāh tusāddī,
Pichhōn dassēn khōlkē, qirāfat tusāddī.*

*Tarkhānān dē gharōn kadhkē tussān ih pai-
kambarī sūzī.*

*Chēlē sifān jōrīn kar himmat bāzī.
Dānē ākhīyā pīr nūn, "Parāndūr hō jān
Gussa bard harām hai, mat kuchh qahr karān
Mihnē dēvōn sirē dē, paikambarān nūn
tarkhān bāndēn.*

*Tainūn tān chhad sān, patā lākē dikhāēn
Ālar Hindū lōk sī, nit nām dhihāwē,
Qasab karē tarkhān dā, thākur nit bāndwē,
Shahr vich khar vēchād, nit rōzī pāwē,
Ohād putr Ibrahim sī, ik din bēchan jāwē.
Tāngān rassā ghatkē āhur bāzār lē jāwē,
Qimat lēāwē dēodhī, lāh khat lēāwē
Ihdū aggē paikambarī kōi parh sunāwē.
Chēlē sifān jōrīn parh nām sunāwē.
Chaudhān tabaq jāghkē Rabbē āp bāndē.*

A price paid for a daughter when she weds,
An angry outburst, and the use of food
Unlawful. Carrion you eat and straight
Deny, for five times in a day you pray,
You read; you search your old Qorān; you
read

Your books, and will not even look towards
A creature dead. You preach; the *kulma* too
You oft repeat, but only from the lips;
Heart of godliness you know not. Carrion
Is sweet to you the whole day long. You love
The taste of food that's given the seventh day
past

A burial — a full dish you devour, nay
Interment you forbid unless the fee
Is paid. Is this God's will? Who forced a
tax

Upon the dead? Is this not proved to be
To eat the dead? Speak Dānā.' Dānā
learned

What real carrion is — he saw the priest
Was wise. and in his heart he said, 'He speaks
Of godly things — how wonderful the ways
Of God are. See this man has never
learned

In mosque, or been to school to any wise
Philosopher.' 'Dānā,' the priest said,
'Learn

That he whom God gives victory will win.
He hates our castes, and worship true he
loves.

Great teachers ye, but where are seen your
shrines.

I tell your errors, those that lived before
Your prophet, made them idols false just like
Your carpenters. That's where your pro-
phetship

Arose.' The true disciple without fear
Composed this song. Said Dana to the priest,
'Begone! Excite me not to sin, for rage
Is sin. You taunt me with the gift of food,
My right to the interment of the dead.
You call the prophets carpenters. You must
Full satisfaction give.' The priest replied,
'Adar, a Hindu, once addressed the Name.

A carpenter was he, his work was sale
Of idols, which he made and hawked about
The streets. His son was Ibrāhīm, who went
One day to sell his idols. He tied a rope
To the idol's leg, which dangled from his
arm,

*Khudhish nabi paikambar di munh thin
farmde*

*Oh da ruh rehla rich kutab de, duniya te
pichchon de*

*Paikambar vadda tussan thin koi parh sunde,
Danda, na zamin asman si na qalam siyahi
Adam paida karn di Rabb khudhish pai.*

Hoyd hukam frishtan, mitte anra.

*Aql chalti phir Rabb di unhan go bandi,
Sikhda but ban gaya, chitra bandi nahin.*

Agge pal Janab de, unhan arz sunai.

*Allah Ta'ala akhiya phir apni zabani
Pani ralon rekhe khin kar shisht nishani.*

Pani frishtan di thiya Balu pir di peshani

Razi frishte ho gaye, kam ho asani.

Chuhra aggon milan di th pake nishani.

*Paikambar vadda pya akhni en, phir apni
zabani.*

*Nindiya karen paikambaran haih ummat
nishani,*

Jinhani ditta agge Rabb de putr qurbani.

Kar kuthi qibla; sambhe kadhi kard miyani.

Allah dumba bhajiya kiti mihbani.

Pir jo akhe, "Danda, hai bura imaniwali.

Jau tan masla akhni, rich rakhe ala

*Trakar dhake talya Rabb ne sidy paikam-
bari da sara,*

Paikambar akhni badhni, putr lago su piyara.

Kahni rah gaya Rabb da oh bhagat piyara?

Chale sistan jayen kar 'aql niyara.

Balu nari pir si Lal Beg de autar.

Rahndi taraf Kashmir di koi rich ujari.

As to the market place he carried it.

The price rose twofold and the boy made more

Of profit than his father. Tell me now
Was ever greater saint than Ibrahim?

The true disciple has compiled this song
To praise the Name. The fourteen spheres
God made,

One half the earth, one half the heavens. He
made

Them all in wisdom — so the prophet wished
God said and it was done. The prophet's
soul

Was then in Polar star so high. It came
To the world. A greater prophet let us name
Than yours. O Danda, neither earth nor
heaven

Existed then — nor pen nor ink was there
When God made Adam. Angels at his word
Brought earth, and fashioned it : the face
they could

Not make. Therefore to God himself they
went

With a petition. Then the Most High God
Spake thus himself, 'Look into water pure
And steady look.' They saw great Balu's face.
With joy the work was all completed. This
Is why, when anything that's great must needs
Be done, a Chuhra's face is omen good.

You call your prophet great, but only great
Because you say it. Said Danda, 'You speak
ill

About the prophets who have children still
Among us. Gave they not their sons to God
In sacrifice? Unsheathing knives they gave
Their sons to God with faces Mecca-wards,
But God in mercy sent a ram instead.'

The priest said, 'Danda, good and faithful,
you

In such discussion keep a window in
The wall. You err. God has with perfect
scales

Weighed prophets' faithfulness; a bandage
On his eyes did Ibrahim the prophet place,
Because his son was dear to him. Was this
Done like God's lover true? Ah, no.'

'Twixt right

And wrong the true disciple makes, with care,
A difference. He sings God's praises. Priest
Of light was Balu, who became Lal Beg
Incarnate. Lived he in Kashmir, among

Doré uodé bál sán, rahin mátd nál,
 Nau dánú panj dévté Rabb lai layé nál.
 Matthé tikké láhé vós unhnán dhólé,
 Jinéu máldán pahínké dhótí parná lué,
 Dévé Bálé pír dé, já karn sawól.
 Tu Bálé pír bhagat hai, sáddá vurt upár
 Jó ghar di jáddát sí, pír sabbhé lai vaggé.
 Shahr varé jáké rukhé báñyé dé aggé.
 Véché nál lífáde hath dāñé laggé,
 Pír partiyá kahl nál, ghar jag suraggé.
 Bálé nūr pír né chhe chakkí chuhdí
 Pír áhndá káflí nú méré sádh rajdān
 Lóh Máí máld dhar ditti, parsául pakdí.
 Ann pakká par dhér sí, rahi kamí na káí
 Ab raróí jiéun ló, méré Thákur sán.
 Chéle siftdā jōrdān, parh nám sunān
 Sādh khān nūn á gayé karké Rabb di dē,
 Rōfi khān vekké nál, ríthā nahān mās.

Assān té Bálé pír samjhdé sáhi kói Rabb
 dá dās.

(Chéle siftdā jōrdān hó bé visvās)

Assān té suniyá sán bhagat tú kói Rabb dá
 bhāí.

Aivén val bahdóí kí kítóí kárd.
 Huñ tñ jáké mangdó, kói ráj dívdí
 Mās pakáké khud kán, jag kar khān sárd.
 Sādh challé ruské kauñ mandúkhárd.
 Chéle siftdā jōrdān kar 'aqí niyárd.
 Bálé nūri pír sí mandwān ján
 Miliyá jáké sádhūñ lámé qālam chaldí,
 Miliyá já ujār vich us arz sunái,
 Bhukhi duniyá dhér hai, phir vich lukái.
 Méré kunká chalé chhaqké kí dí vich áí.
 Chéle siftdā jōrdān, parh nám sunān
 Sādh aggón partí phir sukhan sunái,
 Dó tére ghar bál né chér dēghé pān
 Já sat vāri khodhish hai tñ mōt lé ján.
 Já Rabb piyárd tuñ nūn tñ bál khōvdān.
 Pír mandké sádhūñ mōr ghar val dyá,
 Bálak doré khédé báhrón mangwé.

The ruins there. Two sons he had, Mahin
 Their mother lived with them. Nine genii
 And angels five God took with Him. They
 had

The sacred marks upon their foreheads —
 Threads

And rosaries they had, and garments used
 By holy men. All in this guise they came
 To Balmik's house. They said, 'A priest of
 God

Art thou, O Bala, give us food our fast
 To break.' The priest took all his house-
 hold goods

And sold them in the town to purchase corn
 Enough to satisfy them. Home he came,
 And set six mills agoing. 'Kafli, see,'
 Said he, 'the men of God be satisfied.'
 Then Mother Mahin cooked their food upon
 The fire. Enough there was and more. 'Now
 come,'

Said Bala, 'dine, ye men of God, my friends.'
 This song the true disciple made — tell forth
 The glory of the Name. Those godly men
 Sat soon to dine, with hope in God. 'It is
 But bread,' they cried, 'There is no flesh,
 We thought

That Bala was a servant of the Lord.'

(Without a fear the true disciple sings.)

'We heard thou wert a mighty man of God.
 And hast thou entertained us with such food
 As this is? What is this that thou hast
 done?

At some king's door we might have begged
 for alms.

Cook flesh and feed us, make a sacrifice
 Complete.' They rose dissatisfied. Who
 could

Restrain them? Reason's eyes had then the
 true

Disciple when he made this song. A priest
 Of light was Bala, therefore ran he quick
 To plead with them. He met them in the
 wilds

And made request. 'There are a many men
 That wander in the world. Why did you not
 Taste my poor offering: what thought kept
 back

Your favour?' The disciple framed this
 song.

They answered him, 'Thou hast two sons at
 home,

*Pāñ garm karāké phir jhāl nuhdē,
 Kar kufhē Allah sāmhnē Shāh kard challāē.
 Mahin mātā kōl rēkhāē, jis gōl khidāē,
 Nainān nūr na phūyā nā gairat khāē,
 Bālā haiñ Rabb dē, ohdē lēkhē lāē.
 Chēlē sifāt jōriān parh nam sunāē.
 Larkē chār chāṭke dēyān āñ dharāñ
 Lūñ visār dōdhāñ rēch marchāñ pāyāñ
 Jāñ dēgāñ sām ridhāñ chā hēthāñ lāyāñ
 Aō rasōi jēun lō, mērē Thākūr sādāñ.
 Gurzān sādāñ chuk lē, chāl khāyē chhāñdā
 Rahdāri dā thāñ hai, mat kōi chuk lējāñdā.
 Chor hōwē aggāñ pichhāñ man pachhōtāñdā.
 Ghar apnā sambhāyē kavūñ chōr sadāñdā.
 Pīr sādē nū Dānēd, Rabb āp azmāñdā
 Chēlē sifāt jōriān parh nam sunāñdā.
 Gurz ik main pakarkē lē chalnāñ dērē,
 Jāñ main ithe laithāñ tuhadē pās valērē,
 Kis khōdē Rabb nū puttārāñ dē bōrē,
 Chēlē sifāt jōriān parh nam radhērē.*

*Gurzān sādāñ chandah chuk ēk sē vārē,
 Chukē jandē nūñ rēkhē phir parjā sārē,
 Jay sapāran hōwēgā gal hōwēgā niyārē
 Sikkā tērē hōwēgā khalag Allah sārē.
 Pīr gurzān karkē ikatthiāñ karē nazz dhiyāñ
 Main nūñ pāyāñ nēñ chukhāñ ih Rabb dā
 jāmāñ.
 Ghat bāñ bul chukhāñ chhātī gayā trāñ
 Nan dāñ panj dērtē rēkh hōt hōirāñ
 Is chukhāñ nē chandāñ, sāmāñ ik nahāñ māñ*

Them dress and boil if thou in truth dost wish
 To take us with thee. Prove thy love to
 God,
 And feed us with thy sons.' The priest
 consents
 And leads them back. The boys were sent
 for from
 Their play: hot water straight was brought;
 the boys
 Were bathed: in sight of God the Shāh
 himself
 Did kill them; Mother Mahin, who had held
 Them sporting in her lap, was standing by,
 Nor ever shed a tear, nor sorrow felt,
 Her sons were God's, His gift. This song
 The true disciple made and of the Name
 He sings. The boys were out in pieces, and,
 The pans being set on the hearth, they were
 with salt
 And yellow dye, and liquid spices, red
 Hot pepper too, well-cooked, and set before
 The strangers. 'Come, my friends, ye men
 of God,
 And eat,' said Bālā. 'Lift,' said they, 'our
 clubs
 Of iron. We will go to dine. We need
 To careful be, for if some one should steal
 Them, we should grieve, and some one would
 be called
 A thief.' Give heed, O Dānā, thus our
 priest
 Was tested by the Lord himself. To sing
 The Name the true disciple made this song.
 'I can,' said Bālā, 'lift an iron club,
 And home convey it, or to guard your clubs
 I'll sit beside them.' Who has given to God
 The flesh of his own sons to eat? This
 song
 The true disciple, thinking of the Name,
 Has made. 'We have,' said they, 'clubs
 fourteen told,
 Uplift them all, the world will see thy might,
 Thy sacrifice will be complete; thy griefs
 Will end. All men will praise thee.' So he
 made
 A bundle of the iron clubs, and said, '
 'Lift them I must. 'Tis God commands.'
 He put
 His hands about them, then with effort strong

(To be continued.)

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE PIPRAHWA VASE.

BY A. BARTH, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT.

(Translated from the French by G. Tamson, M.A., Ph.D.; Göttingen.)

[THE original article, of which a translation with the author's permission is given here, appeared in the *Journal des Savants* for October, 1906, p. 541 ff. M. Barth, who some eight years ago, almost simultaneously with the late Professor Bühler, first translated the Piprahwa vase inscription, has examined in it the interpretations which were afterwards given of that interesting document by other eminent scholars; and a translation of his paper will be sure to be welcome to all to whom the French Journal is not readily accessible. Those who are interested in the matter must be aware that the discussion on the meaning of the inscription has been carried on by my friend Dr. Fleet, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1907, p. 105 ff. — F. K.]

THE Academy of Inscriptions was the first to be made acquainted with this short but interesting document.¹ I had the honour of laying it before that body² more than eight years ago, when the steatite vase on which it is engraved had just been discovered. The vase was found under a large Stīpa, near the hamlet of Piprahwa, at the north-eastern extremity of the district of Bastī, still in [542] British territory, but only about half a mile from the Nepāl frontier. The following is the text, which I reproduce as I then received it from Dr. Führer through M. Foucher, and as it was accepted till quite recently. I add the translation that Bühler³ and myself gave of it immediately, almost at the same time and independently of each other:—

yanam

iyam salilanidhane budhasa bhagavate saki sukitibhatinam sabhaginikanam saputa-
dalanam.*

"This receptacle of relics of the blessed Buddha (*is the pious gift*) of the Sākya, the brothers of Sukirti (*or* Sukirti and his brothers⁴), jointly with their sisters, their sons and their wives."

This short inscription, of which more careful fac-similes that came in soon after had left not a single letter doubtful, and the sense of which also seems at first sight sufficiently clear, has since that time continually occupied the specialists and even been brought before a larger public; for, the daily press deigned to be interested in "the tomb of Buddha," and all that has been written on the subject would fill a volume. Yet, as all these controversies presented only solutions that, in my opinion, could not be accepted, and did not bring forward a single new fact, I for my part did not wish to re-open the discussion. But now a new fact has been disclosed, against all expectation. One of the scholars that have rendered the greatest services to Indian epigraphy, Dr. Fleet, has rectified the order in which the inscription should be read; and from the result thus obtained — a result which, in my opinion, strengthens rather than weakens the position taken up by Bühler and myself from the beginning — he has drawn a different interpretation and far-reaching considerations which his great authority, as well as the minute learning and the confident tone with which he has produced them, [543] might cause to be accepted as established facts. I have, therefore, thought it my duty to take up the whole question again and in some detail. I do not, however, intend to

¹ This article reproduces a lecture delivered before the *Académie des Inscriptions* at its meeting of 15th June 1906.

² *Comptes rendus de l'Académie*, 1896, pp. 143 and 231.

³ *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1898, p. 387 ff.

⁴ The two syllables *yanam* are engraved above the line. Of course, the words are not separated in the original, which forms a single continuous line.

⁵ Three interpretations are possible: the two given above and "the Sukirti brothers." In support of the second one I know of no other example in epigraphy. For the third we have the case of 'the three Vasubandhu brothers,' but it is only given in documents derived from China, in which misunderstandings may always be suspected. Thus, the first one remains, of which also there is no exactly similar instance, but which is supported by the analogous use of the metronymic replacing the name. It is at the same time the most natural one, and, upon the whole, the one I deem preferable. It must be assumed that the donors thought themselves sufficiently indicated by what was probably their common surname. — [Compare now also Prof. Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. p. 317, note 1. — F. K.]

draw up the bibliography of it, which would be too great a trial of the reader's patience. Of the numerous opinions expressed I shall examine only the principal ones, those that are the most characteristic and really original.

The first objection — first, if not in order of time, at least by the authority of him who raised it — came from Professor Rhys Davids.⁶ The word *sukirti*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *sukīrti* and means “glorious, illustrious,” instead of being the name of some unknown person, would in his opinion here denote the Buddha himself, and the Stūpa of Piprahwa would be the identical one that, according to the ancient account preserved in the *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta*, the Sākya of Kapilavastu, — here “the brethren of the Illustrious One,” that is to say, the men of his clan, — had raised immediately after the Master's death over their share of his ashes. The Stūpa of Piprahwa, which is only about eight miles south-west of Rummindēi, the site of the ancient park of Lumbini, the birth-place of the Buddha, was certainly, if not at Kapilavastu itself, in close proximity to that ancient city, the exact position of which has still to be determined. On the other hand, Professor Rhys Davids has learnedly demonstrated — and on this point I entirely agree with him — that we must not take too literally the legends that show us king Aśoka breaking open (with the exception of a single one, that of Rāmagrāma, which is not that of Piprahwa) the eight Stūpas among which the relics were said to have originally been divided, and distributing their contents among 84,000 new Stūpas, miraculously constructed by himself in one day at the four corners of his empire. The explanation, therefore, is a very attractive one; it is, at the same time, so natural that it must have presented itself to the minds of all who have dealt with the inscription. And, in fact, Professor Rhys Davids is not the first to whom this idea occurred: from various quarters and immediately after the discovery, it was brought forward in Indian newspapers. Nor have I any doubt that it was considered by Bühler, and at any rate I myself thought of it. If, nevertheless, we both of us set it aside, it may be supposed that we had our reasons for doing so.

Among those reasons I will not reckon the objection raised by Professor Rhys Davids himself, namely, that *sukirti* is not a current epithet of the Buddha. The fact is that hitherto it has not been noted as such either in Pāli, or in Sanskrit, or in the Prākṛit of the inscriptions; nor is it found among the 81 appellations collected from the *Mahāvīryūtpatti*, nor among the 58 in the shorter list published by [544] Minayev. But we might readily admit that, after having expressly mentioned the Buddha, the author of the inscription should afterwards have referred to him by a simple laudatory epithet. Nor do I attach any importance to the fact that neither to Fa-hian, nor to Hiuen-tsiang, was any Stūpa shown containing relics of the Buddha, either at Kapilavastu itself or in its neighbourhood. But the two following considerations appear less easy to be set aside:

In the first place there is the writing, which is so perfectly identical with that of the inscriptions of Aśoka engraved in the same characters that it seems impossible to separate the two by an interval of more than two centuries. Bühler, who with good reason was ever on the look-out for any facts that might prove an early use of writing in India, simply declared that he considered the inscription to be anterior to Aśoka; but he died, without telling us by how much or why. I suppose that his sole reason was the absence of any notation of the long vowel. But, in addition to the fact that this notation is practised with a certain amount of laxity in the authentic inscriptions of the king⁷ — (it is well known that in the other system of writing which reads from right to left it has never been in use) — it is entirely absent from one of the inscriptions of Rāmgarh-Hill,⁸ which no one has yet desired to date before Aśoka, and it is equally absent from the copper-plate inscription of Sōhgaurā,⁹ with one single exception. And it is this very exception that, as it would

⁶ *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1901, p. 397 ff.

⁷ For example in that of Rummindēi. *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1897, p. 258.

⁸ *Corpus Inscr. Ind.* I. Pl. XV. *Ind. Ant.* II. p. 245. Cf. A. Boyer, *Journ. Asiatique*, III. (1904), p. 485, and E. Pischel, *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, May 1906, p. 491.

⁹ *Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal*, 1894, p. 84. — [Now see also *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1907, p. 509 ff. — Ed.]

seem, ought to give us a hint as to what was the real state of matters. The simplest explanation clearly is to see in the general absence of the long vowel the result of an intentional simplification, and to regard the exceptional occurrence of it in the plate as a mere slip of the writer or engraver who at the very end and in this one case only reverted to a practice that came familiar to him, not, as Dr. Fleet wishes, as a sign of the still uncertain use of a newly introduced notation. In our inscription, on the other hand, there is no similar inadvertency; here the simplification is a consistent one, and is moreover justified in this kind of graffito, where the characters, slender and somewhat cursive, are traced distinctly but very slightly, as if cut with a knife, but yet without presenting either in detail or in their general aspect any trace of those modifications that usually reveal a difference in time. It is certainly rash to judge of the age of a document [545] from simple palæographic analogies. But when, as is the case here, there is a complete identity, not only as to the component parts, but also as to the style, with memorials of the same origin, hesitation is no longer permissible. It would require an incontrovertible proof to make us separate our inscription from the neighbouring ones of Nigliṃa and Rumṃindāi by two centuries or more.

This argument concerns only the age assigned by Professor Rhys Davids to the inscription. The following one touches the very core of his interpretation, namely, the description of the Śākyaas as "brethren of the Buddha." In Sanskrit, as well as in Pāli, the word that here occurs in the Prākṛit form of *bhātī* properly signifies "brother," and in the present case, where it is immediately followed by the words for "sister, son, wife," there is, *a priori*, every probability that it has been employed, like these, in its proper sense. In certain cases it can also be used, by extension, for a very near relative, such as a cousin. Now we do not know of any "brothers" of the Buddha,¹⁰ and the cousins whom we know he had have nothing to do with the matter in hand. For more distant degrees of relationship we have *jñātī*, *vanīśya*, *bandhu*, *sa-jōtra*, and others, but never *bhātṛi*; at most, this word might be employed in such a sense in direct address, but in that case with a shade of familiarity which would be absolutely out of place here. Even spiritual brotherhood does not admit the use of this term; we find *Buddhaputras*, *Sākyaputras*, "sons of the Buddha, of the Śākya," but the religious language knows of no "brethren of the Buddha." When ascetics meet, they address each other as "venerable one," or with *āyushmat* (equivalent to "may you live long"), never as "brother" and when a monk accosts a nun and calls her *bhaginī*, "sister," it is in a very different sense, so as distinctly to mark the purity of their relations. All the more would pious laymen have scrupled to use, in an authentic document, the familiar term of "brother" in connection with Buddha Bhagavat, "the Saint, the Blessed Buddha," the exalted being who in the oldest books of the sect is called "the Master of gods and men." Even for the period contemporaneous with that of the Buddha the supposition appears to me improbable, and I may add at once that it would be still more so if the inscription were of a later date. Professor Rhys Davids asks himself if the sole reason of the sceptics, who feel doubts as to his demonstration, might perhaps be that "it is too good to be true." And, indeed, there is something in this, but there is something else besides.

Professor Pischel has arrived at the same conclusion as Professor Rhys Davids, [546] but by another way.¹¹ He objects to the word expressing the idea of gift or of pious act being understood, although the case frequently occurs, perhaps in one out of every three similar documents,¹² and even though in the present case the word need not really be understood at all. It is so, in fact, only for us, in consequence of the requirements of our languages; in the original it is sufficiently expressed by *nidhāna*, "receptacle, repository," this *nidhāna*

¹⁰ Tradition ascribes to him a half-brother, Nanda, who became a monk.

¹¹ *Allgemeine Zeitung, Beilage*, 7 Jan. 1902; *Zeitschrift der deutschen morg. Gesellschaft*, LVI. (1902), p. 157 f.; *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, July 1903, p. 710, and May 1905, p. 526.

¹² A quite similar ellipsis is the rule in inscriptions on coins and seals, where the name of the king or of the owner is simply put in the genitive, without a governing word.

being that of the Buddha whose relics it contains, as well as that of the Sākya, whose work it is. Professor Pischel, nevertheless, seeks for this superfluous word, and finds it in *sukiti*, which, according to him, stands for the Sanskrit *sukṛiti*, "pious foundation." No one will deny either the sense of the Sanskrit word or the possibility of the Prākṛit equivalent, although according to the analogies of the Pāli and of the Māgadhi of the inscriptions one would rather have expected *sukati* or *sukaṭi*. But all the same the expression is found nowhere in the numerous inscriptions of that period, which are nearly all deeds of gift or of consecration and in which stylistic formulas abound; so we find in them *dāna*, *dānamulka*, *dēyudhamma*, *dhammadēya*, *dhamma*, but nothing resembling *sukṛiti*. However, passing by these objections, which certainly make one suspicious, we have the translation: "This receptacle of the relics of the blessed Buddha is the pious foundation of the Sākya, of the brothers with their sisters, with their children and their wives." In this translation we at once feel the halting character in the original of the construction proposed by Professor Pischel. The genitive *bhātinaṃ* stands in the air. We are not "the Sākya brothers," any more than we are "the French brothers" or "the German brothers;" we are "the brothers of somebody." It is necessary that this genitive, striding not only over *sukiti* but also over *sakīyanam*, should go on to attach itself to *buddha* *bhagavate*, where it has not even a grammatical connection, — a kind of verbal gymnastics perhaps admissible in the artificial style of the poets, but one which would be surprising in this language of the inscriptions which, though often elliptical and involved, is always direct. For surely this is how Prof. Pischel takes the matter: these Sākya are the brothers, that is to say the distant relatives of the Buddha; and as he is accustomed to speak out plainly, he asserts as an established fact that the Stūpa is "the very tomb of the Buddha," and that the inscription, the most ancient hitherto found [547] in India, was engraved immediately, or shortly, after his death, exactly in the year 480 B. C. After what has been stated above, namely, that there is little suitability in this fraternal relationship and that it is practically impossible to date the writing so far back, I hardly need add that Professor Pischel's interpretation appears inadmissible to me.

Professor Sylvain Lévi, too, has turned his attention to this patient, so obstinate in not allowing himself to be cured.¹³ Pursuing the course of investigation started by Professor Pischel, he also sets upon the word *sukiti*, but he makes it an adjective corresponding to the Sanskrit *sukṛitin*, "meritorious, pious," and qualifying "the brothers." From the point of view of the dictionary, nothing could be more legitimate; what is much less so is the joining together, in a compound, of this adjective with *bhātinaṃ*. For, in this language of the oldest inscriptions, an adjective which is simply used as an epithet does not ordinarily compound with the substantive it qualifies, unless the two together constitute a standing expression. These "Sākya, pious brothers," then, are naturally the brothers of the Buddha, which produces another difficulty to which I need not return again. I shall only remark that Professor Lévi, who points out the "awkwardness" of Professor Pischel's construction, proposes another which also is not very good, for with him, too, *bhātinaṃ* is separated in a most untoward fashion from the word by which it is really or logically governed. Professor Lévi gives us the choice of two interpretations. According to one we should have the relics of the Buddha consecrated by the Sākya, his pious brothers, together with their families. This, on the whole, is the conclusion of Professor Rhys Davids, with a less easy construction, and I think I have explained why I cannot accept it. In one point, however, a single one, Professor Lévi has improved it: he has clearly seen the difficulty of dating back this writing to the time of the Buddha, and he has not failed to warn us against the robust faith that allowed Professor Pischel to set it aside. He therefore supposes that the inscription merely recalls a more ancient consecration, and that it was probably cut on the occasion of

¹³ *Journal des Savants*, 1905, p. 540 ff.

a reconstruction of the Stūpa, such as tradition ascribes to Aśoka, and, who can tell?, perhaps by order of the king himself. Out of discretion, in which I have little faith, the promoter of the new consecration would have withheld his name. The improvement is a welcome one; but all the other difficulties continue to exist: one of them, the epithet of brothers bestowed on the Sākyas, happens to be even increased, as this qualification was no longer conceivable at a time when the Buddha, in the eyes of his followers, was invested with all his superhuman dignity.

According to the second interpretation, which Professor Lévi prefers, [548] we should no longer have to deal with the relics of the Buddha, but with those of the Sākyas, his pious brothers, who, in the well-known legend, are massacred by Virūdhaka, together with their wives and little children. The monument, no doubt erected afterwards, as the writing seems clearly to indicate, would perhaps be the Stūpa mentioned by Fa-hian, or one of the numerous Stūpas seen by Hsien-tsiang on the field of the massacre. The explanation is certainly ingenious; yet I doubt if it will bear examination, on account of the many difficulties it raises. There is, first, the construction, which, this time, is decidedly defective: with the meaning proposed, *suditibhatinam* would have to come before *sakiyanam* and immediately after *budhasa bhagavate*. Then there is the absence of all mention of the promoter or promoters of the consecration. The researches in the Stūpa have brought to light no trace of it; it ought therefore to be found here. On reliquaries this absence only occurs where the inscription, a very short one, is a mere kind of label.¹⁴ For the moment, at least, I know of no other example of it in a formula so fully developed as this one. And the fact is easily explained. The recording of such names was certainly not a case of mere ostentation, on objects destined to be buried deep underground and never again to see the light of day. When we see how on the reliquary of Bhaddiprōlu, for instance,¹⁵ which presents so striking an analogy with ours, there is a long enumeration of names not only of the promoters of the foundation but of all those who took even the least part in it, — and, I will add, when we see how in our own case also, if the inscription is understood as it ought to be, the brothers of Sukirti associate in their work their whole house, — we are bound to reflect that there was in this something more than a gratification of vanity, and that a mystic efficacy was attributed to the recording of such names. The invention of the “pious brothers” does not compensate us for this deficiency.

There still remains the erection of the Stūpa in honour of those Sākyas and the consecration of their relics. Professor Lévi calls it a canonisation, and so it would be, but a strange one. These Sākyas of the legend are by no means the innocent victims that Professor Lévi presents to us. On three occasions, we are told, the Buddha averted from them the vengeance that they had brought upon themselves by their arrogance and bad faith; on the fourth time, he calmly allowed their fate to overtake them. In general, and in spite of forced eulogistic amplifications, tradition does not deal tenderly with the Sākyas: it represents them as proud, obstinate, and quarrelsome; it by no means hides the fact that the Buddha had no reason, exactly, [549] to be satisfied with his people, and that, in his case too, the proverb was verified that a prophet hath no honour in his own country. That afterwards people should have been moved to pity by this catastrophe, real or not so, of Kapilavastu, and that Stūpas should have been erected in honour of the victims so as to indicate the traditional locality of the massacre, is most natural. The Chinese pilgrims saw these Stūpas, and the fact that in recent times Dr. Führer took upon himself to invent them anew and to manufacture for each of them a nice epitaph in Pāli, is not a reason for doubting their naïf testimony. But this is a long way from the existence of a worship of relics. For, what we find at Piprahwa is neither a tomb nor a simple commemorative monument; it is a veritable repository of relics. Even without any inscription, the objects discovered there would prove this,¹⁶ namely, some pieces of bone mixed with *maṅgalas*, ornaments in gold, gold beads, pearls, small trinkets and images, &c., all that is usually found in similar cases. And these relics must have been

¹⁴ As on those of Sōnāri; Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topas*, p. 317.

¹⁵ *Archæological Surv. of India, Imp. Series*, XV. For the inscriptions, Bühler, *Wiener Zeitschr.*, VI. p. 148, and *Epigr. Ind.* II. p. 326.

¹⁶ See the Report of Mr. Poppe, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1898, p. 573 ff. Cf. *Archæol. Surv. of India, Imp. Series*, XXVI. 1; Pl. XIII, XXVII, XXVIII.

of the very first order, for the Stūpa is one of large dimensions; even now, washed as it has been for so many centuries by the diluvial rains of that region, it presents a structure of considerable bulk, and excavations to a depth of 28 feet were necessary to reach the sacred repository consisting of steatite vases, two of which were large urns of the finest finish, and of a precious crystal casket of admirable workmanship. That this should have been done for laymen — to the number of 9,990 myriads according to the statement of Hiuen-tsiang — who never passed for saints, who, still for Fa-hian,¹⁷ were only *śrūtañpannas*, simple candidates for sanctity and such only *in articulo mortis*, appears to me, of all suppositions, the most improbable.

Such was the state of matters when, by a simple remark, Dr. Fleet put things in their proper light.¹⁸ He informed us that, hitherto, we had all of us misread the inscription: that it does not begin with *iyam salilanidhane*. To prove this, he had only to draw our attention to the fact that it must necessarily end with *sakiyanam*, the last two syllables of which are engraved above the line. The inscription is written in a circle round the neck of the vase,¹⁹ and, as the circle was completed before the inscription, the engraver was forced to add the end by placing it above the line. This is clearness itself. That it was not [550] perceived sooner, is owing in the first place to the apparent exactness of the first copies, and next to the fact that the faulty arrangement they gave raised no important difficulties. The copies which Bühler and myself had at first received, indeed, presented the inscription expanded into one or two lines; we did know, it is true, that it was written in a circle, like most epigraphs on reliquaries; but it was not till later that we learned that this circle was quite complete, and then the matter had taken its bent. For my own part, I might even plead an additional lame excuse: in my first copy the text began not with *iyam*, but with the puzzling reading *yam*: the *i* had been taken for a flourish and represented as such in the copy, and in my turn I was naturally bound to see in it one of those symbols often placed at the head of this kind of documents.

However this may be, Dr. Fleet's correction, though late in the day, is none the less certain; and what definitely proves it is that it removes the last anomalies and difficulties that might still have remained in the inscription. We have in fact now the following translation in telegraphic style: —

"Of the brothers of Sukīrti, with sisters, with sons and wives, — this receptacle of relics of the blessed Buddha of the Sākya."

Here, everything is in order: the string of genitives, which might have given rise to objections in the first arrangement, is distributed in an irreproachable manner: first, the donors or founders; then, the nature and object of the foundation, which is the normal construction; equally normal, as M. Senart reminds us by referring to numerous instances,²⁰ is the genitive plural at the end, *sakiyanam*, to indicate the tribe or sect; applied to the Buddha, it is a development of expressions like *Sākyamuni*, *Sākyasīdha*, "the hermit, the lion of the Sākya." So the first interpretation, which Bühler and myself gave, has been confirmed, with the exception that the promoters of the consecration are no longer described as Sākya. In their own time they were no doubt great personages; but, as in the case of so many others, we know nothing of them but their name. The detail, however, is not without importance; for it is not very probable that, at the period indicated by the writing, Sākya should still have existed as an ethnical designation.

And, at the same time, there is an end of the other interpretations that I have just examined. The one last affected is still that of Professor Rhys Davids; but [551] it, too, is affected, and deeply; for *sakīti*, having again become decidedly a proper name, but now coming at the beginning, and being no longer an epithet used as a reminder, can no longer indicate the Buddha. Still more impossible are Professor Pischel's "pious foundation of the brothers," and Professor Lévi's "pious brothers," who would no longer be connected with anything. Except as a previously adopted

¹⁷ Translation by Legge, p. 67.

¹⁸ Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1905, p. 680 ff.

¹⁹ See the reproduction I gave of it, after a copy by the hand of Dr. Führer, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1898, p. 232. In this reproduction the outlines of the letters are accurate, but the strokes are too thick.

²⁰ *Journal Asiatique*, VII (1902), p. 127.

conclusion, there can be no longer any question either of "the tomb of Buddha," erected shortly after his death, or of relics of the Sākya's massacred during his life-time. These interpretations fall to the ground so completely that I might even have been dispensed from discussing them, if Dr. Fleet himself had not forced me to do so by his attempt to re-establish them, at least partly, by a new interpretation, in my opinion as untenable as the others. As it would have been necessary, in any case, to combat them, it was as well to do so in the order in which they were brought forward.

Dr. Fleet accepts, in effect, Professor Rhys Davids' now so improbable interpretation of *sakīyā* as a designation of the Buddha; from Professor Lévi he takes over the latter's general conclusion that we have to deal with the relics of the victims of the massacre. But then the *sakīyananā* at the end can no longer be an ethnical name, as "the Sākya's of the Buddha" would have no sense in any language. So he makes it an adjective, representing it as from the Sanskrit *svakīya*, "suus, proprius," with the meaning of "relations, kinsmen," which the word really has; and he thus obtains the following translation²¹ which I reproduce while preserving as much as possible the order of words of the original —

"Of the brethren of the Well-famed One, with (*their*) sisters, with (*their*) children and wives, this deposit of (*their*) relics — of the kinsmen of Buddha, the Blessed One."

I shall not return to the weak points, already sufficiently discussed, which this interpretation has in common with the previous ones; I shall examine only those that are peculiar to it, the construction by which it has been obtained, and the manner in which it disposes of the ethnical *sakīya*.

And first as to the construction. By merely casting a glance at the above literal version, we notice at once that it is a strange one; that the first part of the inscription and the last one, which are in apposition to each other, are awkwardly separated by the medial clause, the mention of the reliquary. Neither in the Indian dialect nor in English is this clause in its place; in English this place would be at the beginning; in Indian it would be at the end. [552] And what shall we say of the tautology of the whole wording? After having indicated "the brethren of the Well-famed One," was it necessary to add that these brethren were kinsmen? And is it not as if the authors of the inscription had themselves felt the want of precision of the first designation? But then why should they have chosen it? This ancient epigraphic language, anxious to say what is necessary, and nothing but what is necessary, does not usually express itself in this redundant manner.

It will be seen that to bring to trial Dr. Fleet's construction is at the same time to bring to trial his interpretation of *sakīya*. I really do not know what he has against this ethnical term. In Sanskrit we find it under the form of *Sākya*; in Pāli we have *Sakka*, *Sakya*, *Sakīya*; the Prākṛits of the inscriptions show us *Saka*, *Sakya*, and here *Sakīya* which probably is not to be corrected into *Sakīya*. Of these forms, of which Dr. Fleet has drawn up a very useful list,²² none is suspicious; they are all in conformity with what we are taught by innumerable analogies of the phonetic or simply orthographic variations of these idioms; moreover, they all enter into phrases which correspond without the least discrepancy. Why, then, should we expel this term here, where it fits so well, for the benefit of a substitute which the lexicon undoubtedly furnishes, but which fits so badly? Is it, perhaps, because the tradition gives various and fantastic etymologies of it? We should be carried a long way in following this track. If I correctly understand Dr. Fleet, — for his theory is somewhat complicated and is not easily summed up in a few words, — he does not deny the existence of a nearly similar ethnical term, but he will have it that all the forms in which the name occurs in epigraphy, and, with a single exception, in Pāli literature, arise from a misunderstanding, and should be referred back to the possessive adjective *svakīya*. By dint of calling the members of the community or of the clan of the founder *Buddhasya svakīyāḥ*, "the kinsmen of Buddha," they would finally have been called simply the *svakīyāḥ*. The hypothesis is ingenious, but I doubt if it will find many supporters. At least instances of the use of this prolific phrase ought to be produced, and hitherto, as far as I know, none has been cited, except the one in this very inscription understood as Dr. Fleet understands it.

²¹ *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 149 ff. Dr. Fleet did not all at once arrive at this translation; another one will be found (*Ibid.* 1905, p. 680), with the same interpretation of *sakīya*, which is still more improbable. I shall say nothing of it, as Dr. Fleet appears to have abandoned it himself.

²² *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1905, p. 645 ff.

Yet on this frail basis Dr. Fleet would build an entire chronological edifice. In our inscription, which, moreover, does not mark the long vowel — (I have already stated what should be thought of this omission), — *sakiya* would still be taken in its original sense; [553] the inscription must, therefore, be anterior, by at least a full century, to that on the pillar of Aśoka at Rummindēi (the middle of the 3rd century B. C.), in which the notation of the long vowel is established and in which the designation of the Buddha as *Sakya*muni, “the hermit of the Sākya,” shows that the possessive adjective has had time to change into an ethnical term. The inscription would, therefore, be far more ancient than any yet found in India. Dr. Fleet does not venture, positively, any further than about half way between the reign of Aśoka and the date generally accepted for the death of the Buddha: for he is too experienced an epigraphist to carry back this writing, without more ado, to the very time of the *nirvāṇa*. Yet he allows us to perform the rest of the journey at our own risk. On the other hand, he does not disguise his hope that, thanks to the light the document has now thrown on the true history of the name of the Sākya, a methodical investigation into the use of the various forms of this name may lead to important results in connection with the chronology of the books of the Pāli canon. We may wish that such an investigation may be made; but we must give a warning against too hasty conclusions being drawn from it.

One word still as to the construction proposed by Dr. Fleet. I have already referred to the strangeness of it; I must add that this, but not the other anomalies of the redaction, would be more or less attenuated if the inscription were in verse. Now, quite recently²³ Mr. Thomas thought he actually recognised in it a very irregular *Āryā stanza*, which Dr. Fleet afterwards proposed to scan as an Upagīti [or Udgīti] almost as irregular. It is always difficult to recognise an isolated *Āryā*, especially when it presents anomalies as great as would be the case here. But the fact is that in Pāli and mixed Sanskrit some are found which are hardly better, and that, if such a one were met with among the verses of the *Thēriḡāthās*, for example, to which Mr. Thomas refers, it would really have to be accepted as an *Āryā*. It is true that, in that case, there would remain the expedient, which we have not here, of suspecting the manuscript tradition. Without believing it very probable, I will, therefore, not absolutely reject the suggestion; but I wish to point out that it would in no way prejudice the meaning to be given to the word *sakiyanam*. Whether the latter really corresponds to a Sanskrit *Sākya* or to a Sanskrit *svakiya*, it would still have its first syllable short; for, long ago Professor Jacobi has shown²⁴ that, if Pāli and Prākṛit necessarily shorten the vowel in position, Pāli often and Prākṛit still oftener do not restore the long quantity when position has been removed.

[554] In conclusion, I therefore believe, with M. Senart,²⁵ with whom I am happy to be in entire agreement, that we may admit the following as a definitive translation of our inscription:—

“This receptacle of relics of the blessed Buddha of the Sākya (*is the pious gift*) of the brothers of Sukīrti, jointly with their sisters, with their sons and their wives.”

In short, we must be resigned: the inscription teaches us none of the sensational novelties that some interpreters have thought they found in it; it does not afford us any testimony contemporary with the Buddha, whom it leaves in his vague and legendary twilight, and whose “tomb” it will not allow us to visit; it in no way tends, even indirectly, either to strengthen or to weaken the accounts of the distribution of the ashes, or of their removal by Aśoka, or of the destruction of Kapilavastu and the Sākya; nor does it supply us with materials for constructing a chronological system; it simply makes us acquainted, together with the name of an unknown personage, no doubt some local *rājā*, with the existence (after so many others, teeth, frontal bone, alms-bowl, hair, even the very shadow) of new relics of the great reformer, relics probably more ancient, and which we may, if so inclined, suppose more authentic, than any others. This is little; but a negative result is better than illusory data.

The relics are now at Bangkok, where, after so many centuries of oblivion, they once more serve for the edification of the faithful.

²³ *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1906, p. 452.

²⁴ *Zeitschr. f. vergleich. Sprachf.*, XXIII. p. 594, and XXV. p. 292.

²⁵ *Journ. Asiatique*, VII. (1906), p. 136.

THE TRAVELS OF RICHARD BELL (AND JOHN CAMPBELL)
IN THE EAST INDIES, PERSIA, AND PALESTINE.

1654—1670.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 105.)

THE iudge answerd (y^e L^d brought on tryall before him), we must iudg according to Law w^{ch} condemns this fact. I tooke my iurney after this to Spawhawne [Ispahan], w^{ch} is 50 Leags. This L^d was sent to Spawhawne & Confest all before Shaw Sollymon [Shāh Sulaimān] Kinge & his iustices, & I saw him beheaded. He might [have] beene saued but was willinge to die. This was end Aug 1668.²⁵

Att Spawhawne, y^e court of King Sollymon, Eni^r of Pertia,²⁶ I did lodge at y^e Companys howse; 3 dutchmen, 4 frenchmen, Kinge Sollymons Sarv^{ts}, wth y^e padreys caime to see me, I haueing lett^{rs} out of India. We weere verry merry at y^e English howse. The first 2 days I was in y^e citty we kept wthin doores, the Kinge haueinge made a Crooke [qūruq]²⁷ wth his Weomen & if any mankinde aboue Elleaven yeares old be abroad durence the tyme of the Crook he is kild, [whether in the] Citty or Contrey for 2 leagues, for Notis is given y^e day before he make y^e Crooke. Its only to be merry wth his weomen, w^{ch} ride in all manner of habbits as they best fancy for Mirth. This was told me by y^e Wife of a Engl^l surgion, One of them before she married.

The 3^d day, about 3 clock in y^e afternoone, y^e Crook broke vp, y^e Kings 2^d or adviser, Sheth Alley Cowley Cawne²⁸ [Sayyid 'Alī Qalī Khān], sent for me & demanded if I belonged to y^e Company. I s^d I was a poore Subiect of my King. What, s^d he, is not y^e Capt of y^e company come, meaning Mr flowers. I told him he would come in 4 or 5 days. Newes caime y^e King satt out. He rose in hast to goe to Court. I took my leane. He said, you must goe before y^e Kinge. I went & made my Obeasience after y^e Industan Manner & phraise, being in that habbitt, Sollam Alley [As-salām alaikum]. He S^d, Allegan Solam [alaikum as-salām], y^{ts} yo^u are welcom. Wheere, S^d y^e King, haue yo^u lernt y^e phraise being an Engl^l man, & laught. I said, I had served y^e Magull Oram Zebb. S^d y^e K., he is my enemy, soc yo^u are welcom from him: y^e Kinge out of his gato showed me some of his great Gunns w^{ch} lay disorderly. And two Mortars w^{ch} none in his Court knew how to vse. I told him I would charge them & show him y^e vse of them. S^d he, are they to be discharge[d] wth stone shot. I S^d, wth a shell. S^d he, pray show me this, w^{ch} I did, y^e King givinge ordr to y^e Nasa [nāzir],²⁹ w^{ch} is Mr of all his Artillery, I should haue what desired. I cast 2 shells. In 4 dayes tyme I had them redy Coted

²⁵ ? 1669. See note 19 on p. 103, ante.

²⁶ Shāh Sulaimān reigned from 1666—1694.

²⁷ "Kourouk signifies a Prohibition to all Men and Boys above seven years of age, upon forfeiture of Life, to be seen in any place where the Kings Wives were to pass, if he were in their company. All the ways are hung on both sides with such stuff of which they make their Tents, to prevent the Women from being seen. And notice is given to all the Men to retire home at such an Hour; besides that, the Guards at two Leagues distance round about, were ready to prevent any one from coming near the Places so canvast in . . . It is said, that during the five Months from the Coronation of the King till the year 1078 of the Hegira, which answers the Spring of our 1667, the King commanded no less than sixty-two Kourouks, going abroad with his Wives every time, and visiting the Places round about Ispahan." — Chardin, *The Coronation of Solymān III.*, p. 77, ed. 1691.

²⁸ For an account of "Hali-Kouli-Kaan's" restoration to favour on the accession of Shāh Sulaimān and of the various offices conferred on him, see Chardin, *The Coronation of Solymān III.*, p. 79 f., ed. 1691. See also Tavernier, *Persian Travels*, Book V. ch. VIII. p. 218, ed. 1684.

²⁹ "The Nazir or Seer: Superintendent General of all the Royal Domestics; and who also takes particular care of the Treasuries, Furniture, Buildings, Manufactures, Magazines, Stores and Servants." — Chardin, *The Coronation of Solymān III.*, p. 13, ed. 1691.

over all wth y^e Carriages. The Kinge plac^t himself On a Hill wheere seats weere mad for y^t purposse, And his Ladyes w^{thin} a Roome wheere they might see. The King came after nearer & demanded what should be don wth them, if A marke was to be set to shote at. I s^d, bringe men or sheepe, & y^e Execution would show how to reveng himselfe On his enemies. Sheepe weere brought, And one of y^e Shells fitt^d y^e way we call hen & Chickens, w^{ch} shell does y^e greatest Execution & made the kinge Amazed seinge it flie, & s^d, it flies in the aire ; it will doe noe Execution.

I returned answer by y^e L^d that brought y^t word from y^e Kinge, yo^u shall p^{re}sently see wth Execution it will doe. It flew at y^e hight 244 Minutes & fell amonge y^e sheepe & kild 250 besides wth land. Immediatly y^e King sent me a horss & rich furniture (the same horse & furniture was that day led before him), & said, Bircala [*baraku'llah*], Well don.

The other shell fell amonge An other flock 230 paces of. The height it assended was 43 Minuts & fell & kild 132 sheepe. The kinge was verry Joyfull of this, for the Mortars his Grandfather had taken from y^e turks, he driveing them out of Pertia.³⁰

He cald me to him & bid me sit downe. I begd his p^{ro}dn^g, being hote, weary & black, & desired leaue to refresh my selfe. I tooke leaue, y^e ff [*French*] & Dutch accompaning me to y^e English howse. He Sent for me againe & I had the honor to eate & drinke wth him & weere verry chery wth Musique & Danceing weomen (one of these weomen toss vp 7 : 8 : or 12 balls & keepe them all in play aboue ground), & had wth elce desireable. The Kinge desired me Serve him. I s^d I could not, my King had Comanded me home. S^d he, yo^r kinge is my Brother & what service yo^u doe me, he wilbe well pleased wth it. He vr^ged it noe more, but s^d, lets be merry, & drank 3 small Gobletts One after an other, standing vp to y^e King of England his Brother. I was to pledg out of a Golden ladell³¹ q^t [containing] a pinte & $\frac{1}{2}$, and was to drinke 3 of them, w^{ch} I did, & all y^e xpians theire, Abondance of L^{ds} & other Courteers by ; & his weomen see vs, but we not them, from aboue. The Kinge danet amonge vs & some of y^e Danceing weomen.³² Y^e King would set his hands a side & laugh heartily, saying, spare me not, when tugg was or Cushings flyinge, I am at this tyme as one of you ; oure wyne mad vs equall. But none of his L^{ds} drank a drop. This was in Supper tyme, dishes standing & tost downe. But they & the Carpetts then spred weere taken away & fresh Carpetts brought. After y^t, he Comanded one of his ffrench sarvants to play on y^e violin, And drinke in that tyme was plentifull wth y^e ffrench ; y^e Kinge did not drinke as we weere obliged as to y^e Quantity.³³ Verry merry we weere, & y^e King verry pleasant & iocouse. This french man y^t plaid comes vp to y^e Kinge 3 se^{mi}nall tymes & tells him such a Nobleman was fitt to be his G^{en}l^l. The king bid him sit downe, Sayeing, I know how to make G^{en}nalls. This french man, Drunke, vr^ged it againe ; Soe y^e Kinge Comanded him be ript vp & given to y^e Doggs, w^{ch} is y^e Death for offend^r in that Contrey, & others out of Christendome. But y^e King gaue some privat notis y^t he should Only be carried into an other Roome & stript, & soe stood naked for 3 howers, w^{ch} tyme we past in Merth, & mist not y^e french man. The Kinge, seing vs farr enough in Drinke & Nodinge, came and shoke me by y^e Shoulder, & s^d, rise vp, its tyme to goe home. Wheeres yo^r Brother, & brought me his Clothes, & s^d, carrie them to him. This was about 2 Clock in y^e Morninge.

³⁰ Sulaiman's grandfather was Shāh Safi, 1629—1642. He did not drive the Turks out of Persia. On the contrary, Murād IV. recaptured Bagdad from the Persians, and its possession was confirmed to the Turks by a peace made between the two nations in 1639.

³¹ See Tavernier, *Persian Travels*, Book IV. ch. XVII. p. 181, for a description of the Golden ladle in which he pledged Shāh Abbās.

³² For the way in which Sulaimān gave himself up to drinking and dissipation, see Chardin, *The Coronation of Solyman III.*, pp. 77, 78, 87, 88, 123, 129, ed. 1691.

³³ Chardin, writing of events in 1668, says, "the young Prince had forborn wine all the last year, by reason of an Inflammation in his Throat occasion'd by his hard drinking."—*The Coronation of Solyman III.* p. 130, ed. 1691.

Two days after, we were sent for, & Mr flower being come home from Cammerroon [Gombroon], [who] had a present for the Kinge from the Company,³⁴ went with me. Y^e Kinge askt me what I had brought from India rare, & s^d, theirs few travellers by land but bring rarities with them. I s^d, Only my person. S^d y^e King, we haue seene many french, but few Englⁱ travell home by land, & y^e french bring not only their persons. I then told him I had a Stone [Bezoar] would Expell poyson. Y^e Kinge desired to see it. I showed it; he sleighted it, sayinge this is but a stone, what vertue can their be in it. I s^d, giue me wth poyson y^u can, & then y^e vertue will be showne.

One of his Capons [eunuchs] brought a Glasse of poyson. Mr flowers then left me with a looke as if he would [have] kild me.

One of y^e Kings Cheife Docters gaue it to me. I dranke it, y^e Kinge first desireing me sit at a distance & s^d, freinde, if y^u kill y^or selfe I haue noe hand in it; haue a care.

I cald for a Basin. A Jarr of gold was brought. I then tooke my poyson stone & put it into a glasse of wyne q^t [containing] $\frac{3}{4}$ of a pinte & kept y^e stone in y^e wyne a quarter of an hower or more. S^d the Kinge, his Nobles & Docter by, when I had dranke, He stumbles not at it. S^d the Docter, he hath as much as would kill Ten Ollyfants; he cannot live; Its the wyne makes him see Curagious. With that I drank of my wyne & put y^e stone into a little warme water (y^e quantity I had dranke of wyne), & drank it. Immediatly I fell vommittinge. S^d the Kinge, now hes deade. I vommitted $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hower; y^e don, I tooke water & washt my mouth and face & cald for a glass wyne. Now s^d y^e Kinge, I se y^e stone hath vertue. Not, S^d the Docter, for a Kingdome would I doe see much. I must, S^d y^e Kinge, haue y^e Stone, & what it Cost or y^u will haue for it, I will give y^u; But first purged me on my Oath wth it cost me. I, on my Oath, told him it cost me 3000 Ropeses, w^{ch} is 337¹¹ 10^s Englⁱ money.³⁵ He then said, ask a Gift. (M^{dd}. This was but a peece of A Stone.) In then comes my Cozen flowers.³⁶ S^d the Kinge, y^or freind is not deade. S^d Mr flowers to me, now y^u haue a good occation if y^u vallew my hono^r or the Company, Ask y^e Arreeres at Commerroon w^{ch} were for 4 yeares. I was silent. S^d he Kinge, aske. I askt y^e arreares. Y^e Kinge granted it, & caused thes Accompts to be stated, w^{ch} caime to Two lack of Abasses, w^{ch} is about 50000 fifty Thowsand pounds Englⁱ money.³⁷

When y^e L^d gaue y^e Kinge this acc^t, The Kinge s^d to me, had y^u not better [have] asked for y^or selfe. A smaller thinge would [have] contented y^u, But my word is past, & y^or^s granted.³⁸ But will, not y^u, y^or word beinge granted, be willinge to serve me. I replied, with all my heart, but I must obey my Kinge. Give, S^d he, it vnder y^or & Mr flowers hand, if y^o come not, y^u will furnish me with 3 as good men. Mr flower past it vnder his hand.

The King gaue me a Serpaw [*sarapā*], that is Sash, cote & Girdle worth 300 Dollars.

³⁴ This was Flower's second visit to Ispahan. In 1666, at the time of the Coronation of Shāh Sulaimān, he was sent by the President of Surat to the Persian Court. He had orders to keep an eye on the Dutch deputation and their "great present; to attend their motion and observe att Court, and learue what their business is, as also by his personall appearance checke the liberty which they would otherwise take in abusing you our Masters and the nation."—General Letter from Surat to the Court, *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, Vol. 2. On the occasion spoken of in the text, Flower arrived at Ispahan on the 9th Aug. 1669. Writing to Surat on the 5th Sept. (*Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. 105), Flower remarks that "The King with his Court lately retired to one of his Gardens with purpose after 8 or 10 dayes stay to proceed towards Gundemau (not farr from Bussora) being Jealous for the Turks who are masters of it." Flower gives an account of his interview with the "Ettamon Dowlett" on the 3rd Sept. and of the minister's promise to "Aqumint the King with our Complaints," but does not say that he had any personal interview with the King, nor does he allude to Campbell. For Flower's first embassy to the Persian Court, see Chardin, *The Coronation of Solymān III.*, p. 66, ed. 1691.

³⁵ i. e., at 2s. 3d. the rupee.

³⁶ I have not been able to trace the relationship between Campbell and Flower. See note 19 on p. 103, ante, where Flower writes of Campbell as of a stranger.

³⁷ The author's calculation cannot be right. Sir Thos. Herbert in 1677 rates the Abassi at 1s. 4d. This would make the two lac amount to £13,333 6s. 8d.

³⁸ The records of the time make no allusion to any such concession by Shāh Sulaimān.

The Snowes beinge then in pertia, in y^e end of y^e Month August, & soe Extreame y^t, in o^r way to Spawhawne, my Sarv^t lost his toes, w^{ch} wth extremity of cold rotted of. Soe left him wth Mr fflowers, he being my Slaue (my other Hamstring^d in my voyage to Proster John³⁹ [and] haueing wife & Children at Bagganogare [Bhāgnagar, Hyderabad, Deccan], I gane y^e vallew of 60th to carrie him home. He would not [have] left me but I Considered his wife & Children, soe p^ted [parted].

Leaveinge Spawhawne y^e first day September 1668,⁴⁰ I wth my slaue, a black, A french Padre & 2 Dymond Marchants of Paris, One Monsier Jordan a protestant, & Monsier Rasin⁴¹ Roman Catholic, tooke o^r Jurney homewards, Beinge Accompanied out of y^e Citty wth all y^e Engl french & Dutch, 2 Leagues, & after returned.

My Kinsman, Mr fflower,⁴² knoweinge in part what Charge I had wth me, S^d to me, Woe is me y^t I cannot p^swaid y^u against this iurnoy; y^u vndertake it against my will. Doe not y^u know Sr Humphrey Cooke, who y^u Conveyed out of India,⁴³ how he was served. He, imbraceinge me, told me, tho I caime not saife home to England, my service don to y^e Company & for his hono^r, w^{ch} y^u know Cozen y^u haue vnder my hand, shall be made good to yo^r father, Or vnkle Whitty; Soe we parted. The 2 dymond March^{ts}, I, My Sarv^t, & y^e Padrey I brought from Surratt in India, whose naime is Farro Capusena [Capuchin Brother]. The next towne from Spawhawne was 60 Leagues cald Pannuloe;⁴⁴ in 5 days wee Arrived theire, all in helth.

Theire we consulted whether we should goe by y^e way of Bagdatt Or Towreys [Tauris, Tabriz]. S^d y^e Dymond March^{ts}, wedesire for Bagdatt but haue a great Charge; Towreys is the surer way. We agreed to goe by Towreys, and all went wth y^e Cofflla or Carravan, w^{ch} consisted of 40000 feightinge men, y^e whole (horses, Cammells, & asses), 100 000.

The next great Towne from Pannuloe to Towreys was 80 Leagues of, cald .⁴⁵ We, 8 horsemen, wth sarv^{ts}, left y^e Coffeloe & caime to Radie [? Rai close to Teherān], a verrio great Citty, in 9 days tyme; Thence for Towreys. In the way was noe Citty, only villages & Scrays. Y^e distance was 172 Leagues, w^{ch} we went in 28 days, all comeing to Towreys in helth. Four days before we got to Towreys, theire was a french Docter y^t had cut 3 slaues for y^e Gouverner to make Coides [Khwāja, Coja, Eunuch] or Efankes [in modern Greek] them to p^sent to y^e Emperro^r of Pertia his Maister, Shaw Sollyman Kinge.

But y^e Condition of y^e Padreys or fryers in those parts, as elce y^here out Chrissen-dome, if not in, is y^t noe Man, how good an artist soever, should live where they are, they p^tending to all arts, & by that meanes get into places & make prosolites.

A french Padrey in y^t citty went to y^e Gouverner & told him he could cut Cheaper & safer then y^e Docter. The Gou^r had giuen y^e Docter 40 Tomaines,⁴⁶ w^{ch} y^e padrey knew. Y^e padrey was f^eced, wth y^e Docter knoweing, Left y^e Citty, takeing 2 Sarv^{ts} & 2 Mules, & tooke his way towards Smyrna, w^{ch} is cald in y^e pertian tongue, Cashmeer [Isimīr], & weere in the way buried in y^e Sands.

³⁹ See Vol. XXXV. p. 177.

⁴⁰ Campbell must surely mean 1659. See the note on his departure from Gombroon, *ante*, p. 103.

⁴¹ Monsieur Rasin was known both to Tavernier and Chardin, "Monsieur Rasin of Lyons, a Person of Very good Repute, and my Companion in my former Travels, embarkt himself once more in this sort of Trade; and though we differ'd in our Religion, Yet for all that we liv'd Peaceably and in Unity together." — Chardin, *Travels into Persia*, p. 2, ed. 1691. See also *Tavernier*, Ball's edition, Vol. II. p. 304.

⁴² See *ante*, p. 127, note 35. On Flower's return to Gombroon he fell under the displeasure of the authorities at Surat on account of the involved condition of his affairs. He eventually satisfied the Company's demands on him, and, though he lost his appointment at Gombroon, he was, in July, 1671, ordered to "succeed in the Custom house of Mayhim if Mr. Barton dyes" — *Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. 104, and *Miscellaneous*, Vol. 2.

⁴³ I can find no verification of this story. See the note on Sir Humphrey Cooke, *ante*, p. 103, note 16.

⁴⁴ Pannuloe may be the modern Kashan, but it is difficult to trace the route followed by Campbell.

⁴⁵ Hiatus in the MS. here. The town meant may be Kum or Kasvin.

⁴⁶ Fryer, in 1677, gives the value of a toman as £3 6s. 8d. See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Toman.

The Padre Cutt 4; all Dyed. Newes beinge carried of it, y^e padrey Kild himselfe, w^{ch} thing brought a p̃iudice [prejudice] to all frenchmen in y^t Citty.

Next day caime a Coffeloe from Cashmeer [Smyna], y^t said they mett a Xpian, 2 Sarvants, 2 Mules, wth a horss (w^{ch} was starved) by them, and all deade. The Gouverner, when Monsier Jordan & Rasin⁴⁷ went before him, told vs the aboue relation, demanding wth we 3 weere. They S^d, they weere fr̃ [French] men. I S^d, I was an Engl̃ man. S^d he, all french men are Haram Zadds [haramzāda], Deceivers. For Engl̃ men I haue not to say of them, never haueing anie^r tryall of them.

Must not, S^d he to y^e fr̃. men, yo^r Padrey be cald to Acc. for y^e men hes kild & himselfe, besides he, being to yⁿ as our Casa [qāzī] is to vs, cannot answer it to God.

I am, S^d y^e Gour^r, not soe sorrie for him and y^e Slaues As for the Docter, y^t Goodman, who by his meanes I slighted, and is now lost.

Wee tooke our leaves & went to y^e Sersaie, But y^e Padreys of that place invited vs to theire Convent, w^{ch} Monsier Jordan & Rasin did refuse by reason of y^e Gour^r's language.

4 Dayes wee staid in the Sersaie; every day the Gour^r sent vs 6 dishes of Meate. Our Coffelo [kāfila, caravan] beinge gatherd to a heade, & redy to goe, we went to y^e Gour^r to take leave & p̃sented him wth some small gifts; but he refused them, & S^d, when yⁿ come this way againe, bringe me some Europe token. Soe we parted; & went thence wth y^e Coffiloe 23 Leagues before wee caime into y^e sands. 17 Days we travalled in y^e Sands wth great losse of Men & Cattle, viz^t Cammells, horsses, and Asses. In all y^e 17 days, wee weere not hable to see o^r horss lenth before vs, or One an other, Or to open o^r mouths or eies; but when we would cate or Drinke, y^e Sand got in like to Choake vs; yet we had Muffellers Over our faces.

They Stringe 100 Cammells together to follow One after an other, And every 100 haue a man On y^e formost Cammell wth a howse in w^{ch} he sits In, y^e howse Coverd both day and night, And in it Is a light & a Compass to guid y^e Cammell y^e way, for y^e sands drive soe wth y^e wind, its not possible to see.

Wee haneinge 1 monts Jurney more to goe ere we should be Cleere of y^e Sands, and o^r Cattell died soe as wee weere forst to put two loads on One Back, I said, letts turne back, And, Consultinge wth y^e eminentest Marchant, an Arminyon, & y^e 2 fr̃emen, Judged it best to hyer a guide to pilote vs o^r way an other way Towards Neneveigh [Nineveh], w^{ch} was a nearer way; & Leaueinge y^e Coffeloe, we could goe in One day 3 times as farr as wth it. 15 Arminyon Marchants (horssmen), y^e 2 fr̃emen, my selfe, and o^r sarvants went, giveinge 11 Dollers a heade for Pilot money.

Wee had 140 Leagues to Nenoveigh, neither pile gras, water or Ought elce in o^r way for refreshment^t but what we carried wth us. Our Gnydo brought vs to Neneveigh in 23 days all verry weary. We staid theire 7 Days, and in that tyme refresht o^rselues verry well.

From Nenevey we went to Cornway in 12 Days, w^{ch}, at 20 Mile a day, I gess to be about 75 Leagues.

From Corneway we went to Kirkway [Kirkuk], y^e fr̃. men & I then only in Company; we went it in 7 Days, w^{ch} is about 60 Leagues.

From Kirkeway to Bagdatt, 120 Leagues, in 13 Days. We arrived in Bagdatt in helth, but left o^r Boyes in Kirkway & tooke fresh horsses there, o^r Boys to follow to Bagdatt.

We had but beene 4 days theire, when y^e 2 french Marchants feel sick, it being soe hote, y^t wth y^e Brees of y^e Sunn, it kild the Natives; & Many I saw, as white as Engl̃ men, kild immediatly & turnd as black as a Coale.

⁴⁷ See ante, note 42 on p. 128.

I my selfe beinge at noone in the Sunn, a hote breese hath taken me & skind my face. Those y^e weere seoreth wth y^e Sunn, was of y^e Bashaws [Pāshā's] Soldiers, w^{ch} lay wthout y^e Citty, for y^e Bashaws of Bagdatt, Kirkway & Neneve weere goeing wth theire Armies in y^e Grand Senior^e service agst Bassora, now in y^e hands of y^e Arrabs. This was in february thus hott, & in Spawhawne in August soe Cold as my Sarv^t in Pertia had his toes rotted of.

M^{dd} I went to old Babbylon w^{ch} is 12 Leagues from Bagdatt, and assended the Tower, & plumd it wth a line I carried for y^e purposse, & its iust 60 fathom from y^e top to y^e earth; but theires a great depth of earth about y^e foundation, w^{ch} depth is not knowne; its ⁴⁸ foote broade at top. They are every day loading a way from it stones to Bagdat or new Babylon.

In Bagdatt I staid 23 Days, And On y^e 4th Day of february I tooke my Jurney for Aleppo, And in the way, the first great Citty was Hanna [Anah], A Citty wthin a ffort in y^e Middle of a River [the Euphrates] w^{ch} goes to Bossara, The River Tygrisso & it joyneing theire to gether, And on each side of the River a Citty, And is distant from Babylon 130 Leagues. This Hanna is in y^e Wildernesse of Arrabia.

The french Padrey hyred a guide in Bagdatt, & had security by his wife & 4 Children & an Arrabian Marchant that this guide should bring vs saife to Aleppo & bringe vs every 2 days where we should haue water. All was On my charge, And I would not haue patience to tarrie till y^e Coffelo went. We tooke wth vs noe more then One days water, My Company beinge with my selfe, The padre & his sarvant, My Slaue, the padreys horse & sarv^{ts} Mule, My horse & slaues Mule. All of vs beinge wthout water 2 days, I questioned y^e Guide, & he gaue me Crosse language: Soe I shott a pistoll at him to scare him, but after drubd him wth my stick. Y^e Padre desired me, for Gods sake, to let him alone, Now we are in y^e wilderness & know not whether to turn o^rselves. I was vexed, beinge redy to Choak, Bound y^e Gayds hands behind him, throtne^d him & cald him naines, and said, if wee die, we will all die together. This was about 7 Leagues short of Hanna. Wthin 2 Leagues of y^e place y^e I bound him he Cried, Aga [Aghā, my Lord], water. Give me, S^d he, my life & I will show y^e water. We had not rid a league & halfe, but he lights & S^d, heere water, y^e Well impossible to be found but by y^e guide, for it was not a yard over, and Turft as if it had beene firme ground. These Guides Conseale y^e water, they geting theire liveinge for Conducting travellers & relievinge them wth water in y^e Jarney throw the Wildernesse of Arrabia. The Guide drew out a line he brought for that purpose, and a sheeps skin [and] tyd y^e 4 Corners to gether [for] y^e Buckett. The line was 60 fathom Longe & wou^{ld} but iust reach y^e Water. I, Jealous [afraid] y^e Rogue would run away, I bound him againe. The Padrey & my slaue neere, both sick for want [of] water. But, refrest a little, we mounted, & p^{re}sently I spied 7 horssmen, w^{ch} caime vp boldly wthin 500 paces of vs, On w^{ch} I fyred a pistoll. They then retreated back. The guide then addrest him to y^e Padrey to make his peace wth me for his liberty. Swaering by his beard, his god & Mahommett, he would not run away. On y^e I unbound him, & we weere 5 days in gettinge to Hanna [Anah], y^e Padre & my Slaue sick, w^{ch} was y^e cause.

By perswasion of y^e Guide we past about Hanna a league and a halfe On purposs to saue o^r head money. We past the Towne and caime to a river 5 Engl^{ish} miles beyond it, & theire sat downe & refresht o^rselves. S^d the Guide, heere are Rogues. S^d I, all Arrabs are Rogues. Before we could mount, caime 28 horse and carried vs back to Hanna on foote, for that we had past y^e Citty indeavting to saue o^r head money. It Cost me 144 Dollers & all y^e excuses I could make to y^e Gouverner. We staid at Hanna ¹⁰days.

We had not left y^e towne 2 Leagues but 7 horssmen caime ridinge after me. I S^d to y^e guide, who are these. He S^d, Haram [haramzāda], Rogues & Robbers. S^d I, will yⁿ stand to

me. Yes, S^d he, if y^u will let me haue One of yo^r pistols. S^d I, noe, y^u haue bow & arrowes, & if I see y^u stand not to it, thou shalt be y^e first Ile kill, tho I die afterwards.

The guide answered (We seinge them Exercize thei^ro lances), I was 4 yeares agoe Guide to Six Xpians, 4 dymond March^{ts} and two Padrees who went this way, & by fyer^{ing} a pistoll, w^{ch} wounded an Arrabb in the thigh, was y^e cause they all lost theire lives by hancing theire heads out of. This is a great trewth & told me by y^e padreys at Babylon, who advized me by noe meanes resist if we mett anie [bandits], And would [have] had me left my Armes & other things of Concernem^t. I S^d I had not anie. Said y^e two ffrech Dymond Marchants I left theire Sick, espetailly monseir Jordan, Wee know he hath a Charge^{so} & One Dymond w^{ch} we haue beene all about & [?for] o^r Kinge, & could never attaine to it. Except he left it at Spawhawne, we are sure he had it.⁵¹ The padreys did vrge me againe, & S^d, what ever I left wth them should be safe Conveyed to me to what place I pleased; but by noe meanes doe y^u travell w^{thout} y^e Coffeloe wth a Charge. I denied y^t I had ought. S^d they, if y^u haue, it wilbe y^e cause of y^e loss of yo^r owne life & Company.

The 7 horssmen Caime vp againe. They had only lances; I wthstood them, haueing a cace of pistols, bow & arrowes & a Cutlaco. Y^e Padre cried, for godsake haue a care wth y^u doe; if we resist not they will not kill vs. I was angry, & S^d, if he would not feight, I would kill him. He S^d it was not his Religion to feight. The Guide & he then run into y^e enemy. The enemy Cried, surrender yo^r selfe & you shall haue noe harme. I would not. Y^e Padre cald to me, y^u had better Surrender; if y^u doe not, y^u will loose yo^r life; I haue saved mine. I told him, in y^e Portugall tonge, I had some Consernm^{ts} about me.

I left him wth y^e Rogues & past forwards, facing about everie Minute for y^e lenth of an Engl Mile. They followed me, & when they se they could not p^{rv}aille, they returned y^e padre & Guide. My horss beinge weary wth facing them too & againe, I went a League further, & by a river side refresht o^r selves; on thother side of vs was a Bogg, and but One way to come to vs, soe as One Man was as good as 20 in an other place.

My Guide S^d, these weere noe rogues but only tried wth xpians woere; they had noe Sadles On theire horsses.

After 8 howers stay, y^e Padrey hancing got a napp, S^d to me, those weere Rogues, & my heart [mis]gives me they will follow vs; what y^u haue, berry heere or give me. I had sent y^e Guide to get grasse for o^r horsses, for, in y^e Wilderness of Arrabia, is grass in most places vp to y^e Belly, but noe rode but wth Deere make or Wyld Beasts.

While y^e Guide was gon, I tooke out my things out of y^e Padd of my Sadle & gaue y^e padrey some, & some I kept my selfe. When y^e Padre see them, he Cried & S^d, these wilbe y^e Death of vs both. He had:—

- . 3 Dymond stringes wth Crosses
- 2 Stones y^t Expell poyson [bezoar]
- 2 Great Dymonds
- a Blood Stone
- a greene stone
- 120 Saphers
- 4 Dymond Ringes
- 3 spetiaall Rubies

Kept by my selfe, viz:— a great dymond wth Kings arms on it, 8 other great Dymonds.

In y^e meane tyme comes y^e Guide wth grasse, &, packing vp y^e things those I had in a litle purss, [I] ty'd them about my members. About an hower after, we see 14 horss men, 7 of them

^{so} This does not agree with Campbell's condition of destitution as described by Flower. See note 19 on p. 103, *ante*.

⁵¹ For the diamond with the King of England's arms engraved on it, see *ante*, Vol. XXXV. p. 133.

y^t had beene wth me in y^e Morninge. This was 3 Clock in y^e afternoone. We see them before they could see vs. S^d y^e padre, we are betraid. I askt y^e gide who these weere. He S^d, men goeing to y^e next great towne, soldiers. Y^a lie, y^a Roogne, s^d y^e padre; y^a haue betraid vs.

I was at a stand, consideringe what to Doe best. Y^e Guide S^d, lets goe. Noe, S^d y^e padre, lets stay heere till night. Did not y^a, S^d y^e Guide, agree wth me in Babylon, w^{ch} I hane given security to performe, & y^a are to march when I say goe & to stay when I say stay. I replied, will y^a beare vs harmless. He s^d, yes I will. Wth y^t he went out, p^tending to see if y^e way was Cleere & staid from vs $\frac{1}{2}$ of an hower, & returninge, he bridled o^r horsaes & S^d, vp, y^e way is cleere. We had not rid a League, but we spied y^e 14 horsmen in ambush in a valley. They let vs pass till we caine to y^e top of y^e hill, & then spred them selves. 4 caine One way, 4 An other, 4 the 3^d & 2 more, all w^{ch} Compassed vs about. I had made my bridle fast to my horse legg & made my bow & arrowes redy, but they caine poothering soe fast, y^t all theire lances was about me in a trice, & S^d, we haue now got Gunns, fyer if y^a darr, for if y^a either fyer or shoot arrow, y^a are a deadman, & y^e rest.

The Padre cried, do not shoote. In y^e meane tyme, they struck in wth me & stript me Naked, all saue my boots, w^{ch} saued me some thinge. They weere all muffled vp; I could only see theire eies. Some few Dollers I had about my Midle, w^{ch} they p^sently eased me of, And, starke Naked, made me lead my horse to a valley. I went not fast enough, Soe One gaue me a push wth y^e butt end of his lance, w^{ch} put me on my Nose. In that fall he spied y^e pursse & Snatcht it away; I was affraid all had gon together. Beinge in y^e Valley, made me sit a side till they parted my things, vizt. My wearinge Clothes & Lynnen, 3 Serpaws [*saropā*, dress of honour], One Prester John gaue me, One Oram Zebb y^e Magull from his owne boddie, & One Shaw Sollymon King of Pertia,⁵² wth other things of Vallew. The Rogue Guide, after Devded, Cast lotts who should haue this & who that Share. Besides these, there was 3 of his Mat^{ies} Great seales y^e Magull gaue me, being had On y^e occasion before Exprest.

They caused likewise y^e Padrey to be stript, & set downe likewise, & set us both downe to cut of o^r heads. S^d y^e Guide, my wife & Children is pawne for y^e padre; ⁵³ Cut of y^e head of y^e other. They gaue y^e Padrey his Coate againe, Settinge me by my selfe wth a lance at my back & 2 swords Over my heade, sayinge, take y^or leave of y^e world. I desired them suffer me to say a few prayers, w^{ch} they did, & in that tyme they tooke Councell, And mutined amonge themselves. 3 went one way, & s^d they would goe & complaine; 3 followed them to bring them back. He w^{ch} tooke my Jewells from my members, said, Is it not enough we haue taken his goods, but we must take his life; Theires a God. They made me come to them, & fall downe & Kiss every One of theire feete, & say they had don well in takeing away wth I had, & to say God blesse them for it, And houe me a Cammel Coate, showeing vs the way. I would [have] gon ffor Babylon but they would not let vs goe that way.

Wee had not gon an Eng^l Myle, but two of them caine after vs, & comeinge vp to vs, demanded my slave (w^{ch} was a Black as Those Arrabs are), & tooke him and My Mule, sayinge he was not to travell that way.

Wee travelled all that night, & next day, weary, haueing neither mans meate nor horsmeate, And haneinge lost our way, we caine to a den at whose mouth lay about 20 dead sheepe. It was about 3 Clock in y^e afternoone. S^d y^e Guide, wee are all yndon, iudgeinge it a Denn of Lyons Or Tygers; But we see noethinge to hurt vs. Att 12 Clock at night, we, redy to die and our horses quite tyred, we caine to a River cald Olson, w^{ch} runs into Tygris. Then weere wee from anie inhabitant 9 (Nine) days jurney & had noe p^rvisions. By Gods providence caine downe the River Men vppon Rafts of Wood wth tents vppon them, Goeinge for Bossera. Wee weere affraid, but o^r nessessity sent y^e Guide, who spooke Arrabb, to haile them, The whilst y^e

⁵² See ante, p. 127.

⁵³ See ante, p. 130.

Padre & I sculkt. The Guide got of them 40 Cakes of bread, Cost 2 Dollers, w^{ch} served vs to an old Citty cald Tyabe [Taiyibeh, Taiba]. We travelled 14 days, day and Night, ere we could reach it, and iudge it from Hunna 130 Leagues, for y^e Certan Leagues in that Contrey is not knowne, but they reckon days iurney accordinge as they & horssees are hable.

When wee caime to Tyabe, theire weere we heart broken, haueing neither meate, money, nor freinds, And must pay head money, 10 Dollers a heade. ffor want of it, we weere put in preson & weere 3 Days theire, but they sent vs meate, & cared for or horssees. The 4th day caime A merchant from Aleppo, And crime to vs, & askt me wth I was. I s^d a Christian. S^d he, theire are of That Cast seuerall, As Ittall [Italians], Spanyards, ffr: [French] and others, of w^{ch} are y^u. I S^d, An English man. S^d he, give me a note vnder yo^r hand & I will give y^u y^e Money y^u desire, w^{ch} was 24 Dollers, & take it Att Aleppo. I tooke y^e Money & gaue y^e Note as he desired. Wee p^d or (paid our) heade money And tooke Our Jurney ffrom Tyab towards Aleppo, esteemed 40 Leagues or 4 days Jurney. Its all a hard sand. In the Midest of or way Mett vs a partie of Arrabbs, w^{ch} fyred at vs before we caime wthin shot of them. Woe sent a yong man, w^{ch} caime from Tyab wth vs (y^e Marchants sarv^t y^t lent me y^e money). He returning, S^d, they are Rogues, y^u haue nothing to loose but yo^r horssees, & if y^u will give me 2 Dolls a man, I will secure them. We did, by parroll.

These Arrabbs had taken a Caffeloe of 16 or 17 Cammells and some 20 small assenegers⁵⁴ of theire owne Contrey mens. Wee askt the reason why they robbd theire neighbors. He S^d, theire was an Arrabb Kinge in the Hills y^t the Marchants had agreed to give him soe much p^r Cammell for fre passage, but had not p^rformed: Soe he made bold wth y^e first he mett. Its common to agree thus in those parts for every carrier, wth y^e Arrabbs that lie in his way, ffor they say, when Jacob had gott all the blessings, Esau caime & askt; soe his father told him he had given Jacob all & he must take what he could get. They owne them selues of that race, and Soe soone as y^p in y^e morninge, doe pray a good prize may come in theire way, as we doe for our dayly breade, & take it wth as much fredome as if really it had beene sent them.

The first towne we caime at from Tyab was Sallamunity, Two Leagues from Aleppo.⁵⁵ We rested theire a night. S^d I to y^e Padre, now we are out of all Dainger. But y^e people where we lay had sent to y^e Kinge of the Arrabbs, not far from them, and told him for ⁵⁶ Dollers they would Deliver two Xpians into his hands. We had not gon a league but we Overtook a drove of Laded Oxen. S^d y^e Guide, come lets put on; Now wee are out of Dainger. We put a head of these Carriers or marktett people, Arrabbs too, and p^rsently I espied twenty (20) horssmen comeinge easily downe a hill. When they see vs get a head, beinge 4 horssmen, They caime poweringe downe vpon vs. S^d I to y^e Guide, who are these. S^d he, Rogues. We made all speede back we could, to gett amongst the Oxen, But they weere vpon vs. I left my horssse and [ran] into the thronge of y^e Carriers, & gott behinde an Old Arrabb weomen for shelter. She Cald them Rogues, and railed at them for hiinderling travellers, but Carried I was to theire Kinge, but did not part wth my Old Arrabb weoman. Comeinge before him, y^e Kinge askt what I was. I said, a pooreman, Robd comeinge from Babilou. Well, S^d he, thou lookest like noe richman. He caused y^e weoman, by whome I held by, to serch me. Fyndeinge noethinge, S^d he, my luck is nought, y^t I mett not wth y^u before y^u weere Robt, And askt me where I had y^t horssse. The weoman S^d, he is mine. I haue lett him ride, he beinge foot sore. He S^d in Arrabb, Gome Gidde [*gūmī jiddah*]⁵⁷ w^{ch} is get y^u gon, y^u Cuckold. Att last we p^red, & I gaue y^e poore weoman a Doller, w^{ch} made y^e teares start out of hir eies for joy of it.

Att 12 Clock the ⁵⁸ day of August 1669 I caime into y^e Consulls In Aleppo, Rich. Bell⁵⁹ then at Dinner wth him, & saw in wth a Ragged & weather beaten Condition I caime thether in; And of or [? after] Examiti^{on} of or Guide, whose life I had offred me by y^e Caddie [*qāzī*] in

⁵⁴ *Asinago* (Port.), a young ass.

⁵⁶ Hiatus here in the MS.

⁵⁷ *Qūmī jiddah*, vulgarly pronounced *gūmī jiddah* = get up grandmother, and was addressed to the old

woman.

⁵⁸ Hiatus in the MS. here.

⁵⁹ This place does not appear in the modern maps.

⁶⁰ This is the first mention of him, although he figures as the author of the MS.

Alleppo, but reserved him to bring out y^e things I was rob^d of, I depossited him into the hands of Consull Delakoy [De Lannoy]⁶⁰ & parson Frampton,⁶¹ wth whome I left full power to act on my behalfe, [they] ptending great kindnesse, not only for my sake, but theire Deere frend, Mr. John [? Stephen] fflowers at Spawhawne.

The Padrey I had brought out of India wth me, 3 dayes after I had beene in Alleppo, caime to see me, & askt me when he might waite On the Consull & Minister. I askt, & gaue him a tyme, but was in hopes, when I see him, he had saned some thinge & was come to bring me them; for, from the tyme I was Robd, he never told me he had Saved ought, nor did I aske him; But he see me weepe frequently & tooke notis of my heavy & disquieted spirrit, but gaue me not y^e lest hopes to expect ought I had given him; Soe y^t w^t I had, I was to thanke my Bootes for.

But the next day comes The Padrey, wth y^e Padrey Gouvernodore of y^e Scotiety of y^e fathers french in Alleppo, And askt me if it weere seasonable to vizitt y^e Consull and Minister. I carried them In, & left them All together. S^d the Padre Gouvernodore, One of yo^r nation, now in yo^r howse, hath beene at Greate Charges wth this ffather of or^s, And to show to y^u or honesty And thanks for his charge & Loue, We come to give him what is his, he trusting o^r padrey (& he hath saved them for him), & tooke theire leaue, leaueing the jewells on the table.

I was cald in, & noe sooner in the roome, I se what I knew well, & laid at first dash my hands On them. S^d y^e Consull & minister, y^u said y^u weere Rob^d. Heeres more than anie K^t in England hath. Besides we haue advice M^r fflowers hath returned to yo^r father for y^u 2700 pounds,⁶² w^{ch} if y^u had noe more, is enough for anie honestman to live well on. Yes s^d I, I was robbd, w^{ch} the padre witnessed & swore to, as before related.

I began to put vp my Jewells. S^d y^e Consull & Min^r, If y^u please, we will lay them by for y^u, w^{ch} I refused. Then, s^d the Minister, theires a stone y^e Consull thinks wilbe a fitt psent to his wife in England, & would by it. I said it was at his service; but, said he, he will not haue it a gift, but will buy it; make yo^r price. S^d I, it cost me in India 2000 Ropees,⁶³ besides y^e hazard y^u know & loss I haue had in getinge it bether; But he shall haue it as it Cost me first penny. They told me out 100 Lyon Dollers, w^{ch} is 20^{lb} English money. I looked coldly on it. Come, s^d y^e Consull, I will put him to it 50 Dollers more. I was ill pleased. S^d then the parson, can y^u denie the Consull; he is y^r freinde & canbe serviceable to y^u, & y^u haue enough and more. Yes, S^d the Consull, besides what M^r fflowers hath writt. (Harry; bring my papers) S^d the Consull, he hath 20^{lb} p^r an [per annum] his father gaue him, & 50^{lb} p^r an left him by his vnkle Whitty; And soe bated me, y^t I was whiedled out of my Jewells.

They gaue me 60^{lb} for what was worth 200^{lb}, & gaue me a Bill payable by One Mr Chillingworth at Legorne, w^{ch} he could not pay; But I haue both theire hands & seales for it. And this theire vunkindness to me in y^e tyre of my Anguish for my loss hath disobliged me, & I haue revoked y^e trust I gaue them, & put it into the hands of M^r John Shepperd, March^t in Alleppo, by writinge, the 2^d Jany 1669.⁶⁴

Dated from Roome [Rome], & witnessed by

Rich. Bell & Joseph Kent

in

Roome.

(End of Part I.)

⁶⁰ Benjamin De Lannoy was Consul for the Levant Co. at Aleppo at this time.

⁶¹ Robert Frampton was appointed as Chaplain at Aleppo on the 30th August 1655. He held the post till 1670. He was the seventh to fill the office, and was chosen for his "extraordinary merit." He paid a visit to England in 1666, when he gave an account of the abuses suffered by the English at Aleppo. After his final return from the East, he became Bishop of Gloucester. In 1691 he resigned his see as a non-juror, and died in retirement in 1708. For a fuller account, see *A Biographical Sketch of the Chaplains of the Levant Company*, by J. B. Pearson.

⁶² If Campbell were really as destitute as Flower describes him to be (see note 19 on p. 103, ante), it is difficult to understand how he could have acquired so much property in a few months.

⁶³ i. e., £225, reckoning the rupee at 2s. 3d.

⁶⁴ i. e., 1669-70.

THE CHUHRAS.

BY THE REV. J. W. YOUNGSON, D.D., CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSION ; SIALKOT.

(Concluded from p. 116.)

*Ih sattān zāmān dā bhār hai, sattē haiñ
 dāmān,
 Pichhē chukāsān Hajrat Shāh sūn, oh bard
 jawān.
 Us gōdēdā tīkar āndīdā sab tūt gayā somān.
 Kumb karn Dāinsar ajēhē jinhān dē chōtī
 dhur dāmān,
 Ih dhan Bālā pīr bhagat hai durgāh-ē-parwān
 Pīr jō gurzān chukcē lay aggē paindā
 Tān us swāmī mōrkē mur ghar nūn āndē,
 Sudmī mangē dachhūd, bhōjān nahān khāndē,
 Na unhān lagī bhukh hai, na andur jāndē,
 Khānd kīkar khāyē tuddh hattē kītī
 Sakcē nahān uslād dā, gal buri dh kītī.*

*Asādā tē kēhā si hasdēdā, gall ohō kītī
 Bālak tū jawāl lai jih bhagī dh kītī.
 Na main kītī bhagī na kōi kamālī
 Mērd sādhe trāē hath vīt hai, Rabb dhandē lāi.
 Tū bard bhagat mahān bālī hā, pur azmat lāi.
 Tū Machh agasōn lā lōid dē dh mak kālī.
 Tū Nāmē bhagat nūn haurōn mē gaei jawālī,
 Sīp salāmān dhariyān, biptā kṛpālī.
 Dhanakh dharē sir sēhrē Sīd Rām mālī,
 Tuddhē Rānī Drōptī dīkādān kajwālī
 Tū jag gēbā Baldēv dē, tain dē vadīyālī,
 Dāinsar kē sir kṛpīd Rām nē lāink lūtālī,
 Tū rāt Bhavīsar kṛpīd hōcōn sant sahālī,*

He lifted them. The genii and gods
 Did wonder. 'Fourteen clubs,' they cried,
 amazed,
 'He's lifted; one's enough for us. They weigh
 Seven earths and seven heavens. Once
 Hazrat Shāh,
 The strong, did lift them, but even he could
 lift
 Them only to his knees; then his great
 strength
 Did fail him. Dhainsur, tall as heaven, could
 show
 Such power, and only he. But Bālā, priest
 Of God beloved, is great.' The priest
 marched on
 In front, and so he brought the saints back
 to
 His house. They ask for *dachnā*, *sadhū's*
fee.
 They seek not food, they are not hungry,
 nay,
 They even refuse the house to enter, saying,
 'How can we eat thy food? Thou'st murder
 done.
 Thy sons thou lovedst not; we but jested;
 wrong
 Thou'st done. Raise now thy sons to life, if
 thou
 Hast worshipped God.' The priest made
 answer,
 'I have earned no merit. But three cubits
 and
 A half my body is; and even so
 It full of trouble is, God given.' They said,
 'Thou art a mighty saint, with honours
 crowned.'
 The priest replied, 'O God, thou once didst
 send
 The fish, and from the heavens the bow:
 Thou didst

*Téri chār jugān vadīdī hai chār Vēdd gawdī.
Nānak, Angad, Amar Dās, raḥ bhagat kamdī,
Tēg Bahādūr, Gurū Govind Singh dasiōn
badshāhī,
Itneān bhagatān baureōn vārī mērī dī,
Ihdē pardē kajīnē phir hō sahāī.
Bālā, na zamīn dsmān si na kalan siyāhī
Tērā ruh rēhā vich sip dē, tēri umar vīdhāī,*

*Na tūn khāldhā ann si, na pātā pānī.
Tān nām mērā jap lōyā kar amrit bānī.
Tān qorānī hōyā main vadādd ānī,
Bālak tū jagā lē, jhīr suttē jānī.
Dachkhān main lē lōnā tān rōtī khānī.
Chēlē sīfān jōyān parh amrit bānī.
Dōdān jīdān nān pakar lē chal rēh bāzār,
Jān kōi gāhak saḥ lē kōi dassē kār,
Dachkhān pūrā korn nān barobar māl,
Nālē sādhan rēkh lōyā sab hāl hawāl,
Rājā hōkē khā lōyā bah vart ō pūr.
Chēlē sīfān jōyān parh nām chatār.
Sādā rāzī hōkē ōh baithē dū.
Bālak dōvē ānē kōl khalōtē ān.
Sādā bālak rēkhkē hō rēh hairān.
Ih barā bhagat mahān balī hai phīr vīch jāhān.
Khatq Ullāh sārī rēkhkē, hō gayē qurbān,
Qurbān hundi istarah, kar samajh boyān.
Chēlē ākē, Dānīd, ih jag hī parvān.*

Help Nāmā once, thy servant, and didst
raise
The cow to life again. And Balmik's shell
Salaamed thee — Balmik thou didst take
from out
It. Janak once adorned fair Sītā's head
With flowers. Thou once didst send her
Rām to be
Her husband. Drōptī too thou veilst, all
To hide her nakedness. Thon wentest once
A guest when sacrifice Baldēo made.
The glory thine. The head of Dhainsur
thou
Didst lop, and helpedst Rām to plunder once
Ceylon. Bhavisar too thou stayedst a night
With. Helper always thou art to thine
own.
In every age thy glory is. The Vēds
Give witness. Nānak, Angad, Amar Dās,
United all to worship thee, and Tēgh
Bahādūr, Gurū Govind Singh, the tenth
Great leader of the Sikhs, were all by thee
Assisted. My turn comes: 'tis thou that
can,
Save me from all disgrace: now help thou
me.
God said, 'O Bālā, when there was no
earth,
Nor heaven, nor pen, nor ink, thy soul then
lived
In pearly shell for many ages. Food
Thou atest not, nor didst drink of water cold
A draught, but with sweet words thou oft
didst take
My Name. I owe a debt to thee which I
Will pay. Now raise thy sons believing
them
Asleep. My fee I'll take, and then I'll dine.'
In language sweet the true disciple made
This song. The priest caught up his sons,
and straight
To the market place to sell them, or to hire
Them out to work, that he might have a fee
To give the holy ones in fall. They saw,
They undertsood; they broke their fast and
dined.
The true disciple has compiled the songs

Kahô, Dâncâ, paikambar Rabbê ap banîdê?

*Lâ nazdik banîkê Rabb pās bahār,
Iknâ paikambarân nâl Rabb bhâi chârê pās,
Mūsâ rōtî varjiyâ Rabb ead khôwâ.
Ailê ailê darsh nê paikambarân lât.
Kauñ rîsân karangê, amân dē jât.
Pir âkhêd, Dâncâ, haiñ Mussalmân,
Wê karêñ Rabb dâ tērê viñh nahîn imân,
Mushmân Mūsâ varjiyâ Rabb na kitâ hai
parwân.
Ekhe mahinê ann paklêkê phir hêr pakân.
Nâri jhubbâ pahînê, Rabb mangân jân,
Sapjiyâ mandâ dîhê paikambar, magrôn dhakkê
lân.
Magrôn maggari Rabb nân, phir seldân jân.
Sariâ mandâ rikhâ dîtâ sab tuj gayê mân.
Godê ann bulâkê, phir naldê lē jân.
Khôlêd ann jê machchidân gayê samajh
jokân.
Hoyê jag sapâran na, rich dargâhê parwân.
Chêlê sifidân jôsidân sab khôl bayân.*

*Shahr Dhanesar viñh sî, ik pândâ bhârâ.
Pustak jad ôh vohidê, dissê arsh mundrâ
Shahri lôg uhnân âkhêd jôtashi bhârâ.*

*Dân nahîn ôh chukdâ uhnân Râm piyârâ.
Jân ghar ê âwê pândhâ dalidân kardâ.
Kalêja mērd khê lē, jadôn main mardâ.
Aivêñ viñh chikhân dē chêtâ say mardâ*

Of praise. Now read — adore the Name:
Were pleased

Those holy ones. They sat, they ate, and near
Them close the brothers stood to their sur-
prise.

'A mighty devotee is this,' they said,
'And full of power in the world.' The
people saw,

And loved. This Dâncâ was, confess, a good
And proper sort of sacrifice. This sort,
The Chela says, is acceptable. Say,
O Dâncâ, did not God the prophets make?
God made them his own friends, and seated
them

Beside Him. Moses once invited God
To dine. He went to call him. Such great
things

The prophets did. Who are their equals?
None.

There is no mother now to bear such sons
As they were. 'Dâncâ,' said the priest, 'thou
callst

Thyself a Muslim, preachest God, but faith
In thee there is not. Moses called the Lord
To dine. In vain he called. Moses cooked
For full six months, when God, enrobed in
light,

A pauper came to beg, but Moses thrust
Him from the door bestowing on him one
Burnt cake. Soon after Moses went to call
His guest, but there, when showed the cake
which he

Had given the pauper, greatly shamed was he
And carted all his fresh made cakes to feed
The fishes in the river. This the whole
World understood. The sacrifice was not
Accepted.' Thus the true disciple gave
In song a full account.

There lived one time
A Hindu teacher in Dhanesar town
Who read wise books, and had great love.
He was

A great astrologer, received no alms,
And loved great Râm. One day from thought,
he said,

'My liver eat when death comes; do not let
It burn upon the funeral pile — who eats

Jihṛā khāḍgā kalējā pāndhā hai ghar dā.
Jān ghar āwē pāndhā ih salāh pakāḍē,
Pāndhā bhārā hōwēgā, jō kalējā khāḍē.
Surikē gallān Jastrī nūt kannūn pādē.
Tē rēḍā hath Bhagwān dē jihnū Rām duwāḍē,
Ganē na khutē jōstiyē, ā punnā kāl,
Vēkē nē jind kaḍḍh lēi, sās nīkē sō nāl.
Pēt chāk kar lō nē kalējā bhāl,
Chhikkē uttē rakhīyē rich kaj rumāl,
Mūnhhāne suchēḥē ḥi tur payē ḥhāḍ karn
shishkār,
Chōlē sifṭān jōrān parḥ nām chitār.
Jastrī us gal nūn nūt pēi pukārē.
Us kalējā chhikkēḥōn lāh lēyā mūnh rakh dō
bārē,
Bāhar shahrōn tur gayi mūnh rakh wjārē.
Chētā kō ghar ē ānkē, mat mainūn mārē.
Jastrī turkē pahautiā jākē banbās.

Ik lakh tapiyā tap karāḍ sī kītā niwās.
Tapān kāl Jastrī gayi vār ḥ vār
Chh mahinē labhīyā Bālē pīr dē durbār.
Jastrī Bālē pīr dē jā sāmhūn baṭhī.
Tū mēḍ hai bāp jī, main tēi hān bēṭi.
Pīr jō ākhē Jastrīyē, phir sun tū beṭi
Bahūn sōkhā dharm hai, phir karmān sēṭi
Chahṛēḍān dā main pīr hān, tū Brahman bēṭi,

Jam piyārā, pīr jī, jihṛā Rabb nūn bhāwē,
Main tapiyē dā vēkhkē kull sabhā sārē.
Dunḡd dē rich tapī aē, pāndhā mulwānē,
Lōkān nūn das tārē āp dōzakh jānē.
Narak dē rich tapī hān, pāndhē mulwānē,
Main labhīyā hai bhāḷkē phir chhuā nahūn
jānā.

Pīr jō ākhē Jastrīyē, sun bibi rānī,
Jī kuchh Bhagwān likhiyā amrit kar jānīn,
Dittā Bhagwān dā khāḷkē, bah unv lughānī
Māt sādḡā chār khān rich jāh bahānī,
Jastrī kailān chārḍi, kō bari wjānī,
Kailān jākē chugṭiān rich jāh niwānī.
Sārā dīn ḥ chārḍi piyānḍi sē pānī,
Pērē āwē pīr dē, jāḍ rānī rihānī.
Sunkē gallān pīr dīn rāzī bah bānī,

My liver will succeed me.' This he told
 To all. 'Whoever will be teacher great
 Must eat my liver.' Jastrī often heard
 And well remembered it. She thought, In
 God's
 Good time some one will have it. Death
 approached
 The old astrologer, his breath grew short,
 The angel of grim death took out his life,
 He ceased to breathe, — they opened him,
 they took
 His liver out — they hung it in a bag
 Suspended from the roof and hidden in
 A handkerchief. Then fasting, at the dawn
 Of day they burned him. The disciple sang
 These praises. Read and think about the
 Name.

But Jastrī well remembering his last
 Bequest, took down the liver, swallowed quick
 Two parts, and went towards the desert, for
 She feared the people of the house. A tad
 Of holy men were in the wild, 'mong whom
 She lived. She went among them till at last
 When full six months had passed, she found
 herself

With Bālā face to face. 'Thy daughter I,
 My father thou,' she said. The priest replied,
 'My daughter, hear. It is not right that thou
 Shouldst sit with me a Chahpapiest, and thou
 A Brāhman's daughter. Go seek thou, my
 child,

Another.' But she said, 'That caste, O priest,
 Is good that God loves. I have seen them all,
 Hindu and Muslim priests that lead to heaven
 And go to hell themselves — yes there there
 are

Both *pāndās* and *mulwāns*; I have found
 And will not leave thee.' 'Jastrī,' said the
 priest,

'My gentle queen, what God decrees, be sure,
 Is living water; eat what He provides.
 Here live, and tend our herds within this
 wild.'

A child she was. She tended his black kine
 In pastures low. All day she herded, and,
 At even she led them to the water. Then
 At night she heard the words of Bālā with

*Dūrē bahndē rāt nūn karē nām kahdūt.
Jastrī sādhnā lōk haī, Pīr Bālē tāri,
Duniyā uhnūn yād nahīn, main vīhāī hān kī
kordāī,
Yād nahīn uhnūn vōrvē, na jān piyārī.
Jastrī hō gayī sādhnā, kōī Bhagwad nē tāri.
Ik dīn kaīlīdī chārāī, pēī rāh dē nālī,
Bhannē jandē lōk nē, kōī bēshumār,
Na kōī sādhi ik dā na kōī dujjā nālī,
Khalōtī Jastrī rēkhāī, aj kī havōlī ?
Phīr Jastrī aggē pīr dē, ā arj gujārī,
Bhannā jāndī, hāp jī, aj duniyā sārī,
Rāh nahīn kōī vekhdāī, pāc jān nījārī.
Aggōn nahīn main puchhed, sharmān dī mārī.
Phīr Jastrī nūn pīr dasdā, sabh khōl layān,
Bhalkē mēlā kumb dā vaddā ashndā.
Vēch jidē phīr nahatēdā pāp sarirān jān,
Ehō mēlā kumb dā, lōg bhannē jān.*

*Jastrī dhdē pīr nūn chālē chalyē asīn,
Ajhā nahānūn such dā chālō nahāciyē asīn
Rājī hōkē tōr hāp jī, ārdn rāt ajjō kī
Sunkē gallān Jastrī, hō tūyār khalōtī,
Kumb nahānūn Jastrīyē, phīr ēk palkārā.
Us vīhē kōī nahā luvē, ōh dharm dōvārā,
Uttō bahīnā thākārān phīr ik palkārā
Us vīhē kōī nahā luvē, phīr karmān vāllā.
Jā vīhē gāl, hai mār paindā sārā.
Chālē sijtān jōrīdā, kar'āqī nahārā.
Jastrī dhdē pīr nūn, kar manōn richār,
Thākārān dō bahū dī nahīn mainū sār,
Ajhā nahānūn such dā, chāl mainūn tār.
Chālē sijtān jōrīdā, parh nām chitār.*

*Sodā pahr dīn chārhiyō, Thākārān dō bahū dē
vārī,*

*Main pānī bhar lāvāngā ēk gadēl khārī
Tā gharē hī bahkē nihā vīn, pāc pāp utārīn
Jā tū rich ujār dē, pēī kaīlīdī chārīn,
Ik Bāhman bāl umar sī, dēhī kushīh satīnū,
Lōkān uhnūn ākhīyā, Bāhmanā hō sijānā,*

Great reverence. She sat within his hut
And heard strange stories of the Name. A
saint

Is Jastrī. Bālā blessed her. She the world
Forgot, nor cared to be a wedded wife,
Nor cared for life itself — a nun she was.
God blessed her. Caring for her cows one day
She saw great crowds of people run, and
wondering

She asked the priest, 'O father, all the world
Is hasting to the jungle, shunning quite
The road. No questions dared I ask.' The
priest

Explained, 'We have to-morrow morn the
great

Kumb-mēlā, when they bathe in Ganges
stream.

At season opportune a bath one takes
In Ganges water washes all one's sins
Away. This is Kumb-mēlā. People run
To it.' Said Jastrī, 'Let us also go
And bathe, or else send me, my father, I
Will straight return to-night.' He gave her
leave,

And Jastrī in the twinkling of an eye
Will bathe before the world. All such as
bathe

At such an hour are meet for heaven. The
gods

Will sit a moment at the river's mouth
And bappy he who bathes at such a time.
If you such fortune have, go all the way.
With wisdom has the true disciple made
These songs. Said Jastrī to the priest, 'Thou
knowest

The time when gods sit; if indeed to bathe
Ensues such blessing, help me to obtain
It.' The disciple made these songs to sing
And praise the Name. The priest said, 'When
one

And one full quarter of the morning watch
That sees the sun has passed the gods sit. Stay
At home. A basin full I'll give thee. Bathe.
It is enough to wash your sins away.

Then herd your cows again.' A Brāhman
was,

Who once became a leper. People said,
'O Brahman, wisdom learn, to-morrow is
The bathing day.' So he prepared his flour,
And grain, and when they asked him whither he
Was going, 'To the Ganges,' said he, 'I

Bhalaké mēlā kumb dā, tā ōhē jānā,
Pallē kharch pā lēyā ālā tē dānā,
Puchhan uhnān lēy jad, āhnā main Gangā
jānā,
Chēlē sifān jānān, mangē fazl rabbānā,
Bāhman rāhōn ghoskē pui gayā njāy,
Ohē lēkh matthē dē khul gayē, kiti mastak
yārī,
Aggē Jastri rich njāy dē, pēi kailān chārē.
Puchchiyā Jastri, Bāhmanā, tēri dēhī hai
bhāri,
Jerm dittā sī māpān, dukh Rabb chā lāē,
Dānē pānī parālubhat, taipān ān milāyā,
Nikkē cadde bhārā nē, phir subbhō vikkē,
Bhālān sōcānān jinhān bālak jāē,
Main chaliyā nahān kumb dē, Rabb kōh
garāē.
Kumb nahānā Bhamānā, phir hai nahān vēlā,
Tainān tēhē jāndēn hō jā: ku rēlā,
Pichhān nān mūr jā hān, ghar jā savērā,
Bārān barsē dō sī, phir ihō vēlā.
Bāhman main anāth sēn, dukh Rabb chā lāyā,
Dānā pānī parālubhat, taipān ān milāyā,
Bāhman hath chhā jāyā, phir
Hath jōkē khārā lēyāyā, sīr qulamān tē
lāyā.
Mihē ā gayē man Jastri, āl tarsōn āyā,
I tē siddhī chāi khān, jekar pīr tē āyā.
Jānē Bāhman rāhā nūn Jastri yā lēyā bāndhā,
Jēn Hir pattān tōn mōkē, ghar Rānjhā āndā.
Jēn sassī pattān malliyā, ghar Punnu āndā.
Jēn Sōhni dubbi nīr rich, nīr 'ashq satāndā.
Jēn Rōdē mārān khalān khayē kurlāndā
Jēn magar Bālōch dē bhānā sī jāndā.
Jastri Ghānī pīr nū, Tainān kōm rabbānā,
Tā Bāhman hai anāth, dēhī kushlī satānā.
Mārēd lēyā kōh dā, āhnā main Gangā jānā
Idī gayā sōdh hō jāē, ih jāy hai shahānā.
Pīr tē āl tars āyāyā, man sū āyāyā mīr,
Ikkē padōd pānī dā, sānān trēhāyān nūn dhēr,
Gangā pat tā sathē, hath pāndī phēr,
Pīr tē ālā baurā nahān lāndā dēr.
Pīr tē ākhē Jastriyē, chaughērē vēkl
chāphāri,
Gangā pat tā sath dēn, ih hath pāndī phērē,
Dēhī ihōd phir kāyē, ghar jāē savērē,
Bāhman tē lēy Jastriyēn pādē mēlē,

Must go.' The true disciple has composed
 These songs — he seeks God's grace. The
 Brahman lost
 His way, but fate marked on his forehead
 helped
 Him — fortune him befriended. Jastri fed
 Her cows in the jungle. 'Why,' she asked,
 'look you
 So swollen?' He said, 'My parents gave me
 birth,
 But God has smitten me. My bread, and fate's
 Gift, water, brought me here to you. I have
 Both elder brothers and some younger too.
 But I an outcast am. My sisters have
 Fair children. Now I go to bathe on this
 Great Kumb day, that my leprosy my God
 May cure.' 'O Brahman, now there is no
 time
 To bathe in Kumb. Go home, and twelve
 short years
 Will bring the blessed time again.' 'A poor
 And hapless Brahman I! God sent this ill.
 A water and my fate have brought
 Me here.' The Brāhman stood with folded
 hands
 Before her; placed his head upon her feet.
 She pitied him. 'Come to the hut,' she
 cried.
 'The priest may now have come from Ganges
 stream.'
 She captured him as Hir did Ranju when
 She made him leave the boat-bridge on the
 stream;
 As Sassi sat on the bridge and brought
 again
 Her Punnu; just as Sobni for her love
 Was drowned, being sick of love; as Roda
 cried,
 Being beaten. He ran after the Bāloch.
 And Jastri said, 'O priest, God-blessed art
 thou.
 This Brāhman, leprous, goes to wash himself
 In Ganges stream. If he is cured indeed
 A Shahi sacrifice we see.' The priest
 Was moved—a basinful of water was
 A stream for thirsty souls. 'The Ganges
 stream
 Pour on thy body; rub thyself.' The priest
 Great Bālā helps, and lingers not. He said
 'O Jastri, find a pond and straightway throw
 The Ganges water in, and in it let

*Jastri utthē pōāyā hathān tē pānī,
 Ih bi shagun tadōn dā, phir jug kahānī,
 Rīzq mōhārān chukīdān, phir dānō pānī.
 Chēlā ākhē Jastri, Bāhmaṇ lē jānī.
 Chappri vėkhī Jastri, bhannī tē gahrī,
 Gangā jal us saṭṭiyā, tubbhē Bāhmaṇ mārī,
 Ōhlī kayān suddh hōgayī, jēuñ lāl angiyārī.
 Dujjī tubhī mārē, phir dalīl guzārī,
 Mērē lēkh mathē tē khul gae, phir mastak
 sārī.*

*Ih mērd Bhagwān hai, kōi kishan autārī,
 Muñh uttē hath phērē, Bāhmaṇ tubhī trīyī
 mārī.*

*Jastri mang lain dī dīl vīsh dalīl guzārī,
 Us bēhhalēōn pānī saṭṭiyā, lāl sū tārī,
 Bāhmaṇ puchhē Jastriyē, Vīdhī hai, kōvārī?
 Bāhmaṇ ākhē Jastriyē nāl mērē jānī
 Pīrīñ karīdān pākē humēl hanḍānī,
 Nath, dīndīdī, ārsī, sir chauñk chā pānī.
 Nāl mērē far paō, Bāhmaṇī sadānī
 Jangal vīch baiṭhē, aīthē kī bandēñ?*

*Trēvar hai lai paṭ dā bhārī chā lānī,
 Jastri ākhē, Bāhmaṇā, ih gal hai kārī,
 Main charnīn lagī hān pīr dī, mērī pai gayī
 pānī.
 Na trēvar lēhā paṭ dā, main nūñ changī hai
 bhārī.
 Na dōlī charhnd shagun dē, na khānī chārī.
 Tū jākar kōi Bāhmaṇī, main hunū hān
 chāhī.
 Chēlē sīstān jōṣān, karkē munjūrī.
 Bāhmaṇ ayyē pīr dē, kītī arāṭī.
 Tusī jangal andar hō rahē, nāñ tabbar lēī.
 Ghar tuḥāddī Jastri, kīthōn paidd hai.*

Him bathe, and whole return.' So Jastri,
 just

As Hindu priests on Ganges' banks are used
 To do, poured water on his hands. From
 thence

The custom rose in the world. 'Twas then her
 bread

And water took their rise. The *chela* says,
 'O Jastri, thee the Brāhman will take clean
 Away.' The pond that Jastri found was full
 Of mud and stagnant water, so he poured
 The Ganges water in, and forthwith dived.

His body grew like burning coal, quite whole.
 A second time he dived and in his heart
 Conceived a thought. 'Fate's impress on my
 brow

Has helped me — now my fortune's clear—the
 priest

Is like a God to me—he is for me
 Krishn incarnate.' Once again he rubbed
 His face in his hands, and dived a third time.

Now

He firm resolved to ask fair Jastri. Then
 He splashed and swam, and said, 'O Jastri, say
 Are you a virgin or a wedded wife?
 Come, Jastri, come with me — I'll give you
 gifts,

Feet ornaments and necklace you shall have,
 A nose ring, ear-rings, thumb ring, golden
 crown,

All these, and you will be a Brāhman's wife.
 What have you here in this wild jungle? Put
 You off your plaid, and you shall have a gown
 Of silk.' But Jastri said, 'O Brāhman
 this

Can never be, for I have humbly sat
 At this priest's feet, and he has blessed me. I
 Care nought for silken clothes. I love my
 plaid.

I care not for a palanquin, how good
 So e'er the omens be. Rich food is not
 My choice. Go wed a Brāhman girl. I am
 A Chūhrī.' With great pains these songs
 were made.

The Brāhman humbly made request before
 The priest. 'The jungle is your home; you
 have

Chêlê siftdn jôrdn kurâ arzôt.

Main phir jaddi Bahmân hân, na Dâm na Nâi,

Têrê bûhê tô âikê, main sêvâ hai lî,

Jastri mainân châ dē, gast mandî sahî,

Jê phir Jastri na dē ên, marân katîrî khî.

Pîr jô âkhê, Jastriyê, vêkh Bâhman bēnawd,

Hun jhûldâ dukh nûn, hun mangdâ vîdh,

Nâl ihê phir tur paô, sir khân na chahâ,

Vas mērê phir kuchh nahîn, magar andôn ilâ

Jastri aggê pir dē, lâ baijhi chârâ,

Kyûn râh bhuldân haqq dâ, kî karnâ kârâ.

Magar mērê pai géôn, Bâhmanâ gawârâ,

Rannân phirnâ bhûldâ, ajê hun sêh duk
hiyârâ.

Bâlê pir Jastri nûn, ik gal suñdî,

Sûdê sat vanti, ghar Râm viâhî âi,

Harichand lârân lê lêân, parî arshôn tôn âi.

Lôi bhagat kabîr dē ghar viâhî âi,

Kubjan dē ghar kâhn hâyâ, Bashdêr viâhî.

Jis Bâbâ Nânâk jammiyâ, dhun hai oh mâtî,

Kithôn vadhê pîrmathî, gal bândî nahîn,

Chêlê siftdn jôrdn, parh nam suñdî.

Chup kar gayi Jastri, âyâ sharmân dâ vêlâ,

Bâhman dē nâl jâ khân, dân dēûn changêrâ.

Jad nan nêzê pânî roggiya sî, asmânî ghêrâ

Têrî kuttiyâ sukki rihî sî, pânî nahîn ghaṭṭiyâ
phêrâ.

Tû bi sukhi rêhâ sâhên, karm kîlâ changêrâ.

Dêôtêân kîlôn mang lêâ, chand, suraj, samîn
hai tôrâ.

Ôh dân dē khân, mang khân changêrâ.

Chêlâ siftdn jôrdn, kar 'aql vadhêrâ.

Bâlê pir us vêlê siklaump karâi,

Chand grahn kâ dân dîtâ phir Jastri tâin.

No wife ; how could fair Jastri be to you

A daughter ? This the true disciple makes

These songs with lowly heart. 'A Brâhman I,

No bard or barber, I sit at your doors

A suppliant — give her to me, a boon.

Or else I will with knife relentless take

My life.' The priest said, 'Jastri, look at
this

Weak Brâhman—but a moment gone he was

A sorry leper, now he wants to wed.

Go with him — let him not for your sake do

Himself an injury. And blame me not,

For you yourself did bring him.' Jastri then

Began to make excuse in presence of

The priest. 'Why send me hence away
out of

God's way ? Why should I take this step ? Oh
why,

O Brâhman, have you followed me ? But now

A leper, you come women to pursue.'

The priest to Jastri said, 'A virgin pure

Was Sita. Harichand did marry her

To Ram, the fairies in attendance. Once

Too Lôi fair became the wife of saint

Kabîr. Kubjan gave birth to Kahn, the wife

Of Bashdev was she. Blessed was the one

Who bore great Baba Nanak. Thus the world

Was peopled.' The disciple made these songs,

Then sing and glorify the Name. So still

Was Jastri, bashful grown. 'Go,' said the
priest,

'This Brâhman wed. I'll give you dowry
large.'

She said, 'When once a flood full nine spears
deep

O'erspread the earth, the sky was dark with
clouds,

Then thy house only stood as dry as dust

When all the world was flooded. Thon did't
get

A blessing from the gods — the moon and
sun

Are witnesses. That blessing give to me.

The privilege of begging, which is good.'

The true disciple has compiled these songs

With wisdom. Bâlâ gave to Jastri right

To alms and gifts at every eclipse

*Bēṭā tērē vichōṇ hōwāgā, nām Vēdōd dhurāṇ
Chand grahṇ ming khāṅgē, rōz qiyāmat tādī
Sāddē dān dātē, Dānēd, aj dēdī aiyāṇīdī
tādī,*

*Jhūphē maslē karkē, kist Mussalmān nūn
sunāṇī.*

*Dānē ākhē pīr nūn, Mussalmān hō jāṇī,
Musallī karān pāk vich, shartān karvāṇī,
Kalma parhē Muhammād dā, māmīn hō jāṇī.*

*Mazhab 'Adam dā sādīyē, bīhishī jāṇī,
Pīr jō ākhē, Dānēd, sun sādī bāt,
Na kadī rōza rakhīd, na parhī namāz,
Na 'Adam dē mazhab dē vich haṇī, na kalmē
dē sātī,*

*Pichhāṇ dassāṇ khōlkē, sārī qurāṇī.
Bāṇē 'Adam lēd sī, vich bīhishīdī vās,
Us dāna khādīd kānak dā, pēt bharvās.
Ōrak maslā dūndī, ih bhairī bāsh,
Hukm kītā Rabb bhēd nūn, us lēd sū bhāsh.
Us tē sharā chālīdī paikambarān, mailē tē kītā
na risvās.*

*Kikar khādī, Dānēd, bhēl, paikam barān
pāk,*

Das, kadōn tū rēhā sāṇ vich bīhishīdī rāt ?

Kihīr ōthē dīṭhī sātī, ik Rabb dī zāt ?

Us dā kalma parhāṅgē, karkē ik lēd s.

Chēlē sīfāṇ jōrīdī hō bē vasvās.

*Jē tē sharā chālīdī paikambarān, ōh chīz nahīn
makrūhāt,*

*Mussalmān khādīn phir nāl ravdī,
Paikambar jīhī kar gāē, phir kull hīkāt,
Assāṇ fūrnā uslē, phir nāl hīddī.*

*Pīr jō ākhē, Dānēd, paikambarān dī sabh
jhūph kahāṇī,*

*Bhēd nahīn sī mailā chādīyā, tān nahīn sī
khāṇī.*

*Shartāṇ lā, dēō istrī dīdī, āhndē Rabb dī
farmānī,*

*Chaudah tabak kahndōō, nau qutb rabbānī,
Phir kīkar dōhtrē mar gayē, phir bājōn pānī,
Chēlē sīfāṇ jōrīdī parhē amrit bānī.
Na rōza na ashīmī, na hajj 'il guzārī.*

Of the moon, and said, 'My child, from thee
will spring

A people called Vēdvās, who till the day
Of Resurrection will take alms, the moon
Eclipsed. O Dānā, know that Vēdvās take
Due gifts, this blessing being the cause.

Repeat

False teaching to some Mussalmān.' 'Be-
come,'

Retorted Dānā, 'Mussalmān yourself.

Musallī I can make you in a trice.

The way I know — repeat the *kalima*

Of our Muhammad ; be among the true

The faithful. This is Adam's faith, that will
Bring you to heaven.' The priest replied,

'Fasts we

Have never kept, nor offered Muslim prayer,

We know not Adam, nor the *kalima*

Shall I to you your history tell? Know then

Your father Adam lived in Paradise.

Where once of greed he ate a grain of wheat.

That in him caused corruption, which the
sheep

At God's command did eat. All refuse is,

Therefore, forbidden. But the sheep you
eat,

And it is all unclean. When did you spend

A night in Paradise? What caste was there?

His *kalima* I'll speak with all my heart

Who came from thence.' The true disciple
made

These songs, being free from care. Dānā
replied,

'The law allows us ; we will eat such things

As history approves. The prophets gave

A perfect law — we follow them.' Then
said

The priest, 'O Dānā, false are all the tales

That are of prophets told : the sheep did not

Abstain from food forbidden. For your wives

You gamble, saying, God bade you. Fourteen
parts

You say the world contains, with nine great
poles

And all Muhammad's. Why then sadly died

His daughter's children without water ?'

See

Na 'Adam dē mazhab dī lōr hai na kamlē
dī rārī,
Tū bī khōlkē das khān, apūr gur parnālī,
Chēlē sirtān jōrīdā Rabb paṛj sawārī,
Pīr jā ākhēā, Dānā, sun sādāidān bātān,
Bārā 'Adam thān hoīdā nā, phūr sabbhō zātān
Magrōn uttpati hōi hai Brahmē thān jēuñ
shākhān,

Main jug chhatti rēhā sān vich jal bhimb dē
rātān,
Ōthē kalma parhiyā us ek dā, dujā kōhīd
ākhān,
Chēlē sirtān jōrīdā, khōl suchchīdān bātān.
Chaudhri Rām Chand tad ākhīdā, sun Dānā
qēzī,
Gūlān kar kē malik nāl, nā karū dīnālī.
Pichchē Dillī dā tūkt hū, chugattī Gūzī,
Ōthōn tikar jūgā, chār phōjān tāzī,
Jūnā ākhē, Chaudhri, phār tū kī jūnā,
Aṭh pkkīdān khākē, pūr rahēn parchhōdān,
Sūghātī bāsi pīkē, hāl tū pōyā vāhīn,
Is pīkambar dī skand nān, asī jōnā dī
mūdrān,
Dēri Dās Khatri kōi māyā dhārī,
Us parvarish kūtī pīr dī, kōi bēshumārī,
Paīsā bhāḍ vartāḍ, Khatri hōth pasārī,
Parhē dē vich khulōkē us arz guzārī,
Sun tū, Dānā qāriyā, mat tēri mārī
Assān tē ihl rēkh lē, aḍiyā sārī
Assī jā Hīndū lēk bān, patthar nān sērān,
Rōṣī dēndē hān khān nān, lēo pattharō jēvān,
Tikā mathē lākē rāraj nān sērān,

The true disciple made in language sweet
These songs, and sings them. 'Fasts we
keep not, nor
Do we keep Hindu days, nor go pilgrims
To Mecca, nor keep festival like you,
Nor Adam's faith we follow, nor repeat
The *kalima*. Speak of your own quite plain.,
The true disciple has composed these songs,
God victory gives. The priest said, 'Dānā,
hear
My true defence. From Adam sprang the
castes,
And after him like branches people grew
Of Brahmā. None else has there been. For
six
And thirty ages floated I in deep
Dark water, where I the creed did say
Of him who is the Only One. Whom then
Can I call equal to him?' None. These
songs
The true disciple made, and vindicates
The truth. Then outspoke Chaudri Rām
Chand, 'Hear,
Thou, Dānā, teacher of the law, speak as
Thou pleasest. Use no force: in Delhi
rules
A brave Chugatta. I will swiftly ride
To him.' Said Dānā, 'What knowest thou,
my friend,
To eat eight laves, and sleep in the shade, or
drink
Curd water, or go plough the fields. The law
We doctors only know' A Khatri was
Rich Dēvi Das, who showed much kindness
to
The priest. So rich he was that other men
Did borrow from him. This man standing
up
Amidst the crowd said, 'Dānā, doctor of
The law, you have become a fool. We saw
The priest's strange powers, although I am
Hindu
And worship stones, and offer bread and
say
To idols, 'Eat;' the sun we worship, see
The marks upon our brows. We doff our
clothes

*Lîrê duallôn lîhkê nahâvôn tê dhôvôn,
Dêvî Dâs âkhiyâ, Hîndû mêrâ nân,
Main kadi nahîn gal chhapdî, kun chhaplândâ
nâhîn.*

*Dîvâ bhariyâ pâis dâ, vich battî ih pâi,
Dîvâ dâ chhadâ bîlkê, gal sachokî ih tâin,
Dîvâ jêkar na bîliyâ shârd jhûthî hai tâin,
Dânê ikatthê kar lîyê sârê mulvânê.
Vadâdâ âp qâzîdân, dâ tufêirdân jânê.
'Âlîm fâzil mauloî ravâiyatân wîllê,
Sabbhê jâkê bah gayê, phîr dîvê dâ duvâllê,
Ôh dâ hêth dharn Qurân bî, kitâbân vârn.
'Innâ tuainnâ kullôhu,' parhn, munh thin
parhkê pukâran.*

*Fazl Nâhî mangdê, parh sahifân mîran,
Dîvâ pâhî dâ balâd nahîn, hath kannân nâ
mâran,*

*Jhûthê qâzî hô gayê, phîr hath na hâran,
Bhâvôn jhûthê hô jân, paê raulâ ô mîran,
Dânê qâzî âkhiyâ, Dîvâ Pîr Shâh bâlê
Khatûtî hâi khatut hai, phîr sabh duâllê,
Sabbhê mathâ tēkanigê, rûl qâzî sârê,*

*Phîr sir ô pâ dēangê, lâ jâê dudllê,
Bâlê nûrî pîr nê Nâm Dhârî saddê,
Dâdû Bhaggû giânî, aggê hath nê baddhê,
Chôp rabbdnâ sêkkê, Pîr Bâlê 199ê,
Nâm jappô khân Dhâdhê, phîr dîvâ jâgê.
Bâlê nûrî pîr nê phîr nârd rîhyâ,
Pîrâ bhariyâ pâis dâ Pîr Shâh jagdyâ
Ôhulân Allah tajjân rukhîân âp madad sî âyâ.
Lâl khân dâ pôtrâ Pîr Dhagânê jâyâ.
Dânê qâzî âkhiyâ, Tû sârâ pûrâ.
Vich masitî chal bahô khân kauñ tainân âhndâ
Chûhrya,*

*Tû dirê pânî dâ bîliyâ kam kîto pûrâ,
Asîn tîn tērê chélê hân, tû pîr hai pûrâ.
Sunê pîr masit dî dargâhê jâê,
Jâ kharâ dargâh vich, jâ arz sanâi,
Lakh rupiyê lûkê qâzî masit banwâi,
Ôh dâ ôttê parda pâkê, mēri maut sâ banâi,
Tuddhê pardê kajnê mur hô sahâi
Chélê sifân jôirdân var Durgâ mât.
Allah âkhê, Bâlôû, tû pîr hai bhôlâ.*

And washing don them. Hindu I, I speak
The truth and fear not. Here a lamp filled full
Of water stands — a wick I place in it.

O doctor, light it by a miracle.

We then shall know you true : unless you can
Your boasted law is proved a lie.' He called
The teachers all, did Dānā, and he sat
With all the learned men around the lamp.
The book Qurān they placed beneath it, then
They ranged their books about it, while they
said,

'Innâ tuainnâ kullôhâ,' and breathed

Upon the lamp. They asked God's grace, they
threw

Their verses at the lamp, but all in vain ;

It would not burn, and they were ashamed
indeed,

But still they kept their spite, and made a
noise

In anger. Dānā said, 'Let the Pîr Shâh light
The lamp. The whole assemblage will bow
down

Their heads before him, and a robe we'll
give

Of honour, which he'll wear and go.' The
priest

Great Bālā, priest of light, sent for those that
Revere the Name, and Dādū, P'haggū, who
Proclaim the truth, stood up with folded hands.
They warmed their wooden drum and sat
before

Great Bālā, priest. 'O sing,' cried Bālā, 'sing :
Sing hymns in praise of that great Name. The
lamp

Shall lighted be.' So Bālā, priest of light,
Did shout, and lo, the lamp with water filled
Burst into flame, and Bālā's fame was saved,
By God who helped him. This was grandson to
Lâl Khân, the son of Pîr Dhagānā. 'Thou,'
Cried Dānā Qâzî, 'art a doughty weight.

Sit in the mosque. Thou art no Chuhra, thou !
A wonder thou hast done — disciples we
Are henceforth. Thou art a saint.' When the
priest

But heard the name of mosque he went into
God's presence, where he standing made
request,

'This Qâzî here has made a mosque that
cost

A lîkh of silver, and a curtain he
Has curiously contrived to kill me. Come,

*Bhangārē lē lē guib dē tē uḍḍan khaṭōlā,
 Sūl karīn masit dā na rakhiṇ raulā,
 Rabb kisī nahīn vėkhiyā, māsā ki tōlā,
 Bālā ākhē Rabb nūn, dē pak pakūn,
 Nāl mērē tur prō, phēr hōkē such nām.
 Jadōn masit varenjā lēn aggōn vekh,
 Main sāmūē hō khalōvānjā fayīrān dē bhēkh,
 Rabb baṇāyē, Balā, tērē uchohē lēkh,
 Tērā sānī nahīn kōi, hō dē haiṇ anek,
 Bālā pīr partkē masit val jūn,
 Aggē khalōtā Rabb sī, ḥole sāmūē jān.
 Mathā fēkē Rabb nūn Shāh sīs nawā,
 Chēlē sijlān jōrīān parh nām sunān.
 Bālā pīr masit cich, bāh arzān kardā,
 Nālē pīr kabūnolā nālē Rabb thīn dardā
 Panj waqt namāz guzārā bah andar parhā,
 Manj dād Rabb thōn pīr pair bāhar sī dhardā.
 Pīr masitōn nikliyā, hō aggē nālōn chanyā
 Kandkān dīgīdān girrakē, khān hō gāyā nangā.
 Shahr sārā sī vėkhā, lā dīl dī sangā.*

*Ia'nat dīndē Dānē qāzī nūn, kam kīlā nahīn su
 chanyā.*

*Pīr masitōn nikalīē, phēr bāhar āyā,
 Dānē qāzī dīl vich, hōr shuḡal jagāyā,
 Pīr rōfī jāē khākī sir ō pā mangwāyā,
 Ihnūn jān na dēānā, pīr kadhī nahīn āyā,
 Kārīgar sab shahr dē Dānē mangwāē,
 Ghōḥ dī khand dē chā dhēr lagāē,
 Kassaṇ dombō bakrē Shāh jab ghar āē,
 Andrassē kachauriān karāh baṇwāē,
 Ghōḥ maide mōkē, pakwān kadlāē,
 Bāsbattā tē mushkandān, chāwal mangwāē,
 Turkē lagān pulāḥ nūn khushbōē jāē,
 Chēlē sijlān jōrīān parh nām sunāē,*

And help me, save me from dishonour.'

The

Disciple has composed these songs, by help
 Of Durgā, goddess eloquent. God said,
 'O Bālā, thou art simple, take for me
 Strange vehicles unseen, and flying beds,
 And move about the mosque unharmed. Let

not

This thing remain disputed. None has seen
 God, nor does any know what weight or
 size

He is.' So Bālā said to God, 'Give bread,
 Even holy bread to me, and with me be
 A true Name.' 'When I enter look on me :
 I in the garb of holy man will stand
 Before thee. God made for thee, Bālā, fate,
 Good fortune. Second hast thou none, al-
 though

Pīrs there are a many.' Bālā Pīr returned
 And straight advanced towards the mosque.

God there

Was standing. Bālā went to Him, and bowed
 His head. The true disciple has composed
 These hymns, and reads them to proclaim the
 Name.

Within the mosque our Bālā sat and prayed
 To God. A priest was he and reverent.
 Five times he prayed, and then appeared un-
 hurt

Without the door, when crash the masjid
 walls

Fell flat ; the well lay there exposed to view
 Of all the world. The whole town saw and
 stared.

They cursed the Qāzī Dānā, saying, 'Thou
 Hast meanly done.' But Bālā stood before
 Them in the open. Dānā planned again.
 'We'll feed the priest,' he said, and sent for
 him

A robe of honour. 'We'll not let him go.
 We'll say he never came.' And so he called
 The cooks most skilful of the town and loads
 Of ghī and flour prepared, and said, 'I will
 Kill rams and goats when Bālā comes to be
 My guest.' So cakes and rice and all things
 good

He had — the flavour spread afar. These
 songs

The true disciple made, and sings them for
 The Name. So Dānā thought, 'This priest
 shall not

Dānē qāzē dil vich dalāl daurāī,
 Pīr aivēn fur na juēn, phir bāz azmāēn,
 Ghar dē kuttē billē ōh zabh karāē,
 Kimiyā khūb banāyē, phir sōmji nāī,
 Iknūn ghēō rich bhunūd, pānē mul na pān
 Rinnhān khūb banālē, muhōn pardu na hatān
 Ih khānē Bālē pīr nē, sānnū dūjji pān.
 Chēlē sijtān jōriān parh nān sunān.
 Kuttē billē sunlē pīr dargāhē jāē
 Jā khurā dargāh vich, ja arz sunāī,
 Kuttē billē rēkh lōī chaph rūddhī hōī,
 Pīr paikambar anliyā nahīn khāndā kōī,
 Muñh bismillah parhē, hath chuk pān thāl,
 Kuttē billē ūhēgi, hukam mēre dē nāl,
 Paikhōn kuttē ūhēgi, phir billē nāl,
 Kāhl karkē chuk lēin thāl utōn ramāl,
 Bālē pīr Rabb nūn, ik gal sunāī,
 Ik zanānī utrē us yārriū chālī
 Uhnūn Rabb mawdūn ditiān, us bēā jālī.
 Ōhlā putt jawān hō pēyā, buqālī kāj rachāī,
 Mēl mandal us sadliqā, dhōlkī bajwāī.
 Janj richyā hō pēī, nāl puriyā nālī,
 Aggē rāh rich jānuān ik nālī sē āī,
 Janj pār langh gayī, mālloh lēī millakhī.
 Janj pahutī jākē, mūhān dārē bahāī,
 Tē pūisā dhōlō partiyā, rāh changī āī,
 Dōlī ridiyā hō pēī, nāl tur pēī dālī.

Aggē rāh rich jāndēān, ōhō nālī āī,
 Sānē janj dōlī dub gayī, phir bāhar na āī,
 Dārāh varhē rōndī rahē phir Rabb ās
 pahunchālī.
 Jān Bālē pīr nū saddā karēō, aggē farsh
 bichōnālī.
 Nafōn jākē Shāh nūn kihā, rōfī khā mubhānā
 Aggē Shāh dē sūrd tōtā, zikr karē subhāna,
 Hukam kītō Shāh Rōshan tān, Samajhē
 kaisē khānā?
 Amar Ilāhī vchī āyā, māyā tulāh jāwāna
 Dānē khudī dharō kamāyā, Rabb nē mul na
 bhānā.
 Jāl khānē uttōn poridā lahāyā, hōyā khēl rab-
 bāna.
 Kuttē billē zinda hō gayī, chummē qadam
 shahāna.
 Manjē uttō gayā baithā udē ut asmānān,
 Hēthan Dānē karē salāmān dur hōyā habāna.

Without good trial go.' He killed and hashed
 His cat and dog, and gave them to be cooked
 By the village barber, saying, 'Fry it well,
 And put no water in. The lid do not
 Lift off, and Bālā will partake.' The true
 Disciple made these songs. Proclaim them
 for

The Name. The priest in due course heard
 about

The dog and cat, and going into God's
 Most holy presence said, 'I saw the dog
 And cat which they have cooked. Priests,
 prophets, saints,

Have never eaten food like this.' God said,
 'Whenever thou shalt put thy hand within
 The dish, say 'In God's Name,' and cat and dog
 Will rise at my command, the dog and then
 The cat. But quick the dish uncover.' So
 He told to God a story. 'Once there was
 A woman, who to God gave one-eleventh
 Of all her income. Gifted he her with
 A son, who in due time was married. Then
 The drums were beat, and the party with
 The barber took their way. A stream they
 crossed.

The boatmen got their fee, the journey full
 Was made, and all and sundry dues being paid
 Homewards they came, the barber's wife
 herself

Being with them, but midway across the stream
 The bride with palanquin, and all the rest
 Were drowned and lost. The mother wept for
 twelve

Long years, and God restored them.' Dānā
 called

For Bālā, spread a carpet for him, sent
 His servants with a message, 'Come, my lord'
 A parrot white did shout loud praise to God,
 But Bālā Shāh said to Shāh Rōshan, 'Dost
 Thou know what sort of food this is?' then
 came

A heavenly message, 'Thou shalt raise the
 dead,

For Dānā has deceived thee. God doth like
 Him not.' The dog and cat were presently
 About the feet of Bālā, licking them,
 And Bālā on his cot rose to mid heaven.

Dharti upar manjā āyā, nēōn nēōn karē salāmān
Dānā sūrā pūrā kahmā, dīthā, saī nazrānā,
Sai sūrē mōn āgē dīthē, karkē gayē salāmān
Gurū Nānak nūn phar andar dīttā, chakki
paṛay shamāna.

Shāh Daulā chhap langhā mān tāk, munda
mugar bhajānā.

Tainūn sūrma Rabb bañdyā, baḥshē mēri jānā

Rāzi hō Shāh nazrān lēiān, āyā, rich makānā
Sāmān Shāh dī shukar bajdyā, shurm rukhī
Rahmāna,

Vich nishāni jhandā layā, nālē gōr zanānā,
Randē vān pakarū pūrā, mukhāl karn asāna.
Aid akhārē Bālē kitē, dīthā jumāl jānāna.

Main anganāhārē nām japandā, khair Janābōn
pānā.

Oh ih ik sach Nām dhani.

Then Dānā bowed, his pride was broken; and
 'Asūrā' said he, giving gifts. He said,
 'I many holy men have seen, who me
 'Much honoured; Bābā Nanak made I grind
 My corn; Shāh Daulā fled; the boys I made
 Eject him; thee alone has God made great.
 Oh spare my life.' The Shāh accepted all
 His gifts, and homewards went; his followers
 thanked

Great God, who saved him from dishonour.

Raised

He his fair flag, and made his grave where all
 The people go to pray for help in pain.

Such wonders Bālā did — the whole world
 saw.

A sinner I repeat the Name. From heaven
 Give gifts. There is one Name, Eternal,
 True.

ARCHÆOLOGY IN WESTERN TIBET.

BY THE REV. A. H. FRANCKE.

Supplementary Note.

In the Plates attached I exhibit three photographs by Dr. E. Neve of Srinagar, Kashmir, which are of special interest, as the objects represented have never before been depicted for the information of scholars. Two are from Alchi Monastery near Suspol (ante, Vol. XXXV. p. 325) and the third from Khalatse.

Alchi Monastery.

Plate I. shows a portion of the gallery with its trefoiled arch and wood-carvings, Plate II., fig. 1, shows a portion of the interior. The fresco of the monk behind the statue of Buddha is said to be a portrait of Lotsava Rinchen bZangpo.

Dogra Fort near Khalatse.

Plate II., fig. 2, represents the most ancient inscription on stone (whitened before photographing for clearness) in Ladākhi according to Dr. J. P. Vogel. It is situated a few yards below the Dogra Fort at Khalatse. The characters are Indian Brahmi of the Maurya period. Dr. Vogel reads them to represent the word **Bharad[va]jyasa**. (See *Annual Progress Report, Archaeological Survey*, pp. 31-32.)

ARCHAEOLOGY IN WESTERN TIBET.

Plate I.



Gallery of the Monastery at Alchi-nikhar near Saspola



Fig. 1. Interior of the Monastery at Alchi-mkhar near Saspola.

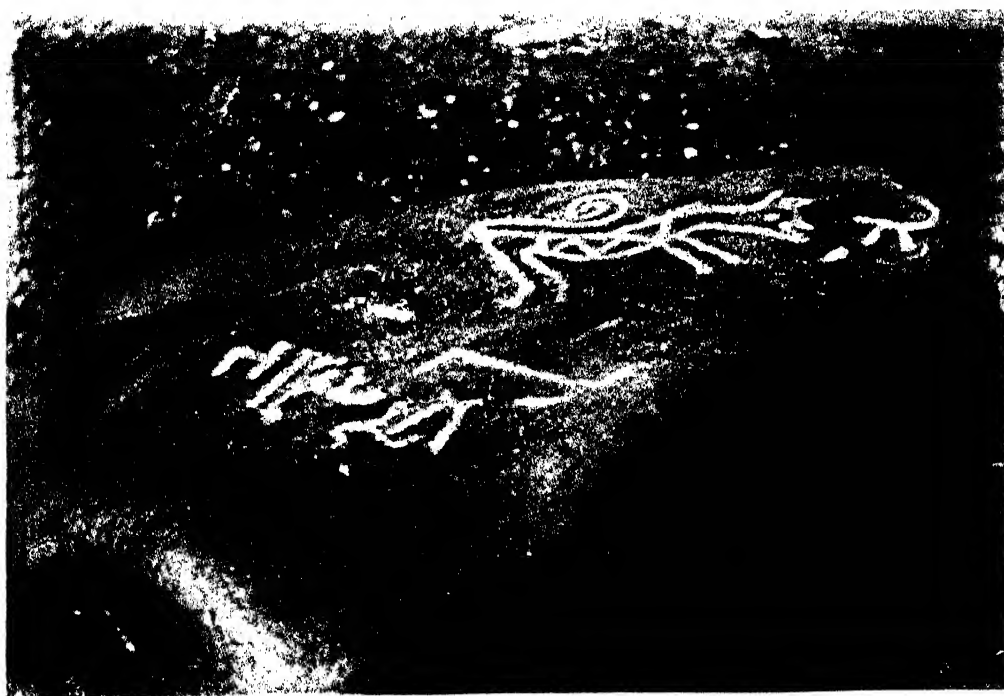


Fig. 2. Ancient Inscription at Khalatse, Ladakh.

ON THE NAVASAHASANEACHARITA OF PADMAGUPTA OR P

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR G. BÜHLER, OIA, LL.D., AND DR. TH. ZACHARIS.

(Translated from the German by May S. Burgess.)

I. — The Manuscript.¹

THE following short account of a hitherto unknown Mahākāvya is based on one. This manuscript belongs to the little known collection of James Tod, Library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, and is numbered 118. It consists and a number of blank) palm-leaves, with two to four lines on the page, in old Nāgarī. The two first, with the two last leaves, have been completed by a later hand, apparently because the MS. had been injured at the beginning and end. The date of the MS., if it ever was given, has not been copied by the writer of the 185 pages. It may be presumed, however, that the MS. is of great age from the fact that the numbering of the single leaves is carried out on the right side by means of the usual figures, and on the left by letters: compare Kielhorn, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS* (Bombay, 1881), p. viii ff. Besides, manuscripts, such as the one under consideration, have been so often described, — e. g., by Kielhorn in the report just quoted — that further description would be superfluous.

The manuscript is, on the whole, very well preserved. Only on a few pages is the writing blurred and indistinct. Leaf 82 is broken and part lost. Corrections on the margins of the leaves, as also completions of verses or parts of verses, are often carried out in Śāradā writing.

If the manuscript shows errors and defects — the text is not as a whole quite so correct as one could wish, — it is at least complete, and in this respect, in the meantime, unique. It is, indeed, still possible that in India complete manuscripts of the *Narasahasaneacharita* may be found. Still, with each year that becomes less probable. Manuscripts which have become known up till now are incomplete. This is also true of the two manuscripts, which, according to Burnell (*A Classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the palace at Tanjore*, p. 163 a), are found in Tanjore. While the work of Padmagupta (Parimala) consists of 18 sargas, these manuscripts only contain 17 sargas. Besides, as one of them is not inked, and the other (written about 1650), imperfect and much injured, it may be taken for granted that the manuscript material at Tanjore would not be sufficient for an analysis or even for an edition of the work, — for the rest, the title of the Kāvya is, according to Burnell, *Sahasaneacharita*, and the name of the author, Parimala Kalidasa (¹).

Also the manuscript, which the publishers of the *Subhāshitāvalī*, Messrs. Peterson and Durgāprāsada, have brought out, was imperfect.² The "fragment" includes "several sargas" and extends at least to the sixth sarga, as may be gathered from the account of the scholars just mentioned. The beginning of the work, however, is assuredly not preserved in this fragment, otherwise Peterson and Durgāprāsada would doubtless have drawn up a more exact chronology of Padmagupta than that given in the words. "In his *Narasahasaneacharita* Parimala or Padmagupta refers to Kālidāsa, somewhere between whom and Kāshemendra he is therefore to be put. His Kāvya is in praise of a king of Avanti" (*Subhāshitāvalī*, Introd. p. 53). Further, it is shown below that the date of Padmagupta may be fixed as precisely as possible in the literary history of India.

¹ This paper appeared in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Wien Imp. Akademie of Sciences for 1888, in the Phil.-hist. Class (Bd. CXVI, Hft. 1, S. 583—630). The first 20 pages of the German are by Dr. Zacharias, and the last 27 by Dr. Bühler.

² Conf. *Subhāshitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva (Bombay, 1886), Introd. p. 57 ff. Here also in Peterson's small pamphlet, the *Aukhityāvalīkara* of Kāshemendra (Bombay, 1885), p. 25 f., is found collected all that is known concerning the poet Padmagupta and his works.

II. — The Author, his time, and his work.

The name of the author is **Padmagupta**: so he is called in the colophon to the first sarga of the *Navasahasāṅkacarita* in the manuscript before us, in the first of the four tail verses which are attached to the poem: —

Etad vimukhamuladyuti Padmaguptah

śrī Sindhurājaputro' charitam babandha³ ||

in the *Daśarūpa* (ed. Hall, p. 96), and in the *Subhā-litāvalī* under No. 168, another name — and as it appears the more usual name — of Padmagupta, is **Parimala**. He is almost always called so in the sarga signatures of the manuscript before us, also, for example, in the *Gaṇaratnamahodhātī*, p. 117

Padmagupta's father was called **Mṛigāṅkagupta**, as given in the colophon to the first sarga.

The period of Padmagupta is easily fixed. Padmagupta composed the *Mahākavya Navasahasāṅkacarita*, which treats of the winning of the snake-king's daughter **Sasiprabhā** (*Sasiprabhāśābhā*), for the glorification of his patron king **Sindhurāja** alias **Navasahasāṅka**. This is clearly and distinctly expressed in the concluding verse of the poem — compare the passage quoted 'Who was this king Sindhurāja however? Where did he rule?' This point is explained for us in the first sarga, especially in these two verses —

Sarasvatīkalpa'at ulūkandim

śrīśūlāmāle Vākpatirājalekam |

ya ye prasādāle mahamāyamatī

karāṇacharṇe pathe samaharāmā || 6 ||

dhama śūśurman śāśi mūdrā

maditta adim Vākpatirāja lekam |

'asāṅgaṇamā' lāṅghāṇaṭhaṇṣya

bhūnāte tem sampraty Sindhurājā⁴ || 7 ||

Padmagupta was therefore court poet to **Vākpatirājadeva**, a friend of poets (*kaviśākhara*), and after his death, court poet to Sindhurāja, who is called a younger brother (*anupamā*) of Vākpatirāja. Now we proceed to find Sindhurāja described as **Avantipati**, **Mālavaminakotana**, **Paramāravāṁsaketu**, &c., thus it appears quite certain that, in Vākpatirāja and Sindhurāja, we have two well-known kings of **Mālava**, belonging to the dynasty of the **Paramāras**. The time of the rule of these kings is ascertained pretty closely from inscriptions,⁵ and from that the date of Padmagupta may be fixed. The period of the literary activity of Padmagupta falls in the last quarter of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A. D.⁶

³ This story of the celebrated king Sindhurāja, which is beautiful as a full-blown white lotus, Padmagupta has composed.

⁴ We praise the one (incomparable) root of the wishing tree of the Sarasvatī, king Vākpatirāja, by whose grace we also wander in the path trodden by the poet princes.

The seal which Vākpatirāja put upon my song when he entered heaven (by his death), the place and allowance of a court poet I lost, and ceased to compose poetry. Now Sindhurāja, brother of that friend of poets, frees me.

⁵ Conf. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 49 ff., especially p. 51 ff. and Vol. XIV p. 159 ff. Bezzenburger's *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, IV 71 ff. Sindhurāja was the son of Śiyaka (as mentioned in the *Arasasāṅkacarita* 8 77, 11, 85 12 59) and father of the renowned Ph. of Dhār.

⁶ The first Padmagupta is first correctly fixed by Zacher in the article *Sanskrit vielchhatti, Cosmétique*, a supplement to the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* XIII, 91, Ann. 2. It points out also that Padmagupta was a contemporary (at least a fellow-countryman) of Dhanañjaya, the author of the *Paṇyāśākhya*. On Dhanañjaya cf. *Phil. et Lit.* IV 50 ff. and in the *Sitzungsberichte der Phil.-hist. Cl. der k. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Wien* 1842 p. 76, 8 ff.

This is almost all we can extract from the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* respecting Padmagupta. It may be mentioned that, according to his own statement in the fourth concluding verse, he composed his poem at the command of king Sindhurāja, not from poetio pride (*ājñāiva hetuḥ . . . na kavītvadarpah*). In the colophon to the whole work, the author is called a *kavītkari*, a clever poet — a title which was held as specially honourable.⁷

As regards the title of the *Kāvya Navasāhasāṅkacharita* it must be remembered that there is another work of this name not yet discovered: *Sriharsha* is also known to have composed a *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*.⁸

It may be accepted without dispute that Padmagupta wrote other works besides the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*. There has even been expressed a conjecture as to the contents of a lost poem by Padmagupta. *Kshemendra*, in the *Auchityalankāra* namely, quotes a number of verses under the name of Parimala, which, it may be remarked, do not appear in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*. From these verses Peterson has concluded that "the theme of the (lost) poem was that expedition into Gujarāt despatched by Tailapa under a general of the name of Barapa," against Mūlarāja, the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty of Anahilapattana, who for some time was hard pressed, though, according to the Gujarāt chroniclers, the general was eventually defeated with slaughter. "The striking verse in the *Kāvyaprākāśa*: *Rājan rājasūtā na pathayati mām* (p. 450, Calc. Ed. 1876) wears every appearance of being from the same work, for which we should be on the outlook" (The *Auchityalam* of Kshemendra, p. 26). Peterson's conjecture may be looked upon as a good one, in so far at least as there is nothing against it from a chronological point of view. Tailapa, king of Kalyāṇa and Parimala, were contemporaries. One only wishes that Parimala's lost poem could be found.

III. — Quotation from the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*.

As the time of Padmagupta can be pretty exactly fixed, it will be of interest to find out, on the one hand, which poets he names in his *Kāvya*; on the other hand, by which authors verses from the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* are quoted.

Unfortunately Padmagupta very seldom mentions earlier poets, and only those whom we know were earlier than the end of the tenth century. They are the following:— *Kālidāsa*, 1, 5, 2, 92; *Guṇāḍhya*, the author of the *Bṛihatkaṭhā*. 7. 64, in a play on words (*śrūtā guṇāḍhyasya bṛihatkaṭhā tava*); finally *Bāṇa* and *Mayūra* in a verse, which, in some degree, recalls the well-known verse of Rājasekhara — *aho prabhāvo rāgdevyāḥ*.¹⁰

sa chitravarṇavichchhittihārīnoravantiścarah |

Sri Harsha eva saṅghaṭṭam chakre bāṇamayūrayoh ||

The place has been described in detail by Zachariæ in a sketch on Sanskrit *vichchhitti*¹¹ in Bezenberger's Supplements, XIII, 100.

⁷ Conf. *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, 18, 101, and also Jacobi in the *Literaturblatt für Orientalische Philologie*, III., 66.

⁸ Conf. *Naishadhacharita* 22, 151; *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, ed. Bühler., Introd., p. 2.

⁹ In the Calcutta edition of 1866, p. 292, the verse is quoted with variations also in the *Sarasvatikanthābharaṇa*, ed. Borooah, p. 255, in which is added: *atrāṇayoktibhaṅgāḥ sāṅgikīrīṭrinajarasye narapatēḥ kaśchit prādhām varṇayati* (p. 256). — Incidentally attention is directed to the verse *Vāsishṭhaiḥ Sarasvatik*, p. 349, 17, upon which Aufrecht has already remarked in the Catalogue, p. 497 n.

¹⁰ Quoted for example in the *Subhāshitāvali*, Introd., p. 86.

¹¹ Here a correction and addition is acknowledged. The expression *varṇavichchhitti* means with regard to the arrow of king Sindhurāja "putting together of letters," arrangement of syllables. The arrows of the king were marked with his name — The rare Sanskrit word *vichchhitti* is also used in *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, 17, 19.

Lāṇḍh samūlani subhāṣitpatraih

śahasraśaḥ śonitāśikā[rā]drāḥ |

uttāraivāśvatatāraṇita-

vichchhittim ūhuḥ karḥkarṇatāḥ ||

We must give greater attention to the quotations which are to be found in grammatical, rhetorical, and other writings of India under the name of Padmagupta or Parimala. A number of such quotations have been already collected by Peterson and Durgaprasāda in the introduction to the *Subhāshitāvali*, p. 51 ff. These quotations will now have to be gone through with the greatest possible avoidance of unnecessary repetitions.

The phrase *namo namaḥ kāvyarasāya tasmai* in *Subhāshitāvali*, No. 168, is taken from the introduction to the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, Sarga I., v. 13. The verse *chitravartiny api nṛīpe*, which Dhanika quotes in the commentary to the *Daśarūpa*, II. 37 (compare Hall's publication, Preface, p. 36 n.; Petersburg Dictionary, Supplement under Padmagupta), occurs *Navasāh.* 6, 42. This is the only verse which Peterson and Durgaprasāda have found in the fragments accessible to them. All other verses, which have been quoted by these scholars chiefly from the *Ancityavichāra-charaḥ* of Kshemendra, as belonging to the Parimala, do not appear in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, and must therefore, in so far as we do not accept another Parimala beside our Parimalāparanāmā Padmagupta, be derived from lost poems of Padmagupta's. One thing is still to be remarked that the strophe *adhāksheṇ no Lakṣmī* can hardly belong to Parimala. In the work or works where it is ascribed to Parimala there is probably an error. It is to be remembered that the fourth Pāda of the strophe (*Hanūmantam*, &c.) is quoted by Uj्ज्वालatta (at Un I, 11, p. 6, 10, ed. Aufrecht) under the designation *bṛihatprayoga*. This expression means¹² something like "renowned example," "classical example." Is it to be accepted that Uj्ज्वालatta — or his authority — has honoured a passage from a work of Parimala's with this designation?

In a systematic examination of certain classes of literature quite a number of quotations might perhaps be pointed out, either given under the name of Padmagupta (Parimala) or anonymous. There are indeed often verses quoted without naming the author. We can here furnish only a small supplement to the groups in the *Subhāshitāvali* (above referred to). Parimala is quoted¹³ (which Peterson and Durgaprasāda have overlooked) also in Vardhamāna's *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī* (p. 117, 7, ed. Eggeling): *chāpo dhanuḥ | yathā Parimalasya*.

*Vipakṣahṛiddhāṅgukṛitā utāntān
bhrātēkhyāḥ kuñchitayollasantyāḥ |
nāḥkāmātreṇa parantapasya
gasyānvakāri kṛiyādyi chāpāḥ ||*

= *Navasāh.* I. 74; *gasya*, i. e., Sindhurājasya, The *Narasāhasāṅkacharita* is quoted anonymously four times in the tenth Ullāsa of the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, p. 323, 2 (in the publication by Maheśa Chandra Nyāyaratna, Calcutta, 1866).

*Blūmbaushṭha eva rājaste tenri pūrvam-adṛīṣyata |
adhoṇḍ kṛidageṇy-ēsha varigasāvēśhi lakṣhyate ||*

= *Navasāh.* 6, 60; Böhlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, No. 4461. The verse serves as an example for the figure *pariyāya*.

Kāvyapr., p. 335, 7, 11, are given as examples for the figure *vishama* —

*śīrīṣhālapī mṛidvaṅgi kṛeyam-āyatalochanā |
ayam kṛa cha kakūlāpikṛkṛśo mūlanānalaḥ ||*

= *Navasāh.* 16, 28, where the third Pāda begins with *ēsha kṛa cha*; and—

¹² On the meaning of *prayoga* accepted above, conf. the commentary to *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī*, I. 8; Zachariae, *Beiträge zur ind. Lexicographie*, p. 75, note I. The lexicographers explain *prayoga* by *śāntarāna*. — Böhlingk takes *bṛihatprayoga* for the title of a work. Aufrecht seems to look upon *bṛihat* as an abbreviation of *Bṛihatkalā*; (conf. the Pet. Dictionary under *Bṛihatprayoga*).

¹³ Pointed out by Zachariae, *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1880, p. 922.

*audyaḥ karasparśam-avāpya chitraṁ
raṇe raṇe yasya kripāparekhā |
samālanilā śaradindupāṇdu
yasaś-trilokyābharaṇaṁ prasūte ||*

= Navasāh. I. 60 (with immaterial variations). The first of these verses is found besides in the *Alaṅkāravimarśinī* of Jayaratha (Deccan Coll. MS. No. 23, fol. 166^b) according to Pischel, *Gott. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1884, p. 511; the second in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*,¹⁴ under No. 720. Both verses are, to all appearance, copied from Jayadeva¹⁵ in his *Chandrāloka*, V. 85, 86 :

*kveyaṁ śirīṣamridvaṅgi kva tāvaṁ-madanajvaraḥ ||
kṛtīm prasūte dhavalāḥ śyāmā tava kripāṅkū ||*

(in Jībānandā's publication (Calcutta, 1874). Finally the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, p. 339, 9, is quoted as an example for the figure *ekāvali*).

*purāṇi yasyāṇi savarāṅgaṇāni
varāṅgaṇā rūpapuraskṛitāṅgyaḥ |
rūpaḥ samunmīlitasadvīḍsa-
m-astram vīḍāḥ kuṣumdyudhasya ||*

from the description of the town Ujjayinī, *Navasāh. I. 21* (*purāṇi yasyāḥ savarāṅgaṇāni*, MS.).

No single passage from the *Navasāhasānka-charita* is quoted in the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*. This is rather remarkable, for Bhojadeva, the recognised author of the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*,¹⁶ must have known the court-poet of his uncle (Vākpati) and of his father (Sindhurāja). The possibility that the verse *Vāsishṭhaḥ Sarasvatīk*, p. 349, belongs to a lost work by Parimala has already been pointed out, p. 151, note 9.

If, on the other hand, verses by Parimala are seldom quoted in *Anthologies*, it may be understood from this, that his poem is poor in fine phrases and maxims (*subhāshita*).

IV. — The Navasāhasānka-charita.

The *Mahākāvya* of Padmagupta contains 18 Sargas, which, as in other poems of this class, bear special names. In the manuscript under notice all these names are not given completely. So far as they are preserved they will be given below.

The total number of the strophes is roughly 1525. With reference to the investigations by Jacobil¹⁷ as to the use of the metres in the *Mahākāvya*s we ought, at least, to give the measures Padmagupta has used. The chief metres are : in 1, 9, 14, 17 sarga, *Upajāti*; in 2, 6, 11, 16, *Anuṣṭubh*; in 3, *Pushpitāgrā*; in 4, 7, 13, *Vaṁśastha*; in 5, *Aupachchhandasika*; in 8, *Rathoddhātā*; in 10, *Mañjubhāṣinī*; in 12, *Vatāliya*; in 15, *Udgatā*; in 18, *Vasantatilakā*. Besides this, in the closing verses of single sargas, the following are used as side metres:—*Praharṣiṇī*, *Mandākrāntā*, *Mālinī*, *Vanamālā*, *Sārdulavikṛitā*, *Sālinī*, *Sikharinī*, *Sragdharā*, *Harinī*. Thus 19 metres are used in the *Navasāhasānka-charita*, that is, exactly as many as in the epics of Kālidāsa. It is also to be noticed that Padmagupta is free from all metrical tricks.

¹⁴ In the English translation, p. 416 f., Iliis (i. e., Sindhurāja's) sword, wonderful to say, dark as it is like the Tamāla tree, in every battle having obtained contact with his hand, engenders at the very moment a fame, white as the autumnal moon glorifying the triple world.

¹⁵ Pischel's assertion (*Rudraḥ's Śrīṅgāratilaka*, p. 8, 17) that Jayadeva, with one exception only, uses his own examples, must be somewhat qualified.

¹⁶ Bhojāḥ *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇakartā*, *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī*, p. 2, 11.

¹⁷ Conf. *Die Epen Kālidāsa's*, p. 135 ff. *Verhandl. des 5^{ten} Int. Orient. Congresses*, II. 2, and *Zeitschrift des deut. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, 38, 615.

Three or more verses, which, according to the meaning, form a unity, are expressed as such by the expressions *kalāpaka*,¹⁸ *kulaka*, *tilaka*, and *samānītakā*. The last two of these expressions have been till now used but sparingly; besides, their use does not always agree with the rules of the Indian theorists. Thus *samānītakā* as a rule is used in order to combine two verses, through which one and the same sentence runs, while this expression, for example, according to the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, No. 558, serves to join three verses.¹⁹ If in sarga 14, 79—85, seven verses, is called a *tilaka*,²⁰ this is apparently merely a slip of the pen for *kulaka*.

Padmagupta's language is, on the whole, pure, simple, and easily understood. In individual cases the want of a commentary is pressingly felt.

The story which Padmagupta relates in his *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* with the peculiar breadth of the Mahākāvya, has, without doubt, a historical background. Not only the hero of the poem, king Sindhurāja, did really exist; the other people too, who appear in the poem as Nāgas, Vidyādharas, Asuras, &c., have played a part as comrades or enemies of the king. Meanwhile it will be difficult to fix the true names and positions of the historical characters which appear in Padmagupta and must be left to others (conf. below, p. 171).

The following analysis of the poem is given in brief. It will merely be a sketch. The endless speeches and long-winded descriptions, which fill up a great part of the poem, without essentially affecting the narrative, will not, as a rule, be taken account of.

First is an index of the characters (speaking or acting) which appear in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*:—

Sindhurāja alias **Navasāhasāṅka**, king of Malava.

Yasobhata alias **Ramāṅgada**, his minister.

Saṅkhaṇḍa, a king of the Nāgas.

Sasiprabhā, his daughter.

Anaṅgavati,

Kalāvati,

Mālyavati,

Paṭalā,

Narmadā (Revā), the goddess of the river of the same name.

Vaṅku, a Muni (Maharshi).

Ratnachūḍa, a young snake-demon.

Sasikaṇḍa, a king of the Vidyādharas.

Malati, his wife.

Vajrāṅkusa, a king of the Asuras.

Viśvāṅkusa, his son.

V. — Analysis of the Poem.

The first sarga bears the title *nagarānarendravaraṇam*. The town, that is, **Ujjayini**, is described, vv. 16—55. The rest of the sarga is dedicated to the *narendravaraṇam*. The king is called **Sindhurāja**. Other names of the king are, **Navasāhasāṅka** and **Kumāranārāyaṇa**. Of these

¹⁸ Without doubt these names of Sloka-connections are referred to in the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* III, 2, 23, under *kalāpakaśeṣakam*, &c., which, like so many other statements in this Lexicon, has been misunderstood (see Zachario in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, X, 122 ff.). In the Petersburg Dictionary under *Kalāpaka* we meet with the meaning "seet marks on the forehead."

¹⁹ Yet the younger Vāgbhata teaches in his *Alaṅkāratilaka*: *ekena chhandasā muktakam | dvābhyāṁ yugmaṁ samānītakam cha | tribhir viśeṣakam | chaturbhir kalāpakam | dvādaśāntair kulakam*. India Office MSS. No. 2548.

²⁰ *Tilaka*, really "brow ornament, cast mark," is like the word of the same meaning *vidēśaka* according to the *Maṅkhaḥaṣa*, s.v. *triśloki* (*triślokyām kṛishṇalavane tilakam kṛomni chāstriyam*). Conf. Zachario, *Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie*, p. 72.

names Padmagupta uses the first pretty often (also Navinasāhasāṅka, 6, 11, 11, 102); the second never. The usual designations of Sindhurāja are, besides, **Avantisvara** (1, 15) **Paramāramahibhrit** (2, 51) **Mālavarāja** (3, 19). The minister and constant companion of the king is called **Yasobhata**, or *apareṇa nāmnā*, **Ramāṅgada**. At the close of the Sarga Dhārā is mentioned as "the other town" (*aparā purī*) of the king, as the "capital of his race."²¹

The real narrative begins with the **second sarga** (*chitramṛigāvalokanam*). The king is engaged in hunting on the Vindhya mountains (vv. 1—32). Here he catches sight of a **spotted antelope**, which bears a golden chain round its neck, and excites the king's highest curiosity. It withdraws into the thicket, but is wounded by an arrow shot by the pursuing king. The arrow, which the king has shot, is inscribed with his name (*svanāmadheyachihna*, as the arrow of Āyus in the *Vikramorvaśīya*). The king is dissuaded from the further pursuit of the fleeing antelope by the advice of his minister. King and minister spend the night at a lotus-pond, and start next morning to seek for the wounded antelope.

Third sarga (*hārāḍbhā*): the king vainly endeavours to find the spotted antelope. On the other hand he discovers a **swan** (*śitachchada*), which bears a string of pearls (*tārāhāra*) in its beak. The king is successful in obtaining possession of this string of pearls, as the swan alights at a lotus-pond and lets fall the heavy pearls. The king in this way receives the first news of his future wife. Characters (*akṣharāṇām tatih*), found on the pearls, disclose to him the name of the owner; it is the ornament of **Sasiprabhā**, which has fallen into his hands. The king is seized by a longing for the unknown.

In the **fourth sarga** (*Pātālāvalokanam*) a new vision is granted to the king. He observes a young maiden, who wanders in the wood, apparently trying to find something which is lost.

We find out who this maiden is in the **fifth sarga**,²² in which she gives a detailed account of herself and also of Sasiprabhā in a long speech (vv. 2—57). The speaker is a snake-maiden called **Pātālā**, a daughter of the snake-demon **Homa**. She belongs to Sasiprabhā's retinue and holds the office of fan-holder (*śitachāmaradhāraṇe nipuktā*). — **Sasiprabhā**, who, on account of her adroitness at the game of ball, also bears the name of **Āsugā**, is a daughter of the demon-prince **Saṅkhaṇḍa**. She loves to wander around on the mountains — on the Harasaila (Kailāsa), on the Malaya mountains, on the Himāchala. One day as she was wandering on a spur of the Vindhya, named **Kusumāvachūla**, her pet animal, her *kelimṛiga* (antelope, kept for her amusement), ran away. This is the "spotted antelope," which the king, while hunting on the Vindhya, pursued and wounded with an arrow. While the king spends the night at the lotus-pond, **Sasiprabhā** rests on a sand-bank of the river **Sasāṅkasūti** (i. e., the Narmadā, or Revā). The wounded antelope, which she and her friends seek for in vain, is seen by the snake-king's daughter next morning standing beside her couch. On the arrow, which is sticking in the wound, she reads the name of the marksman, "**Navasāhasāṅka**." Immediately the love-god enters her heart. Meanwhile a swan — the same, whose acquaintance we have just made in the third sarga — steals the string of pearls, which has slipped from the couch of Sasiprabhā. He takes the pearls for a lotus-root (*mṛigāśaṅkī*). The snake-maidens in the retinue of Sasiprabhā, among whom is Pātālā herself, are sent out to seek for the robber of the ornament.

How the king has come into possession of this ornament and thus discovered the name of Sasiprabhā is now told.

In a second speech (vv. 69—78) Pātālā advises the king to go himself to the river Revā and there to meet Sasiprabhā. So the king sets out led by the snake-maiden Pātālā.

²¹ *kulardagadhānt*; Dhārā is also thus expressed, 18, 59.

²² Possibly the name of the fifth sarga is: *Pātālāsambhāṣanam*. The title is wanting in the colophon of the manuscript.

In the sixth sarga (*narendradarśanam*) we are introduced to the love-sick Saśiprabhā surrounded by her friends. She is deep in contemplation of the royal arrow, which bears the inscription:

Navinasāhasāṅkasya kāmadevākṛiter-ayam |
Mālavaikamṛigāṅkasya Sindhurājasya sūyakah ||

Saśiprabhā asks her friends, who this Sindhurāja may be, who is designated in such a manner as a (new or second) Sāhasāṅka. She is answered by Mālyavati, the daughter of a Siddha, whom the king had once seen at Ujjayinī at the feast of Mahākūla (*Mahākūlaparvatī*). She gives information about the king, and sketches a picture of him on a stone. This likeness is not such as to lessen the love-sickness of Saśiprabhā.²³ The words also of Anaṅgavati, another friend, are prompted too much by timidity and hesitation, for the snake-king's daughter to hope for a union with her beloved. On the other hand, Kalāvati, the daughter of a king of the Kinnaras, gives her encouragement. King Sindhurāja is certainly somewhere in the neighbourhood. The friends, who have been sent into the wood to seek the swan, would meet the king. Kalāvati closes (v. 94):

sthirā bhava nṛpeṇa tvam-iha saṁyogam-āpsyasi |
yathā kṛtvāśrame pūrvam duḥshyantena śakontalā ||

Scarcely has Kalāvati finished, when Pātālā appears, and with her king Sindhurāja.

The seventh sarga (*phaṇirājasutāsambhāṣaṇam*) describes the meeting of the king with the snake-king's daughter. Besides the king, his minister Ramāṅgada and Mālyavati are represented also as speaking. Saśiprabhā, who sits silent while the king is speaking, betrays, by a sign, her partiality for him.

Eighth sarga (*nāgalokdvātāra*). Saśiprabhā disappears, together with her friends. She is carried away by invisible snakes to the snake-town Bhogavati in the underworld. The way, which Saśiprabhā has taken, is pointed out to the king, by Revā, by the mouth of the Sārasa bird. In accordance with this direction, the king flings himself into the stream of the river, with the intention of following Saśiprabhā. He says nothing of his intention to his minister, as he is afraid he might hinder him from his rash deed (*ekha vighnam iva sḍhasotsare kalpayishyati mama*). The minister, however, follows, when he sees what danger his master is about to put himself into. The king passes over the river, in spite of all hindrances which meet him. On the other side he reaches a golden palace. In the court-yard of this palace he is about to lay himself down on a golden Mādhavirānke to rest, when a beautifully attired woman steps out of the palace. A parrot calls to the astonished king: the Narmadā is actually standing before him and wishes to extend hospitality to him.

The ninth sarga²⁴ contains the *Narmadāsambhāṣaṇam*, the conversation between the king and the Narmadā. The river the goddess gives the king news about Saśiprabhā, completing what Pātālā has told him, and discloses to him under what conditions he may gain possession of his beloved (v. 35—65): When Saśiprabhā was born, the house gods declared that the daughter of the snake-king, who has been given signs of good omen, will at one time become the wife of a ruler of the middle world, and accomplish the death of Asura Vajrāṅkusa, a mighty enemy of the snakes (*upāgateyam nidhandgradūti Vajrāṅkusasya*). Whereupon there was great joy in the snake-world. After Saśiprabhā was grown up, her father, pressed by the gods Siddhas and Mahoragas, fixed at a gathering the conditions (the price, *śulkaśanisthā* 16, 88) under which he would give the hand of his daughter to a suitor; "In the pond, beside the well-watched pleasure-house of Vajrāṅkusa grows a lotus with golden flowers. He who makes these golden flowers into ear ornaments for my daughter,

²³ In this connection, Padmagupta's verse quoted by Dhanika appears. *Daśarūpa* II. 37, on the king (Sindhurāja) represented in the picture.

²⁴ The first seven verses of this sarga, beginning on page 82, are, according to the remarks above, on page 149, only partially preserved.

she shall be his wife. Up till now no one had fulfilled this condition. Narmadā affirms, however, that king Sindhurāja has been set apart by fate to kill the Asura, to obtain the golden lotus flowers and thus to win the hand of Śaśiprabhā. Narmadā further narrates that at a distance of 50 *gavyūtā* lies the town Ratnāvati built by the skilled Mayā. This is the chief town of the Asura prince Vajrāṅkuśa. There the king is to go. Finally Narmadā prophesies to him that the Muni Vaṅku will appear to him on the way to Ratnāvati. After this announcement the river goddess placed her own bracelet on the king's arm, spoke a blessing and disappeared.

The tenth sarga (*Ratnachūdasanipreshayanam*) begins with a conversation between the king and minister, who is of no further importance in the narrative.²⁵ The minister wishes to undertake the expedition against Asura Vajrāṅkuśa alone; the king, however, will not consent to this. Then the parrot, which we have already met with at the end of the eighth sarga, appears again and relates: he is a snake-youth (*ndgadhraka*) called Ratnachūda from the race of the Śaṅkachūda. A disciple of the Muni Kanṭha had cursed him once and changed him into a parrot. Softened by his petitions, the Muni had declared to him, that he should resume his form again if king Navasāhasaṅka should entrust him with a message to Śaśiprabhā. — The king acceded willingly to the desire of Ratnachūda and sent him with a love message to the snake-town (Bhogavati).

Eleventh sarga (*Vaṅkumaharshūdarśanam*), the king and minister proceed on the way pointed out by Narmadā. In this way they reach the grove of the Muni Vaṅku. He greets them, treats them hospitably and asks the race and name of the king (that one such stood before him he had recognised at once), and the object of the journey into the nether world. Upon this Ramāṅgada takes up the conversation (vv. 49—112) and gives Vaṅku the desired information. In this he goes far back; he relates the origin of the Paramāra dynasty — beginning with a description of the holy mountain Arbuda (vv. 49—63) and gives the line of kings from Paramāra to Sindhurāja. The Muni declares himself satisfied and prophesies a successful ending to the undertaking of the king. Upon the request of the Muni to stay a little in the ascetic grove the king takes his place on a seat ornamented with precious stones.

Twelfth sarga (*phairāpasutāscapmasamāgama*). The king, overcome by sleep, sees Śaśiprabhā in a dream as she wanders in his pleasure grove at his side wearing the golden lotus flowers. The poet puts into the king's mouth a long address to Śaśiprabhā (vv. 16—65).

In the thirteenth sarga (*Vidyādharaṭhiprasaṅgam*) the story is continued. After the king awakes he converses with the Muni Vaṅku about the affairs of the upper and under world. Just as he is about to break off and take farewell of the Muni, he sees a monkey standing before him, who is carrying a pomegranate, of a pale red colour like the cheek of an intoxicated Kerala woman.²⁶ The monkey offers the fruit to the king; the king is about to take it, but lets it fall to the ground, out of it falls a multitude of sparkling gems. The king, as much astonished as rejoiced, makes the monkey a present of the bracelet, which he himself had received from the river goddess Revā. Immediately the monkey takes the form of a man and bows before the Muni, the king, and his minister, and to the question of the Muni, who he was? and how he became a monkey? relates the following: I am called Sasikhandā: my father is Sikhaṇḍaketu, a prince of the Vidyādhara. My dwelling is in the mountain Sasikānta. Once a rumour was spread, that a representation of Vishnu made of sapphire had risen out of the sea. The curious women of the town streamed out to see the wonder. My wife also, called Mālātī, overcome by curiosity, persuaded me to accompany her. So I leapt up with her into the air. Immediately the sea presented itself to our gaze. While I hovered over the sea on the blue cloudway my wife lost her head-parting jewel (*simantamāṇi*).

²⁵ Verses 14—20 enumerate the princes and peoples, who (ostensibly) were conquered by Sindhurāja. The following are mentioned: the Prince of the Hānas and Kosas; the inhabitants of Vāgaḍa and Līṭa; the Muralas.

²⁶ *madhumattakeralīkopolavat*: cf. *Kādambarī*, ed. Peterson (1st ed.), p. 195; *Mālātīmādhava*, ed. Bhāṇḍarkar, p. 115, 3.

The jewel fell into the sea; I endeavoured to get it up, and the sea shut me off by a great wave (*tarāṅgahastemakariva*) from return to the air and drew me with a great roaring into the depths of the nether world. As I wandered about in astonishment here, I saw a maiden, who carried the jewel in her hand, and was about to enter an ascetic grove. As the maiden, in spite of my repeated entreaties, would not give up my wife's diadem, I wrenched from her neck "little jewel ornaments"²⁷ in the form of foot-prints of the love-god upon which the Makara was carved." At the maiden's cries a Muni appeared, cursed me, and, as a punishment for my monkey-like trick, changed me into a monkey. Later the Muni was softened and decreed that I should again receive my former shape on the day when the son of Sūjaka (*i. e.*, Sindhurāja) should lay the bracelet of Narmadā in my hand before the eyes of the Muni Vaṅku. — Thus to-day, in thy grove, after I have spent a thousand years as a monkey in the nether world, the curse has fallen from me by the king's act.

The grateful Vidyādhara prince Śaśikaṇḍa caused his troops to appear in order that they might help the king in his progress against the Asura Vajrāṅkuṣa.

Fourteenth sarga (*Pātālagāṅḍavagāhanam*). The king departs from Vaṅku's grove with his comrade's army. The king's war chariot is lifted into the air by Śaśikaṇḍa's magic. In a long speech addressed to the king (vv. 7—76) the minister Ramāṅgada describes the progress of the army. First a wood²⁸ is reached, then the Trimārgagā (the Gaṅgā). On the shore of the Gaṅgā Śaśikaṇḍa causes a halt to be made and camp pitched, and the king enters a pleasure-house, which had been built for him of crystal.

In the **fifteenth sarga**²⁹ love plays — especially the *julakriḍā* — are described as in the eighth sarga of the *Sisūpālaradha*.

Sixteenth sarga (*kanakāravindapradhānam*). Pātālā appears and hands to the king (who enquires after the health of Śaśiprabhā and her friends) a love letter (*anaṅgalekha*) from Śaśiprabhā, written by Mālyavati. After Ramāṅgada has read out this letter, the king sends Pātālā into the snake-town with the message that he will soon come himself and hand over the lotus flowers. The king proceeds now with the army of the Vidyādharas. On the way he meets the snake army under the leadership of Ratnachūḍa, who in the meanwhile after he had delivered the message to Śaśiprabhā, had taken his own form again. Both armies make a halt in a wood before Ratnavati. The minister Ramāṅgada is now sent to Asura Vajrāṅkuṣa in order to effect the delivery of the golden lotus flower in an amicable manner (*sāmud*). Ramāṅgada has to return without having effected his object. The allied armies surround the town Ratnavati.

The **seventeenth sarga**³⁰ contains the description of the battle between the Asuras, who break out of Ratnavati, the Nāgas and Vidyādharas. The allied armies win the battle. **Viśvāṅkuṣa**, son of Vajrāṅkuṣa, kills the minister Ramāṅgada; king Sindhurāja himself kills Vajrāṅkuṣa. The town Ratnavati is overcome; the snake-youth Ratnachūḍa is made governor over the kingdom of the Asura princes. The king takes possession of the golden lotus flower and proceeds toward Bhogavati.

Eighteenth sarga (*Śaśiprabhāhlābha*) Saukhyapāla comes to meet the king and hands him a gift of honour. Sindhurāja makes his entry into Bhogavati amid expressions of astonishment and joy on the part of the inhabitants. His glance first falls upon a holy place (*tuṅgaṁ maṇimandīram*) of Siva³¹ under the name of **Śrī-Hāṭakeśvara**. He enters, offers gifts of flowers, and gives

²⁷ *makarāṅkite manmatharatnagāṇike*. The translation is according to a proposal of Bühler's.

²⁸ The entertainments in the wood are described, vv. 27—76. Conf. *Māghakāvya*, Sarga VII.

²⁹ The title of this sarga is in the manuscript: *Pātālagāṅḍavagāhanam*, as also that of the 14th. The true title might be *julakriḍāvarṇanam*.

³⁰ The title — something like *yudhavarṇanam* — is wanting in the manuscript.

³¹ The devo Hāṭakeśvarakhyah is also mentioned in the description of the snake-town Bhogavati, sarga 5, v. 12 ff.

praise to Siva. In the same place, is also the spotted antelope, which the king has once seen in the Vindhya mountain. Brought by Ratnachūḍa, at the command of her father, Saśiprabhā appears, in wedding dress, accompanied by Pātālā and her other friends. The king, at Mālyavati's request, hands the golden lotus-flower to Saśiprabhā. He has hardly done this when the spotted antelope is changed into a man, who bears a golden staff in his hand (*sahamavelraḥ*). The king asks, who he is, and why he has been changed into an animal? The staff-bearer relates the following: I, the doorkeeper of your father Śi-Ḥarshadeva (*i. e.*, Siyaka) was once cursed by the Muni Mriganda because I refused admittance to him at the door. On the day on which king Navasāhasānka should give the golden lotus-flower to the daughter of the snake-prince I should regain my former shape.

The marriage of Sindhurāja and Saśiprabhā takes place in the orthodox manner. Sankhapāla makes the king a present of a crystal *Sivaliṅga* made by Tvastṛi. This linga — so Saṅkhapāla relates — Vyāsa once received from the *puṇḍramuni* (*i. e.*, Siva); then it came into the possession of Ādikavi;⁸² Ādikavi presented it to the exalted Maharshi Kapila; and Kapila finally gave it to the snake-prince.

At the end of the marriage festivities king Sindhurāja, accompanied by Saśikāṇḍa and Ratnachūḍa, proceeds first to Ujjayinī, then to Dhūrā, "the chief town of his race." He entertained his guests according to rank, and dismissed them to their homes; Saśikāṇḍa returned to the mountain Saśikānta, Ratnachūḍa went to Ratnavatī, the chief town of his newly-won kingdom.

VI. — The Historical Events from the Navasāhasānka-charita.

For no period of Mālva's history are there so many different sources, as for that of the Paramāra kings of the tenth or eleventh century. Besides a not unimportant number of inscriptions, which fix the succession of the kings completely and determine approximately the length of the reigns of most of them, many isolated chronological notes are found in the works of Brahman and Jaina authors, as well as detailed biographical descriptions of individual governors, especially Muñja's and Bhoja's. The fifteenth and last extract of the first Prakāśa in Merutunga's *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi* (completed on full moon day of the month Vaisākha, Vikrama-samvat 1362, or in April 1306) is dedicated to the former. The life of the latter follows immediately and fills the greater part of the second Prakāśa. The same prince has been described in two later works, the *Bhojaprabandha* and the *Bhojacharita*, which have been long known and quoted in Europe, as well as edited in India. Under these circumstances, it might well be believed, that Padmagupta-Parimala's *Navasāhasānka-charita* cannot add much that is new or important to the history of the Paramāras. In spite of this the contrary is the case. Padmagupta's narrative completes and extends the information about the inscriptions, and shows more plainly than these, that the historian cannot trust to the *Prabandhas* and *Charitas*, and can only make use of them with great caution. The *Prabandhas* are founded exclusively on the traditions of the bards and the Jaina monasteries, in which Muñja and also his nephew very soon became mythical personalities. Whoever seeks to combine the statements of the inscriptions, with the narratives of the *Prabandhas* will find a mixture of truth and fiction, in which the contradictions are apparent.

The extract of the *Navasāhasānka-charita*, which is of the greatest importance to the history of the Paramāras, is to be found in sarga XI, 64—102, and, according to a photograph⁸³ of sheet 106a—109a of the London manuscript, is transliterated thus: —

Atisvādhinanivāraphalamūlasamitkušani |

munis-tapovanani chakre tatrekshvākupurohitaḥ || 64 ||

⁸² *saṃskṛt kīlakaṣṇapāṇīlalāṣi jagāma* MS.; Ādikavi (= Vālmiki) is a supposition of Bühler's.

⁸³ Communicated by Zachariae along with an imperfect inscription found by himself. It was known to him for several years, but circumstances delayed the publication.

hr̥itvā tasyaikadā dhenuḥ kāmāsūrgādhisūnūnā |
 Kārtavīryārjuneneva Janadagner-anīyata || 65 ||
 sthūlāsruddhārāsantānasvapitastanavalkā |
 amarshapāvakasyūbhūd-bhartuḥ sanidarundhatī || 66 ||
 athātharvavidām ādyaḥ samantrām ābutīm dadau |
 vikasadvikatajvālājatile jātavedasi || 67 ||
 tataḥ kṣaṇāt-sakodanḍaḥ kirīṭī kāñchanāṅgadaḥ |
 ūjjagūmāgnitaḥ kopi sa-hemakavachaḥ pumān || 68 ||
 dāraṁ saṁtamaseneva viśvāmītreṇa sā hr̥itā |
 tenānīye muner-dhenur-dinaśrīva bhānūnā || 69 ||
 tatas-tāpasakanyābhīrūnandāśrulovāṅkitaḥ |
 kapolaḥ pāṇiparyāṅkāt-sādhupūjyād-apāsyata || 70 ||
 Paramāra iti prāpat-sa muner-nāma chārthavat |
 mṛitānyanṛipachebhatram-ādhipatyam cha bhūtale || 71 ||
 pravartitātivistīrasaptatantuparamparah |
 purīṇakūrmaśeṣam yas-chakārāmbhonidheḥ payah || 72 ||
 sthūpīṭair-maṇipīṭheṣu muktā-pralambamālībhiḥ |
 bhūr-iyam yajvanā yena hemayūpair-apūryata || 73 ||
 praśantachīṭā saṁtāne chireṇa na-śuchitviśhi |
 amṛchayatāstadaityena yenershyākalaham Śachī || 74 ||
 vaṁśaḥ pravayrite tasmād-ādīrājān-manōriva |
 nītaḥ suvṛittair-gurutām nṛipair-muktāphalaḥ-iva || 75 ||
 tasmānṛipīṭhuḥ ratāpopī nīrvūpita[karāna]ḥ |
 Upendra iti saṁhujā rājā sūryendu-samūbhavah || 76 ||
 sadā-gatīravṛittena Sītūchehivāsītachetunā |
 Hantāmateva yaśasā yasyālāṅghyata sāgarah || 77 ||
 śaṅkītendreṇa dadhatā pūtām-avabhṛithais-tanum |
 akārī yajvanā yena hemayūpāṅkatā malī || 78 ||
 atyachehmadāśanōdgachebhadaṁśulekṣitāṁgibhiḥ |
 dīrghalīr-yasyānūrūpām nīśvāśis-chamarūyitam || 79 ||
 tasmān-gate narendreṣu tadanyeshu gateshu cha |
 tota Vākparīrājākyah pāṛthivendur-ajāyata || 80 ||
 dīrḥeṇa chakṣhushā lakṣmīm bhoje kuvālayasya yah |
 nārīṇāṁ dīśatānām doshā satārakeṇa cha || 81 ||
 śūhīlikṛitajivā-sā yasmīn-kopannama bhavya |
 nūnyah śhāmsī stabdhāni na dhanoḁśhi natib nṛipāḥ || 82 ||
 Vairishīha iti prāpajjanma tasmā-janādhipaḥ |
 kīrtibhir-yasya kundendu-śadabhiḥ saṁyitam || 83 ||

Verse 65 — *Janadagner* — MS.

65 — *sthūlāsru* — MS.

70 — *maṇipīṭha* — MS. The syllables *maṇiparyāṅkāt-sādhupūjyād-apāsyata* are added on the margin in Śrādā characters; *dau* and *ja* are indistinct: the correction given above is not certain.

71 — *vasuchitviśhi* — MS.

75 — *vanāśa*, and *guram* — MS.

76 — The syllables in brackets are wanting in the MS. and are conjectural.

78 — The last syllable of *śaṅkītendreṇa* is indistinct.

80 — *atjākyah* — MS.

81 — *dīśatānāṁ* — MS.

82 — *dhanoḁśhi natib* — MS.

83 — *vasatābhiḥ* — MS.

paulomiramaṣasyeva yasya chāpo vilōkite |
 chakitaḥ saraśiva kṣhīnā rājahamśair-anuchyata || 84 ||
 Śrī-Siyaka iti kṣhetraṁ yaśasām-udabhūt-tataḥ |
 Dilīpaprātimah prithvīśuktimuktāphalaṁ nṛipah || 85 ||
 Lakshmīr-Adhokṣhayasyeva śāśinauler-ivāmbikā |
 Vadaḥjetyabhavaddevī kalatraṁ yasya bhūr-iva || 86 ||
 akhaṇḍamamsalenāpya prajāpunyān-mahodayaṁ |
 kalisaṁtanamaṣaṁ yena vyaniyata nṛipen-lunā || 87 ||
 vaśīkṛitākṣhamālō yaḥ kaṣamāmatyāyatām dadhat |
 rājāśramam alaṁchakre rājarshikuśachivarah || 88 ||
 smitajyōtsnādaridreṇa vāśpāḥhyena mukhendunā |
 śāśamsur-vijayaṁ yasya Raḍḍupātīpatistriyaḥ || 89 ||
 akaṅkṣamakeyūramanūpuramamekhalam |
 Hūnāvarōdham vaidhavyadikṣādhanam vyadhata yaḥ || 90 ||
 ayam netrōtsavaś-tasmāj-jajñe devapātrīpriyaḥ |
 jagattamōjahō netrād-atreriva nīśakarah || 91 ||
 Śrīmadutpalarājōbhūd-agraḥjōsyāgrapīḥ satām |
 Sagarāpatyadattābhīparikhāyāḥ patir-bhuvah || 92 ||
 atīte Vikraṇāditye gateṣām Sātavāhane |
 kavimitre viśāsrāma yasmīn-devī Sarasvatī || 93 ||
 ebakrire vedhasā nūmaḥ nirvyājaudāryaśālīnaḥ |
 te chintāmaṇyō yasya nirmāṇe paramāṇavaḥ || 94 ||
 yaśobhir-induśuchibhir-yasyāchebhataravārijaḥ |
 aḥjryateyaṁ brahmūṇḍaśuktir-muktāphadair iva || 95 ||
 śrīyaṁ nīlābjakāntyaḥ yaḥ prapayibhyō dadau drīṣā |
 arātibhyas-cha sahasā jahre nistṛimśalekḥayā || 96 ||
 aṁsaḥ savakalagranthīḥ sajaḥpallavam śīraḥ |
 chakre yen-āhitastrīṇām-akṣhasūtrāṅkitāḥ karaḥ || 97 ||
 puram kālakraṇāt-tena prasthitenāmbikāpateḥ |
 manuvikīṇāṅkavatyasya prithvī dōshīṇi niveśitā || 98 ||
 praśāsti paritō viśvam-Ujjayinyām puri sthitaḥ |
 ayam Yayāti-Māndhārī-Duḥshyanta-Bharatopamaḥ || 99 ||
 • anenāstaḥ kapōleshu pāṇḍinā rīpayōshītām |
 samāhṛityaiva tudbhartrīyaśasō bāhuśālīnā || 100 ||
 • sadā samakarasyā-sya Lakshmīkulagṛihasya cha |
 Sindharāja iti vyaktam nāma dugdhōdadhier-iva || 101 ||
 anena vibhīṇayatra yatsāhasaśatānyataḥ |
 Navīnasāhasāṅkōyam viragoshīḥishu giyate || 102 ||

Verse 84 — *chakita* — MS.

„ 83 — *daḥhan* — MS. The manuscript has *prima manu*, — *rājābhramalaṁchakre*. A Śārada śrō stands over the deleted *bhra*, and a Śārada ma under *chak*.

„ 90 — The first syllable of *akḥ* in *am* is uncertain, before it stands plainly *śikṣyā*?

„ 92 — *īpalakṣite* ; *agraḥjōsyāgrapī* — MS. The correction (as Zaehneria proposes) is proved to be correct by Kāśimīrāśa's and Dīnīka's accounts. See below, pp. 163-164, *parikhāyā* — MS.

„ 94 — *nirmāṇḍ* — MS.

„ 96 — *ya prapayī* — MS.

„ 98 — *pāṇḍit* or *pūṇḍit* *chakṣite* *niveśitā* — MS.

„ 99 — *Ujjayinyāṇ* — MS. *Ujjayanti* is perhaps the correct form of the name.

„ 100 — The MS. seems to require *samāhṛityaveta* ; *yaśasō* — MS.

„ 101 — *samāhṛityasya* — MS. The *ya* of the second *sy* is written below in Śārada character.

„ 102 — Behind this verse stands a sign which looks exactly like the numeral 80 of the Akṣharapallī, and is probably meant to indicate that the portion on the Paramāra kings is concluded.

Translation.

64. There (on Mount Arbuda) the wise house-priest of the Ikshvāku made a sage's grove rich in wild rice, fruits, roots, firewood and Kuśa-grass.⁸⁴
65. His wish-granting cow was once stolen and carried away by the son of Gādhi, as was that of Januāgni, Arjuna,⁸⁵ of Kṛitavīrya's offspring.
66. Arundhati, upon whose bosom the silk garment was bathed with streams of tears, became a log, on account of her husband's wrath.
67. Thereupon the first of the judges of the Âtharvāna songs,⁸⁶ with holy sayings, threw an offering into the fire, which, kindling up with broad flames, seemed to bear an ascetic's hair braid.
68. Quickly a man sprang out of the fire, with bow and crown and golden armour.⁸⁷
69. By him, the cow of the wise man, led away by Viśvāmitra, is brought back, as the sun brings back the light of day, which has been led away by the thick darkness.
70. Then the grove-maidens took the cheek, wet with tears of joy, from the supporting hand which is worshipped by the devout.
71. He received from the prophet the fitting name of **Paramāra** — killer of the enemy — and a ruler's power over the globe, before whom all the parasols of all other kings were shut.
72. (From him), who, bringing a multitude of great offerings, only left the ancient tortoise,⁸⁸ —
73. (From him) the sacrificer, by whom this earth was filled with golden altar staves, which, resting on foundations of precious stones, were ornamented with wreaths of pearl-strings,⁸⁹ —
74. (From him), by whom, when he conquered the Daityas, Saśhi was freed at last, with a heart at rest from jealous wrangling with the race of impure splendour,⁹⁰ —
75. From him, who resembled the ancient King Manu, sprang a race, who obtained high esteem by virtuous kings, like beautifully rounded pearls.⁹¹

⁸⁴ A temple of Vasīdhatta, which, through local tradition, is closely connected with the holy mountain, is still found on the south-side of Abū or Arbuda. The inscriptions in its vicinity prove that it was kept up by the princes of Chandravāti. To the right of the temple stands the statue of a warrior, which, according to a tradition, represents the mythical Paramāra. See J. Tod, *Travels in Western India*, p. 116 ff.

⁸⁵ The story of the theft of the Kāmādhenu and its recovery differs widely here and in the narratives of the bards of Rājputānā and Gujārāt, from the classical, and is, of course, merely a local representation.

⁸⁶ Vasīdhatta is naturally a better judge of the *Âtharvaveda*, the great collection of charms and incantations than the Parahita.

⁸⁷ On the origin of the Paramāras, who, according to the various modern bardic traditions in the Agnikupṇḍa, sprang from Mount Abū, and belonged to the Agnikēdhis. See also J. Tod, *Annals of Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 88 ff., and specially p. 16 (Madras ed.). The account in the Nāgpur Prāśasti, verse 13 (*Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. VII 194) and that in Somasvara's Prāśasti, verse 32 (*Kirikānūdi*, App. I., p. 4) agrees exactly with Pāṇinagupta's.

⁸⁸ *I. e.*, he killed all other inhabitants of the ocean by his horse sacrifices and other Sattras, which required an incredible amount of slaughter. Only the tortoise upon which the earth rests, was left.

⁸⁹ On the golden, *i. e.*, gold-plated stakes for the sacrifice, see J. Tod, *Annals of Rājasthān*, Vol. I, pp. 71-72, and specially note 1 on the latter page.

⁹⁰ Probably this merely means that the Paramāra exterminated the Daityas, "the race of impure lustre," and so pacified Saśhi, troubled about Indra's lordship.

⁹¹ The poet, as often happens in other works, plays on the word *śuśīta*, "virtuous" and "beautifully rounded." Possibly a second play of words is intended with *vaśīta* race and "bamboo rod." Thus the end of the verse might be translated: a race . . . (and that, therefore) resemble a bamboo rod, which is made valuable by beautifully rounded pearls. Referring to the Indian belief, that pearls grow in the bamboo rod.

76. Into this race a king was born named Upendra, who, although of great power, still lightened the burden of taxes and therefore was like the sun and the moon, of which the former is endowed with great heat and the latter cools the fire of his beams.⁴²
77. His fame, which always spread further, and which was the subject of the song of Sītā, reached over the ocean and (therefore) resembled the (monkey) Hanuman who always moves about restlessly, who sprang over the ocean in order to comfort Sītā.⁴³
78. This sacrificer, before whom Indra was afraid,⁴⁴ whose body was made holy by sacrificial baths, decked the earth with golden altar staves.
79. The sighs of his enemies' wives, the rays of light from whose glistening teeth broke into waves, cooled him like fans.⁴⁵
80. When he and other rulers of men besides him were departed, there was born into this race a moon among the princes called Vakpatirāja.
81. His almond-shaped eyes shared with the water-lily her beauty, and his ornamented arm, which afforded ecstasy to women, caressed the Fortuna of the globe.⁴⁶
82. When the earth trembled before his anger, the princes, whose hope of life sank, bowed their proud heads, they drew not their stiff bows.
83. From him sprang a king, Vairisimha by name, a lion to his enemies; his fame, bright as jasmine and like the moon, was as a name to him.

⁴² The frequent play of words with *pratāpa*, 'heat' and 'power,' also with *kara*, 'ray' and 'tax,' naturally do not escape Padmagupta.

⁴³ The words *setigopitiprangita* and *sitochekhvasitaheta* have double meanings. The first has no difficulty. A really fitting explanation for the second as an adjective to *gāitas*, is found, it seems, only when, on the other hand, Sītā is regarded as a proper name and *uchekhvasita* as synonym of *udita*, "a song of the pouring out of the heart." *Uchekhvas*, literally "to breathe out," appears elsewhere also in this interchangeable meaning. A poetess Sītā, or Shīā appears in the Bhoja legend. For traces of her, and especially the words ascribed to her in the *Bhojaprabandha*, see Fischel, "the poetess Sītā," in the *Festgenoss an Böblingen*, p. 92, 94. In the *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, completed in 1306 A. D., is mentioned a *Sītāyaṇṇī, roṭandha*, the contents of which are shortly as follows: "In the time of Bhoja there lived in his capital the mistress of a cook-shop (*caudhant*) Sītā by name. A pilgrim, for whom she cooked, died from taking Kaṅguṇi oil. She determined to kill herself by drinking the same. Instead of dying, however, she became very clever. She then studied the sciences a little and went with her young and beautiful daughter Vijayā to court. Sītā greeted the king with the verse:—

śauryaṇ śatrahakṣaśayāvadhī yaśo brahmāṇḍabhaḥkavadhī
tyāgastarkukavāñchhitāvadhir-iti kṣhopa samudrāvadhī |
śradhbā parvataputīka-patipalāśvanādrapraṇānavadhī
śrmaubhojamahābhūte nṛavadhī śeṣo guṇānām gaṇadhī ||

The merry (*muṇḍapriya*) king then challenged the beautiful Vijayā to the *kuchavāṇana*. She answered with a corresponding couplet to the above:—

Umāhāchhibukāvadhīrbhūjatāmūlāvadhī sambhavo
vistāro hridayāvadhī kamalīnāsūtrāvadhī saḥ bhūti |
varṇaḥ svarnakathāvadhī kaṭīnatā vajrākarak-hṛdayāvadhī
śtanvaṅgyāḥ kuchamanḍale yadi parāṇā lavanyamastāvadhī ||

Then the king gave Vijayā an *ardhakantā* on *śratāya*, &c., upon which, without hesitation, she composed the second half *anuvāṅgi*, &c. The king was then ashamed of himself (as he had cause to be). Merutuṅga adds: *atra bahu vaktavyaṇḍaḥ paraṇiparayaḥ jñeyam* || Neither the *Bhojaprabandha*, nor the *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, nor the verses attributed to Sītā can be quoted as a proof that the poetess lived at Bhoja's court. The *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi* is also purely legendary in this part. On the other hand, it may certainly be expected, that there was a poetess Sītā as all the characters appearing in Merutuṅga are historical.

⁴⁴ Indra feared the king, because he offered so many sacrifices and on the 100th would have driven him from the throne.

⁴⁵ According to Indian custom (see, for example, *Gaṇavaraha*, 695-697) the wives of the conquered princes must render slave service to the conqueror and fan him with Yak's tails. While such prisoners stood behind Upendra they performed their task not with the Chauris, but with their deep sighs. Meanwhile they opened and shut their lips continually and thus caused waves in the beams, which emanated from their flashing teeth.

⁴⁶ *Kavalaya* is used twice, and is to be translated the first time by "waterlily," the second by "globe" (*ku-bhū*) (Zacharie). The star on the king's arm is on the bangle.

84. When the kingly swans saw the bow of this prince, who was like Paulomi's husband, they forsook the land, as the regal swans forsook the pond, when they saw Indra's rainbow!⁴⁷
85. From him sprang a king, **Sri-Siyaka** by name, a field of fame, a pearl from the mussel of earth, who was like Dilipa.
86. As Adhokshaya's Lakshmi, as the moon crowned god's Ambikā, so was the queen **Vadaja** — this ruler's wife — like the earth.⁴⁸
87. This strong man, a moon among the princes, who, on account of the piety of his subjects, attained to perfect happiness, banished the thick darkness of the Kali age.⁴⁹
88. This king set up a retreat, subdued his thoughts, practising great patience, was clothed in the grass robe of a royal sage.
89. With countenance like the moon, covered with tears, from which the sparkle of laughter is missing, the wives of the Lord of **Raḍūpāṭi** proclaimed his victory.
90. He made the harem of the Hūna princes, from whom the bracelet, the sprangle, the foot-ring, and the girdle were taken, into the dwelling-place for the consecration of widowhood.
91. As the moon from the eye of Atri, so sprang from him this delight of the eyes, a favourite of the gods and his parents, who banished darkness from the world.⁵⁰
92. His elder brother was the illustrious **Utpalarāja**, a leader of the band of nobles, the lord of the earth, who surrounded Sagara's sons with the ocean as with a grave.⁵¹
93. After **Vikramāditya** was departed, after **Sātavāhana** had gone home, the goddess Sarasvati reposed beside this poet-friend.⁵²
94. In the creation of this truly generous (prince) the creator actually used desire-granting jewels as particles.
95. The shell of the universe was filled with his fame, which, of splendour pure as the moon, sprang from his flashing sword (and therefore) resembled pearls, which, pure as the moon, spring from the clearest water.⁵³
96. With the glance (of his eye) which sparkled like the blue water-lily, he gave his friends happiness and suddenly he robbed his enemies with the flash of his sword, which glanced like the water-lily.⁵⁴
97. He fastened the knots of the grass robe upon the shoulder of his enemies' wives, wound ascetic plaits round the head, and wreathed the hand with roses.⁵⁵

⁴⁷ When the rainy season comes the Rājahansas go north.

⁴⁸ The first two comparisons are compliments to the king and his wife, who are compared with Vishnu and Siya, as also with Lakshmi and Pārvatī. When it is also said, that Vadaja "is like the earth," Siyaka's wife, it is to be remembered that, according to the Indian style of expression, the earth is invariably the first wife of each king.

⁴⁹ *Ārya* is divided into *ā* + *rya* ().

⁵⁰ This "delight of the eyes," is the ruling prince Sindharāja (Zachariae).

⁵¹ Or Utpalarāja. See below, p. 153.

⁵² By *Vikramāditya* is meant the author of the era of 57-56 B. C., who is also mentioned as ruler of Ujjain (Zachariae). The *Sātavāhana*, who is meant here, is Hāla, the compiler of the *Gāthākośa*.

⁵³ The compound, *achchhata-ara-vāri-jaiḥ*, is to be divided the first time into *achchhata-ara-vāri-jaiḥ*, i. e., *sphurata-khargura-jaiḥ*; the second time into *achchhata-ara-vāri-jaiḥ*, i. e., *atyantāśuddhajaleṇa jantūḥ*. According to the Indian legend, the pearl mussels come to the surface of the sea and open on the day of the Mānik-Thārī. If it is raining, then each raindrop becomes a pearl.

⁵⁴ *Nīlajakandī* belongs to *drish* as well as to *nīlīmālakhyā* and must therefore be twice translated.

⁵⁵ The meaning is that the king perjured his enemies into the wood and forced them to live as hermits. Pallava has here the meaning given in the *Kośas* (*viatara*).

98. Through him, who, in course of time, departed to the town of the husband of Ambikā, was the earth laid in the arm of this (our present lord) who is represented by the striped bow.⁵⁶
99. Residing in the town of Ujjayini, he rules all around, he who was descended from (the ancient rulers) Yayāti, Māndhātṛi, Duṣhyanta and Bharata.
100. Through this (hero) was the white colour laid with a strong arm upon the cheeks of the wives of his enemies after he robbed their husbands of their fame.⁵⁷
101. It is easy to be understood (that) the name of this (prince) who always possesses Makaras, and is the ancestral dwelling of Lakṣmī, is like that of the milk-ocean Sindhurāja—'sea king'.⁵⁸
102. Because here (on earth) he accomplished hundreds of brave deeds, he will therefore be sung at the festivals of heroes as the new Sāhasānka.

The preceding extract and the previous single notices quoted from other parts of the *Navasāhasānkacharita* result in the following genealogical tree of the Paramāra kings of Dhārā and Ujjain, who might at once, on account of the notices contained in the published inscriptions, be compared:—

I. Navasāhasānkacharita.	II. Nāgpur Prasasti. ⁶²	III. Vākpati's and Bhoja's Land-grants. ⁶³
Paramāra	Paramāra	Kṛishnarāja
Upendra	Vairisinha	Vairisinha
Vākpatirāja	Siyuka	Siyuka
Vairisinha	Muñjarāja Sindhurāja	Vākpatirāja or Anughavarsha or Prithivīvallabha or Srivallabha 974 and 979 A. D.
Siyuka or Sriharshadeva ⁶⁰	Bhojarāja	Sindhurāja
Utpalarāja or Vākpati rāja II. ⁶⁰ Sindhurāja or Navasāhasānka or Kumārānārāyaṇa ⁶¹		Bhoja, 1021 and 1042-43 A. D.

⁶⁰ I. e., after Utpalarāja died, the now ruling king Sindhurāja became his successor.

⁶¹ According to Indian expression fame is "white." The king takes his enemies' fame and so wins a white colour, which he puts on the cheeks of the wives of his enemies which become white with sorrow and anxiety.

⁶² The king possesses always Makaras, i. e., armies formed in the Makara Order (*Maṇu*, VII. 187; *Kāmarājakī Nītiśāra*) just as the ocean is full of sea-monsters called Makara, i. e., sharks. Fortune is always on his side as was the case with his fathers; he is thus the heir of Lakṣmī. As the goddess of fortune, Lakṣmī, rose out of the Milk-ocean at the stirring of the Nectar, this is therefore also his inheritance.

⁶³ See above, p. 159.

⁶⁴ See above, p. 134.

⁶⁵ See above, p. 154.

⁶⁶ The inscription was at first badly published, with a very imperfect facsimile by Bāl Gaṅgādhār Shāstrī in the *Jour. Bombay B. R. As. Soc.* I. p. 259. The second publication of it by Lassen in the *Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.* VII. p. 104 ff., is much better; it is made from a transcript of the copy found in Sātārā on a copperplate. This is now no longer sufficient for present requirements and a new copy is much to be desired. Lassen calls Siyuka's younger son Sindhadeva and he remarks (*loc. cit.* p. 311 [211], note 25) that this is distinctly the reading in his copy, while that of the facsimile in the *Bombay Journal* can no longer be read with any certainty. It is quite correct that the letters in the latter are defaced. The name looks like (p. 274, No. 15) *grītiānarāja*. Mr. J. F. Fleet, who possesses a paper impression of the inscription, kindly informs me that the original has *śri-Sindhurāja*. The form Sindhurāja is no doubt owing to the copyists of Lassen's transcription having made an unlucky conjecture as *pandits* often do.

⁶⁷ The oldest Śāsana of king Vākpatirāja is published by Dr. F. E. Hall, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, XXX. p. 195 ff., and with a facsimile by N. J. Kirtane in *Ind. Ant.* VI. p. 48 ff. The later of the same king by Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* XIX. p. 475 ff., and by Dr. Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* XIV. 159 ff. Bhoja's gift is published by Kirtane, *loc. cit.* p. 53, with a facsimile.

The origin of the **Paramāras**, placed by the tradition of the bards, which reflects the above-quoted verses xi. 64, 72, in the holy mountain **Ābū-Arbuda**, the most southern arm of the **Ārāvālī** chain, which rises on the boundary of **Rājputānā** and **Gujarāt** and in the grey far-off time when the great feud between the head **Brāhman** **Vasishṭha** and the **Kṣatriya** intruder **Viśvāmitra** was fought out. The bards also relate much of the early developed power of the **Paramāras**, of their manifold ramifications, and their great kingdom in Western and Southern India.⁶⁴ There is, however, no sure trace of them in Indian history,⁶⁵ before the appearance of the dynasty of **Mālvā**. The **Paramāras** first come into power in the town of **Dhārā**, which lies in the western part of the province, and from there they conquered the east of **Mālvā** with the capital **Ujjain**. This proves with more certainty than the tradition of the bards that **Padmagupta** repeatedly (p. 159, above) calls **Dhārā** the family residence of the **Paramāras**. The period of the first development of their power cannot be fixed with certainty. It must, however, have been about 800 A. D. as will be shown further on.

As the **Paramāras** of **Mālvā** believe in the legend of the birth of their eponymous hero on **Ābū**, this may lead to the supposition that they came from the north-west. The old **Fort of Achalgadh** on **Ābū**, and the town of **Chandrāvati** south of **Ābū**, have been for centuries in the possession of a **Paramāra** family, who rendered homage to the **Chaulukyas** of **Anhilvād** from the eleventh century. Somesvara's *Pragasti* of **Vikrama Samvat** 1287, recounts an older line, **Dhūmarāja**, **Dhandhuka**, **Druvabhata**, and others, also a later and entirely historical one which consists of **Rāmadeva**, **Yasodhavala**, **Dhāravarsha**, **Prahlādana**, **Somasimha** and **Kṛishnarāja**. The last six kings may be recognised from other works and ruled between 1150 and 1231 A. D. This connection between the **Paramāras** and Mount **Ābū** makes clear that it and nothing else had been the foundation of the legend of the rise of **Paramāra** from the **Agnikuṇḍa** there. Now, as the **Paramāras** of **Dhārā** possess the same legend, it is easy to suppose that they are a branch of the ruling race of **Achalgadh** and **Chandrāvati**.

Upendra.

The first king **Upendra** sung by **Padmagupta** was not the immediate predecessor of the next named **Vākpatirāja I**. Between them reigned other prince. The plural shows that there must have been three. On no consideration may the reign of **Upendra** be placed later than about the year 800 A. D. As the first king, for whose reign we possess several fixed dates, **Vākpatirāja II**, died as will be shown further on, between 994 and 997, the date of his first land-grant is the year 974. As his brother **Sindhuraja** reigned sometime after him, then the beginning of his own

⁶⁴ J. Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, pp. 81-84.

⁶⁵ Lassen, *Ind. Alterth. III*, p. 822, thinks that **Problemaus** mentions the **Paramāras** under the name **Porvaroi** and adds: "Their name in its true form is nearer to the oldest (**Prāmāra**) than to that of the present time **Paramāra** or **Porwar**, which we get the second in **Paramāra**, the **Porwar** of **Fort of Power**, the name of **Champanir**, the old capital of a district in north Gujarat." The identification of **Porvaroi** with **Paramāra** is, however, doubtful, as the first word means a people, the second a **Kṣatriya** family, which, as far as is known, has given its name to no district in India. Thus it is to be remarked that the present **Porwar** or **Paramāra** certainly give themselves out as **Paramāras**, since a member of this family rules **Dhārā**, the modern **Dhār**. They are, however, **Marāṭhas** and not **Rājputs**. Their genealogical claims are certainly officially recognised, but native scholars in **Mālvā** never speak of the story of the relation of His Highness the Maharaja **Ānandārao** with the **Mishra** **Raja Bhoja** without a meaning smile and do not believe in it. The grounds against the derivation are — 1st that **Porwar** or **Puar** do not agree well in sound with **Paramāra**, 2nd, that in **Rājputānā** and **Mālvā** the real successors of the **Paramāras** call themselves **Paramāra**, not **Porwar**. The **Porwar** settled in **Mālvā** and **Bundelkhand** might all be successors or relations of the **Marāṭha** **Jeswant Rāo**, who received the title of king of **Dhār** in 1749 (cont. *Malleson, Native States of India*, p. 267). Finally, as regards the name of **Porwar**, this is a result of the Gudehnst's method of transcription. The mountain fort which is called **Porwar** is identical with **Champanir**, and lies, not in northern, but in middle **Gujarāt**, is called in Gujarati **Porwar** and in Sanskrit, according to an inscription of **Samvat** 1525 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 111) **Porwar**, the Fort of the **Porwar**, perhaps "the fire." The name has nothing to do with the **Paramāras**, who have never before been known possessed **Porwar**.

⁶⁶ *Kirikaumud*, Vol. I, pp. 4-5, 111, and K. Forbes, *Raj. Mal.*, pp. 216-211.

reign must have fallen about the year 970. Between Vākpatirāja II. and Vākpatirāja I. are two generations, and between the latter and Upendra at least three reigns. If one reckons 25 years to a generation, then there are 150 years between the beginning of the reign of Vākpatirāja II. and the end of Upendra's. Of course it is not to be supposed that there is any degree of certainty in this statement, as the number of the kings omitted may be much greater. But it is the latest that is possible. Padmagupta's verses concerning Upendra assert merely that he diligently attended to the Śrauta sacrifices and was a great warrior. If the translation of verse 77 is correct, a poetess Sitā, who perhaps lived at his court, sang of him (see note 43, p. 163).

Dr. F. E. Hall⁶⁷ and Sir A. Cunningham⁶⁸ identify Upendra with Kṛishnarāja, the first king in the inscriptions of Vākpatirāja II. The supposition is natural, as Kṛishna and Upendra are synonymous. It may also be correct, though Kṛishnarāja stands immediately before Vairisimha, the third king in Padmagupta's list. The text of the inscription merely says that each of the kings mentioned "thought respectfully of the feet" (of the before-mentioned). Usually this phrase is used in connection with an immediate predecessor. There are, however, cases in which it is used in connection with a king further removed.⁶⁹ Those who reject Hall's identification must agree that the next king in Padmagupta's list likewise bore the name of Kṛishnarāja, which also is not impossible.

Vākpatirāja I.

Padmagupta's description of this king is purely conventional. According to what has been already said, the beginning of his reign falls about 895 A. D. His name seems also to appear in an Udayapur inscription. Dr. F. E. Hall does not recognise the existence of two Vākpatirājas. He says, however, *loc. cit.*: "Vākpati had issue in Vairisimha, and Vairisimha had a son Harsha." This only applies to Vākpatirāja I.

Vairisimha.

Of this king we only hear that he was his predecessor's son. His reign may have begun about 920.

Siyaka.

Matters improve somewhat with Vairisimha's son, who, according to *Navas*, XI. 85 and the inscriptions, also called Siyaka, according to *Nacas*, XVIII. 40 (p. 155) Śrī Harshadova. As regards the first name till now unmentioned, it may be remarked that Siyaka stands for Simhaka. In the tertiary Prākritis of Western India, in place of the Sanskrit *simha* in a proper name, either *singh* or *si* is used. Thus, for Amarasimha both Amarsingh and Amarsi are found; for Padmasimha, Padmasingh or more often Padamsi; for Narasimha, very often Narsi. In the present case, this explanation is proved by the fact that Merutunga in the *Muñjaprabandha* calls the father of Muñja and Sindhala, Simhabhata.⁷⁰ This was doubtless the original Sanskrit name of the king. Siyaka is a half Prākrit pet-name. The second name Harsha or Harshadova appears in the unedited Udayapur Inscription and also in other Sanskrit works.⁷¹

⁶⁷ *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 114, note. Dr. Hall seems to have found the names in the inscriptions from Udayapur mentioned there. He incorrectly calls him "the grandfather of Bhoja's grandfather."

⁶⁸ *Archaeol. Rep.* Vol. X. p. 84, note 1.

⁶⁹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 184 and 194, where it says, that Durlabha of Aphilyād thought of the feet of Chāmunḍa, while his immediate predecessor was his brother Vallabha.

⁷⁰ See also K. Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, 2nd ed. p. 64.

⁷¹ Conf. below, p. 168. What is said here about the identity of Siyaka and Harshadova, as also that of Utpalarāja and Vākpatirāja, rests chiefly on Zachariae's communications. He has made these discoveries and gathered the notices belonging to them.

Padmagupta describes **Siyaka-Harshadeva** first as a royal philosopher doing homage to quietism and asceticism and then as a warlike ruler. It will be necessary to reverse the order, and take for granted that Siyaka, like so many Indian kings, after an active life, turned his attention to the achievement of *Moksha*, without, at the same time, perhaps, retiring from his position as ruler. His warlike achievements were the conquering of the "Lord of **Baḍāpāṭi**,"⁷² and the killing of a **Hūna** prince. Who these kings or chiefs were, and where they ruled, has not as yet been ascertained. As to the Hūna, who is mentioned very often in the inscriptions, it may be remarked that the earlier favourite identification of them with the white Huns is not tenable. It is quite correct, as Dr. F. E. Hall remarks,⁷³ that the Hūnas, or more usually Hūnas, mentioned in the inscriptions of the middle period were an Indian Kshatriya family. In bardic lists they are counted among the Rājput races, and the accounts of their alliance with the Kulachuris show that they are counted as such. These facts naturally do not preclude the possibility that the Hūna Kshatriyas sprang originally from Huns. As the Kshatriyas have adopted foreign elements in a remarkable manner. **Siyaka's** wife was called **Vaḍajā**.

Vākpatirāja II.

Like many other Indian princes,⁷⁴ **Siyaka's** eldest son⁷⁵ bore many names and was called **Vākpatirāja**, **Utpalarāja**, **Muñja**, **Amoghavarsha**, **Prithvivallabha** and **Srivallabha**. The first two names are found in Padmagupta (p. 150. above), and, according to the suggested alteration in XI. 92, they are also to be found in Kshemendra and Vallabha. The former quotes the well-known verse, *ahau vā hūve*, in his *Achūtyarīchāracharchā*, and ascribes it to the esteemed **Utpalarāja** (*śrīmatuṭpalarājasya*), while the *Subhāshitāvalī* of the latter names **Vākpatirāja**, son of the esteemed Harshadeva, as author.⁷⁶ Padmagupta's account leaves no doubt that **Vākpatirāja** is the son of the esteemed Harshadeva, **Vākpatirāja II.** of Mālva, nor that Kshemendra means the same prince. Because the person mentioned by Kshemendra bears the title *kīmat* and *deva*, only a king can be meant, and, as according to the *Narasāhasākhavaritā*, XI. 92, **Vākpatirāja**, the son of Harshadeva-Siyaka, had another beginning with Utpala, thus, in view of Vallabha's remark, the above conclusion is unavoidable. Another case in which **Vākpatirāja II.** is called **Utpalarāja** is mentioned further on. That **Vākpatirāja II.** is identical with **Muñja**, Dr. F. E. Hall recognised and repeatedly expressed⁷⁷ in the *Bengal Journal A. Soc.*, XXX. p. 114, note, and *Daśarūpa*, p. 2, note. The proofs for it are: (1) the genealogical tree given above, where **Muñja** appears in the place of **Vākpatirāja**; (2) the fact that Dhanika, in the commentary to the *Daśarūpa*, p. 184 and 186 (ed. Hall), ascribes one and the same verse "to the esteemed King **Vākpatirāja**" and "to the esteemed **Muñja**." However strange such a method of quotation may seem to us, it is quite usual among the Indians, who thought nothing of mentioning a many-titled man under two or more of his names. Finally, the identity of **Vākpatirāja-Amoghavarsha** of the land-grants with Padmagupta's **Vākpatirāja II.** is made quite clear by the list of reigns.

All that Padmagupta says of **Vākpatirāja II.**, apart from conventional phrases, is, that he had a liking for poetry and poets, was extraordinarily generous and warlike. Twice, I. 7 (p. 150, above) and XI. 93-94, he calls him emphatically a friend of poets, and says, I. 6, that he was led by him to

⁷² This may be a town or a country (conf. Anābīlapātaka and Madapāṭa or Mervāḍ).

⁷³ *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* XXX. p. 117, note 11, and *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.* V4. p. 52.

⁷⁴ See, for example, the genealogical tree of the Rishtrakūtas of Manyakheta, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 72, and the table in First *Legend of the Kanarese District*, pp. 92-93.

⁷⁵ The statement of the legends in Morutūnga and others that he was a founding seems to me untenable.

⁷⁶ Peterson, *Jour. Bengal. R. As. Soc.* XVI. p. 139. Peterson's views there expressed are probably more correct than those in the *Subhāshitāvalī*, p. 115, according to which only the one verse, No. 3414, should belong to **Vākpatirāja**.

⁷⁷ This view was accepted without hesitation by A. Cunningham, *Archaeol. Rep.* Vol. X. p. 84, note 1.

tread the poets' path. From accounts gathered from other sources we may complete his statements. Vākpatirāja II helped other writers besides Padmagupta. Among these are the two sons of Vishnu, **Dhananjaya** and **Dhanika**, the first of whom composed the *Daśarūpa*, while the latter commented upon it. Dr. F. E. Hall does well to express himself carefully and say : "it may be suggested, that **Dhanika** — one of his (Dhananjaya's) commentators and possibly his own brother — was living about the middle of the tenth century."⁷⁸ Now, however, since it is clear that **Vākpatirāja**, **Muñja**, and **Utapalarāja** are names for one and the same person, all doubt as to the age of the two authors disappears, the one of whom, according to his own words, was famous for his wit at the court of king **Muñja**, and the other describes himself as *mahāsādhyapāla* of the great and esteemed king **Utpalarāja**.⁷⁹ In the time of Vākpatirāja II, also falls the activity of the lexicographer and poet **Dhanapāla**, whom the *Prabandhas* erroneously make a contemporary and favourite of **Bhoja**.⁸⁰ The date of his Prākṛit *Kosha*, Vikrama Samvat 1029, i. e., 972-3 A. D., makes this very apparent. Likewise **Halayudha**, the commentator of Piṅgala, according to his own statement (*Subhāshitāvalī*, p. 115), lived under the rule of this prince. Vākpatirāja's own activity in poetry is shown, not only by the numerous verses ascribed to him in the *Prabandhas* but more certainly by the quotations in the anthologies, among which the one mentioned above in *Kshemendra* deserves special consideration, as *Kshemendra* writes about 50 years after his time.

If Padmagupta speaks merely in ordinary terms of the warlike undertakings of his first patron, doubtless the reason is that the sad death of Vākpatirāja made it seem unfitting to describe the latter in detail. His words,⁸¹ "The seal which Vākpatirāja put upon my song as he mounted to heaven, is now broken by **Sindhurāja**, the younger brother of that friend of poets," shewed distinctly that the fate of his first master had affected him deeply. It is therefore not to be wondered at that he does not allow himself to go into details. From the inscriptions and the *Prabandhas* one gathers that Vākpatirāja was at war with his eastern and southern neighbours. The unedited inscription mentioned by Dr. F. E. Hall tells of a successful war against one **Yuvarāja** of **Chodi**, the father of **Kokalla II**, during which he is supposed to have taken the capital of the **Haihayas**, **Tripura**.⁸² **Dhanapāla**'s account probably refers to him, that he wrote his work when the king of **Dhārā** had plundered **Mānyakheta**. As in the introduction to the edition of the *Pāyalaśchhī* is shewn the capital of the **Rāthors** of **Mānekir** or **Mālkhed** must be **Mānyakheta**, and the conquered enemy was the last prince of that race, **Karka III**, called **Kakkala** or **Amoghavarsha**. Vākpatirāja II doubtless helped to accomplish the fall of the Southern **Rāthor** kingdom. He remained also the enemy of the real destroyer of it, **Chālukya Tailapa II** of **Kalyāna**, who entered upon the possession of the inheritance of the **Rāthors**. Sixteen times, says **Merutunga**,⁸³ did **Muñja** conquer **Tailapa** before he undertook his final march against him, and therefore scorned him. Although the number may be an exaggeration, and the *Paramāra*'s fortune in war not always favourable, still so much is certain that Vākpatirāja **Muñja** waged war with **Tailapa II** for a considerable time. At last he was unsuccessful, suffered a decided defeat, and lost his life in the south. The *Prabandhas* give **Muñja** Vākpatirāja's last march in detail. They assert that he undertook it against the advice of his minister **Budrāditya**, was taken prisoner by

⁷⁸ *Daśarūpa*, p. 2.

⁷⁹ *Daśarūpa*, End. and H. H. Wilson, *Hindu Theatre*, p. xx. (ed. Rost). That given by H. H. Wilson, and in a notice appearing in one of Dr. Hall's MSS. is wanting in the publication; notwithstanding its at first apparently inexplicable character, it is, however, entirely credible. Such historical notices are often left out in the MSS. The extract from the *Bṛhatkathāmukhārī* of *Kshemendra*, inserted at the end of the first *Prakāśa*, is, of course, an interpolation. It does not appear in all manuscripts.

⁸⁰ See above, p. 150, note 6.

⁸¹ See above, p. 150.

⁸² *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 114, note, and Cunningham, *Archæol. Rep.* Vol. X. p. 85.

⁸³ *Sapāṭhaśāstrakāśa nishidhya tam purā shoṭhā nṛjītamityarajñatayā paśyannatirekavāśāntām saritam uttīrya śāndhāvārāṇa nivesayamāsa* II (from the *Muñjaprabandha*).

Tailapa, and sometime afterwards, when he made an attempt to escape, was first treated shamefully, and at length hanged on a tree.⁸⁴ The narrative is adorned with so many touching scenes, and so many verses, which the imprisoned king is said to have composed, under different circumstances, that its legendary character is unmistakable. The details are therefore not to be depended on. But that Tailapa II killed Vākpatirāja-Muñja is correct, as two Chālukya inscriptions mention this famous deed.⁸⁵ Also Rudrāditya was, as Lassen has remarked, really Vākpatirāja's minister, as he is mentioned in his Śāsana of 979 A. D. The fact that Vākpatirāja was killed by Tailapa II makes it possible, with the assistance of a note in a Jaina work, to fix the time at which his march took place and his reign concluded, within a limited period. Amitagati completed his *Subhāshitaratnasamudra*, Vikrama Samvat 1050 or 993-94 A. D., during the reign of king Muñja, and Tailapa II died shortly before or in the Saka year 919, i. e., 997-98 A. D., which is the first year of his successor. Muñja's death, therefore, occurred in one of the three years 994 to 996.⁸⁶ The beginning of his reign lies before Vikrama Samvat 1031 or 974 A. D.: the date of his oldest land-grant must not, as has been remarked, be far removed from the same.

Sindhurāja.

According to the accounts of the *Prabandhas*, bitter enmity existed between Vākpatirāja-Muñja and his brother Sindhurāja, to whom they apply the pet-name *Sindhula* or *Sindhala*. Sindhurāja had to flee from Mālvā, and lived long as a fugitive "in the town of Kāsahrada" in Gujarāt. Later he returned to his home, and was at first received kindly by his brother, but was afterwards blinded by him and confined in a wooden cage. During his imprisonment his son Bhoja was born to him, whom Muñja, alarmed by the prophecy that he would be his successor, endeavoured to kill. Bhoja, however, was enabled to obtain a reprieve from his executioner and, by a letter, so to change the king's opinion that he chose him as his successor to the throne. After Muñja's decease, Bhoja was anointed as king.⁸⁷ Padmagupta's poem completely discredits this narrative, which excludes Sindhurāja from the throne and proves what must also be concluded from Bhoja's land-grant of 1021-22 A. D. that he ruled over Mālvā for sometime. The only grain of truth which the *Prabandhas* may contain is perhaps that for a time the brothers quarrelled. The condition of things cannot have been serious. As otherwise, Padmagupta, who had served under Vākpatirāja, would not have been a favourite of Sindhurāja's. In support of this there is the poet's utterance in verse 98, that Vākpatirāja "when he departed to the town of the Lord of the Ambikā, laid the earth on Sindhurāja's arm." Taken literally this means, that Vākpatirāja on his death-bed appointed his brother as his successor. It may perhaps be accepted, therefore, that Sindhurāja, whether immediately before Vākpatirāja's fateful expedition or still earlier, had attained to the dignity of *yovarāja*.

⁸⁴ See K. Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, pp. 65-69, and Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.* III. p. 840. The above accounts are found in Meruturiga. Respecting his death it says:—

*Tadāca Muñjasa paribhramajā mārānaridambanayā māni mārāyishyatha | vrikshasākhāvalambanāt . . .
tadāni tāi Muñjam nibhāta tucchakīra rūpāṅgane śūlikāpṛotaḥ kritvā dadhīriliptam kūrayan-nijam-amar śaśi
pupusha ||*

⁸⁵ J. Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 49.

⁸⁶ Dr. R. G. Bhāṣṇārkar, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.*, 1882-3, p. 45, has accepted this chronology. He places the beginning of the Vikrama era, however, in the year 56 B. C., which does not suit for Mālvā, as is clearly shown from the dates in Vākpatirāja's second land-grant. There, it is said, the gift was made V. S. 1036. Kārttika-pūrṇimā, at the time of an eclipse of the moon, which took place on Nov. 6, 979 A.D., while the Śāsana was composed, V. S. 1033, Chaitra badi 9. The Vikrama year in Mālvā began, according to this, not in Kārttika sudi I, but in Chaitra sudi I, and the calculation went by the northern *Purnimānta* system; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 159, and especially note 2.

⁸⁷ See also K. Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, p. 64. Forbes identifies Kāsahrada with Kāsindra-Pālaḍī at Ahmedābād.

According to the poem, **Sindhurāja** bore the surnames of **Kumārānārāyaṇa**⁸⁸ and **Navasahasāṅka**, "because he undertook hundreds of hazardous enterprises (*sāhasa*)."⁸⁹ Several of these bold deeds are enumerated. A number of princes and peoples, whom Sindhurāja is said to have conquered, are presented in X. 14—20.⁹⁰ Among the names mentioned are found a prince of the **Hūnas** of the same race as he, with whom Siyaka waged war, and a prince of the **Kosalas**. Further is mentioned the subjection of the inhabitants of **Vāgada**, of the eastern part of the province of **Kachchh**,⁹⁰ of **Lāṭa**, middle and southern **Gujarāt**, and the **Muralas**, of a people in Southern India, that is perhaps identical with the **Keralas**, the inhabitants of **Malabār**. The word of an Indian court-poet, when he speaks of his lord's victories, must not be put in gold scales. Every Indian hero must have made his *digvijayadrā*, "his march to the conquest of the world," and must have been successful. When the actual facts did not give material enough, poetic fancy was ready to fill up the gaps: though expeditions against the **Hūna**, against **Vāgaḍ**, which belonged to the kingdom of the **Chaulukya** of **Aṇhilvāḍ**, and against **Lāṭa** where ruled the dynasty of **Bārāpa**, also conquered by the **Chaulukyas**, were not at all unlikely. So far as the relation between the **Chaulukyas** and the **Paramāras** is concerned, it was always bad. The **Jaina Prabandhas** relate that the cause of the strife was an insult offered to the second **Chaulukya** King **Chāmūṇḍa**. When the latter had retired from the throne in favour of his son, 1010-11 A. D., he made a pilgrimage to **Benares**. On his entrance into the country of **Mālvā**, the king caused his parasol and the other signs of his rank to be taken away. He was forced to let the insult pass: on his return, however, he commanded his son to take revenge. Thus began the enmity between **Mālvā** and **Gujarāt**, which lasted till the destruction of both kingdoms by the **Muhammadans**.⁹¹ This narrative sounds rather incredible. Still the long feud between the two states, which brought first one and then the other to the brink of destruction, is an indisputable fact. Its ground probably lay not in a chance occurrence, but in the old race-hatred between the **Paramāras** and the **Chaulukyas** or **Chālukyas** and the necessity of expansion of both neighbouring kingdoms. Thus **Padmagupta's** report of a certain temporary conquest of **Vāgaḍ** is quite credible. Also it is quite possible that **Sindhurāja** waged a successful war against his neighbour in the south-west, the king of **Lāṭa**. **Bārāpa** and his family also belonged to the **Chaulukyas** and in nearer relationship to **Tailapa II**. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand how **Sindhurāja** could overcome the **Muralas**, if by these the **Keralas** are to be understood. If it may be understood, however, that **Padmagupta** — as often occurs with **Sanskrit** poets — uses the expression inexactly and means some inhabitants of **Dravidian India**, nothing can be said against his statement. For, from the *Vikramādikadevacharita* it is certain that the struggle of the **Paramāras** of **Mālvā** with the **Chālukyas** of **Kalyāṇa** continued after **Muñja's** death.⁹² It is therefore not at all improbable that **Sindhurāja** undertook an expedition to the south. Of the war with **Kosala** nothing trustworthy can be said. It may only be remarked that the kingdom of **Kosala** spoken of embraced parts of the **Central Provinces** of to-day and **Benar**.⁹³

The story from the personal history of **Sindhurāja**, which represents the true object of **Padmagupta's** work, is unfortunately surrounded with so thick a mythological covering that it is impossible, without the help of accounts containing only sober facts, to give particular details with certainty. Those who are familiar with the court poet's method of description and the Indian inclination to change historical events of the most recent past, for purely poetical reasons, into myths will not doubt for a moment that **Padmagupta's** seemingly fanciful legend rests throughout upon a historical basis. Analogies in other poems are not rare. Take, for example, **Bilhana's**

⁸⁸ See above, p. 155.

⁸⁹ See above, p. 157, note 25.

⁹⁰ Conf. Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. 9, 184.

⁹¹ K. Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, p. 52. Merutuṅga asserts that the king of **Mālvā** referred to was **Muñja**. Hemachandra is not guilty of this anachronism in the *Dryāśrayakosha*: he gives, however, no names.

⁹² *Vikramādikadevacharita*, p. 27.

⁹³ See Sir A. Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.* p. 519 ff.

Vikramāṅkadevacharita, the god Siva appears regularly when the poet's hero and patron **Vikramāditya-Tribhuvanamalla** comes into combat with the moral law. The latter's birth also is a gift promised by Siva personally and it is celebrated by showers of blossoms and sound of trumpets. Finally, in the description of **Vikramāditya's** courtship, his chosen **Chandaladevi** is never mentioned by her true family name as a **Silahāra** princess, but always called **Vidyādhari**⁹⁴ in conformity with the mythological tradition. Very similar mythological representations are to be found in the parts of the **Dvyāśrayakośa**, which **Hemachandra** dedicates to his lord and patron **Jayasimha Siddharāja**,⁹⁵ as also in **Somesvara's** report of the events which caused his *yajamana*, **Viradhavala** of **Dholka**, to found an independent kingdom.⁹⁶ To these examples from works of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries, we may add one from an inscription which belongs at latest to the second century of our era. The **Andhra king, Pulumāyi**, asserts in perfect earnest in his great deed of gift, in Nasik cave-inscription No. 15, that his father, **Gotamiputa Sātakaṁni I.**, won a battle in which "the wind-god, the bird-man **Garuḍa**, the **Siddhas**, **Yakshas**, **Rākshasas**, **Vidyādharas**, **Bhūtas** and **Gandharvas**, as also sun, moon, and stars, took part."⁹⁷ Besides these analogies, we may add to the above-expressed opinion that here and there perfectly prosaic details appear in **Padmagupta's** poems. For example, when one hears that the town of the demon-prince **Vajrāṅkuśa** lay 50 *gavyūtis*, i. e., about 100 *kos* or 150—200 English miles distant from the **Narmadā**, one gets the impression that the poet speaks of an actually known town, not of an imaginary picture of one. As regards the explanation of the story, only one point can be held as certain, namely, that the **Naga-princess Śaṣiprabha** was not a snake-goddess but the daughter of a king or chief from the far-spread race of the **Nāga-Kshatriyas**. The existence of **Nāga-kings** in **Rājputānā** and Central India is accredited by inscriptions,⁹⁸ and their successors must certainly have remained long in these regions. To venture further on this point is not advisable, while we have no assistance from inscriptions. It may, however, still be mentioned that the **Maharshi Vaṅku** appearing in the narrative corresponds with the geographical name **Vaṅku** in the **Nāgpur-Prasasti**, verse 54. Lassen erroneously reads **Vaṅkshu**, and believes that the river **Oxus** is meant. The minister **Yasobhata-Ramāṅgada** is also of course a historical personality.

Although so much in **Padmagupta's** accounts of the history of **Sindhurāja** is dark and indistinct, still it gives us the fact that the latter reigned for some time. Years must have passed after he mounted the throne, before the **Navasāhasāṅkacharita** was written, and the composition of it cannot be placed earlier than the first decade of the 11th century. Hence it is necessary to place the beginning of **Bhoja's** reign further down than is usually done. Various synchronisms demand this, and lead to the supposition that **Bhoja** was not a grown man in the lifetime of **Muṇja**,⁹⁹ as he only mounted the throne towards the end of the second decade of the eleventh century. Unfortunately we have only two dates of the time of his reign, that of his land-grant, **Vikrama Samvat 1078, Chaitra sudi 14**, which probably corresponds to 30th March 1021, and that of his *Kurāṇa* of the **Rājajyotiṅka**, **Saka Samvat 964 or 1042-43**.¹⁰⁰ At any rate, the legends of the wicked uncle **Muṇja**, which disfigure **Forbes'** and **Lassen's** work, and which, until quite recently, always reappeared, may now be considered as abolished.

Of the earlier history of **Mālva**, **Padmagupta** merely mentions that the friend of poets, **Vikramāditya** of **Ujjayini**, formerly ruled there. This notice shows at least that the **Vikrama** legend was developed in **Mālva** in the same way as it was narrated in the **Jaina Prabandhas** of the 13th and 14th centuries.

⁹⁴ See *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, pp. 28-29, 37-39, note 1.

⁹⁵ *Kirtikananda* I, II, 76-107, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 119.

⁹⁶ *Burgess, Aeschyl. Rep. West. India*, Vol. IV, pp. 100-110. **Siri Pulumāyi** is mentioned by **Ptolemaeus** under the name of **Siri-Puta**.

⁹⁸ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV, p. 75, and **Sir A. Cunningham**, *Arch. Rep.* II, 310.

⁹⁹ It is indeed improbable that **Bhoja**, at the time when **Padmagupta** wrote, had reached manhood. Had he been a **Yuvārāja** there would not have been wanting a compliment for him.

¹⁰⁰ The date in a copy of the **Jesalmir MS.** is: *Saka vedarāmananda*

⁹⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV, 235, 265.

THE TRAVELS OF RICHARD BELL (AND JOHN CAMPBELL)
IN THE EAST INDIES, PERSIA, AND PALESTINE.

1654—1670.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 134.)

Appendix to John Campbell's Narrative.

*Additional Note on Thomas Pratt.*⁶⁵

THOMAS PRATT was not actually in the Company's service, but was employed by the Agent at Hugli as a representative of the English at Dacca. In the Hugli Consultation Book,⁶⁶ under date 9th November, 1663, there is the following entry with regard to Pratt and the expenses he incurred at Dacca :—

A Noote of w^t demanded by Thomas Pratt Pr. Month for his expences in servants wages diett & his owne sallary.

For 10 peones P ^r M ^o	...	...	...	...	21
For 20 pikes [<i>palk</i>] & a mangle [<i>mānjī</i>]	...	...	...	...	34. 15.
For 4 pikes more	...	...	...	...	6
A Cooke Battler flagman	...	...	...	...	10. 20. 1.
To my diett	...	...	...	...	30
To a writer	...	...	...	...	5
To 6 Caharrs [<i>kahār</i>]	...	...	...	...	12. 15.
a washerman mussallye (<i>masālchī</i>)	...	...	...	...	4
Hollencore [<i>hālākhōr</i>]	...	...	...	...	2
To my owne M ^o sallary	...	...	...	...	40
For extraordinary expences at y ^e Durbar...	...	...	...	...	10

This is y^e Calculation w^{ch} I present to y^r vewe, how you will accept of it knowe not, but this much I desire you would take notice of, y^t I will freely give any man 50 Rup^s p^r m^o more to beare my monthly expences. In w^t nature y^e Dutch live here is not unknown to some Englishmen theare, yet theire businesse hath not gone better forward in y^e Durbarr nor they betur respected hitherto, although theire expences hath bene 4 times as much; and likewise pray Consider when any great more [Moor], y^e Dutch, or any P^{son} of quallity come, whether it is a small expence to give them entertaynement, for I have here no investments y^t I can ease an Acco: by Charging it upon another but every expence must appeare in its owne shape, Y^r servant, Thomas Pratt.

Early in 1664, Pratt became embroiled in a quarrel at Dacca. The account of the occurrence was evidently written to Surat, but the reply only is extant, dated 19 May 1664⁶⁷:—"Wee are Sorry to read y^e Vnhappy accident y^t befell Thomas Prat, hee did very rashly to give the occasion, but when hee was besett round wee know not w^t a man may bee provokt to doe, especially w^a his life is engag^d, wee are pswad^d to thinke y^e Nabob may bee reconciled when hee shall take into Consideration the Cruell attempt made upon him by fyreing the house about his Eares." In July of the same year Pratt was still in disgrace, for, in a Consultation at Hugli on the 11th of the Month, we read⁶⁸ that the determination of the 9th. June to stop Thomas Pratt's wages of 180 rs. a month was confirmed "until he shall give satisfaction for w^t laid to his charge or that we find thereby that we may lose the Nabobs favour by w^{ch} our Masters business may receive a greater prejudice."

⁶⁵ See page 135.

⁶⁷ *Factory Records, Surat, No. 104.*

⁶⁶ *Factory Records, Hugli, No. 1.*

⁶⁸ *Factory Records, Hugli, No. 1.*

A year later, Pratt was still at Dacca. In July, he wrote to the Agent, Mr Blake, at Hughli,⁶⁸ with regard to the mental state of Mr Marsh, the Company's servant at Dacca. Pratt declared himself unable to restrain Marsh and desired that someone might be sent to look after him. In September of the same year, the Council at Hughli wrote to the Directors in England,⁷⁰ "Thomas Pratt remains at Dacca to prefer our complaints and to endeavour redresses."

The later career and end of Thomas Pratt is given by Manucci and the details have been supplied me by Mr. Irvine. Pratt had been employed by Mir Jumla to build and equip boats for him, but he was suspected by Dāūd Khān Qureshi, the Governor of Dacca, who sent to seize him. Pratt fired on his would-be captors, and then escaped by his back door to his ship in the river and embarked for Arakan.

Here he intrigued with the King of Arakan and planned an attack on Bengal. Dāūd Khān sent a letter to Pratt, couched in friendly terms, and arranged that it should fall into the hands of the Arakan King. Suspecting treachery, the King removed Pratt's goods from his ship, bound his crew and then sent him and his ship to the bottom.

[II. — Narrative of Richard Bell.]

An account of y^e Voyage & Travells of Rich^d Bell from Lisbon to Jerusalem & other places in año 1669.

May 23rd 1669. I took boats from Lixa [Lisbon] to goe aboard y^e Ship *Mary* and *Martha*, Capt^r Dyer Bates⁷¹ Comm^r under, his strength 30 Guns, 50 Sayers, then Riding in the bay Wagers [Ouris?] as⁷² Pass^r Durkas Paço d'Arco]⁷²

We Weighed anchor at Tewesday at 4 Clock a^rter none, y^e winde faire & a fresh galle, soe as we arrived at Tangier⁷³ y^e 31 day, & came to anchor before y^e towne at 4 Clock in the morninge.

In Tangier⁷⁴ little remarkable saue y^e Mould [Mole], wh^{ch} is not in little tyme like to be finished for what with some years labor & great Cost was built, is a gr^{at} part washt downe, & more like [to be] every day, without better artists b^e employed. Many good howses are within y^e walls. It lies on y^e side of a hill, without y^e walls ther^e a howse and garden built and planted by Coll^l Alsop,⁷⁵ who then had a teim [t^enant] in it, wh^o sold beere, wyne & Sallets. It [is] Cald White Hall in Affra. We drank y^e King of Englands helth in it, & at 4 Clock in y^e afternoone went aboard, & y^e winde faire, we weighed, Capt^r, Cod of Yarmoth and a ship of Bristoll in y^e Company both bound for Genoa.

In our way to Messina, y^e being y^e first port we were to touch at, we past y^e Islelands of Maj & Minork [Majorca and Minorca] & by y^e Island Sardinia [Sardinia], of wh^{ch} lay becalmd 47 sail fr^{om} such Men war^r & vittellers bound for the reide of Candia. In Sardenia is

⁶⁸ O. C. 3000

⁷⁰ O. C. 3000

⁷¹ Capt Dyer Bates is mentioned in the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series*, 1 Sept 1670, as commander of the *Mary and Martha*. Capt^r Farjall, in the *Letter* p. 101, calls him Capt^r Dyer Roles.

⁷² Paço d'Arco a town on the north bank of the Tagus, near the mouth, 94 miles from Lisbon. Mr. Ferguson suggests that Sir Womersley may present the Bay of Ouris — this town being 14 miles beyond Paço d'Arco.

⁷³ There is a fort here.

⁷⁴ In 1662 Tangier was made part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, wife of Charles II. A fine mole was constructed, at a vast expense to improve the harbour. The works were destroyed in 1684 and the place was left to the Moors.

⁷⁵ Coll^l Alsop's *Diary*, Wheatleys ed. Vol VIII p. 235, "Sir H. Cholmley talking . . . of Tangier matters. . . . told of some decay to the Mole, and a breach made therein by the sea at a certain time."

⁷⁶ A Mr. Alsop, the King's brewer and contractor for victualling of Tangier died 27 July 1664. See *Pelja's Diary*, Wheatleys ed. Vol IV pt. 174, 176, 178, 188, 195, 198. Perhaps the "Coll Alsop" mentioned by Bell was a son of the King's brewer.

y^e herbe w^{ch} if a man eate he dies laffinge.⁷⁷ On y^e day June, we weere becalind amonge y^e burninge [Lipari] Islelands for 2 dayes. They are called, 1 Strumbelo [Stromboli] 2 Vulcan [Vulcano], 3rd Vulcanello. We, y^e 8th day, had a fresh gale, w^{ch} past vs betwixt y^e poynts of Silla and Charib[is], the one On y^e Isleland of Scicillia, thother On y^e Callabria, y^e Popes Contrey. And, in two howers after, Moored o^r ships before Messina, & had prattick⁷⁸ in 2 howers after.

This Messina is y^e 2^d Citty in y^e greate Isleland of Scicillia. At y^e tyme of o^r being there, came 16 Gallies of y^e popes & Mutezes, & 8 days after came 14 Gallys of y^e french; all weighed, & weere for the reliefe of Candia.⁷⁹

Messena hath y^e farest mould [Mole] of anie place in Xpiandome, and its most of it naturall. The Key, cald y^e Marreene [Marini], is a very laue one, & On it, for neare a mile, stately howses, all vniforme, facing y^e Sea, w^{ch} it bounds, soe as y^u may step of y^e Key into a ship of 300 Tuns, there being water to make hir swim wth hir full Ladeng. Seuerall faire Castles, Convents, Monasteries & Churches are in it, As also faire Conduits & beautifull streets.

The Mannfacter is silke, y^e greatest quantity made w^{thin} 4 or 5 Miles about y^e Towne w^{ch} I se drawne from y^e Cod [Cocoon] into skeynes, w^{ch} is an art very Curious to vnderstand y^e well doeing of it.

From Messina wth Mr John Morgan, Mr James Staunier & Capt. Bates, we embarked in a fluke⁸⁰ w^{ch} we hyred to Carrie vs to y^e Citty of Cattana [Catania], 25 Leagues by Sea from Messina.

In o^r way we see Regium [Reggio, in Italy] y^e plat St Pauli preached at, on y^e Callabi[ia] side, & S' Pauls pillar erected in memory of him. We past 3 leagu s further on y^e Callabra coast, w^{ch} is y^e popes Contrey, well peopled, & good buildings & fruitfull, the verry Mountanous. We after boarded to y^e Scicillian coast, on w^{ch} are seuerall small Castles fronting y^e Sea, & soe are there on y^e Callabria, all to pvent y^e landing of y^e Turke, w^{ch} vex often those p^{ts} & steale away y^e xpians. The Hilly, yet verry fruitfull for Olives & corne.

In y^e mornings & Evenings we see troop s of Weomen, Gals & boyes decend the hills, w^{ch} are verry steepe, to fetch water, w^{ch} they beare on there heads in earthen pitchers from y^e springs at y^e foots of y^e steepe hills, there habbit verry mean.

Arriveinge at Cattana, y^e 3^d Chief Citty of Scicillia, we vewed the towne, left almost empty of inhabitants by reason of y^e Eru^on of Mount Etna a^{lls} Mongebell [dus Mont Bella],⁸¹ w^{ch} Shavie or Mettall [Scoria or Lava] w^{ch} it vomits as a streame from a river in many Channells, hath run downe y^e wall of y^e Citty in seuerall pces, & run downe about 30 dwelling howses in y^e Citty, 4 or 5 churches, 2 or 3 Monasteries and Nunnes, & surrounded the Citty on 3 parts & a large Castle wth out y^e walls, raiseinge it selfe in some places aboue y^e Surface of y^e earth 10, 20 and 30 yls high, y^e breadth in some places 7 Eng^l miles at Cattania (w^{ch} lies on y^e Sea 2 Miles), & its Channells when I [was] there led into y^e sea 2 Miles

⁷⁷ The author is apparently referring to the *Cannabis sativa*, hemp plant, which Campbell would know in India as Bhang.

⁷⁸ Pratique — Permission granted to a ship to enter a port.

⁷⁹ Candia was besieged by the Turks in 1671, and, after a most heroic defence by the Venetians, who lost 30,000 killed and wounded, was forced to surrender in 1679.

⁸⁰ Felucca, a small vessel, used chiefly in the Mediterranean for coasting voyages.

⁸¹ Compare Lithgow, *Painfull Perijurations*, p. 390, "Etna called now Monte Bello or Gibello, signifying a faire, Mountayne." The eruption of Etna in 1639 is the most violent on record. Twenty-thousand persons are said to have perished.

breadth & then had fild vp y^e chā [channel] in 6 & 7 fathom water, & raised it selfe in some places 5 & 6 fathom above y^e surface y^e water; Makinge y^e Sea soe hott in y^e depth as I could not suffer my hand in it.

We hyred horsse & 6 soldiers to gard vs, for its a dangerous Contrey for anie to travell in, to Conduct vs to y^e foote of Mongebell, where this eruption was, it being 14 Miles from Cattania, and we went all the way alonge the Mettle [lava] it had throwne out. Att y^e foote of this Hill, a litle above y^e vent, is 2 hills a quarter of a Mile in hight, all Ashes throwne vp by Mongebell since y^e Eruption. It was soe terrable to looke in at y^e vent or hole w^{ch} first this metle past out at, as I trembled to see it & durst not stay. Its 20 yds longe and 10 yds brod, all of such a flaine as cannot be greater Imagined. Its 10 or 15 yds lower then y^e surface of y^e earth formerly it had run over.

In or way to it we rid over topps howses & trees & townes & ways not formerly passable, but now levelled wth y^e abundance of Ashes w^{ch} Mongebell vommitts Out; for 15 & 20 Miles it hath don this.

The people, in senerall townes w^{ch} weere Coverd, weere getinge out theire howshold stuff, & in seūail vineyds baring theire vines, w^{ch} they told vs woud y^e next yeare beare y^e better for it, for it inriches theire land much & makes y^e barren ground fruitfull.

In Cattania & senerall other towas weere written Over theire Doores Santa Agothia [Agatha] et Santa Marea [Maria] flego [fuego] noli me tangere;⁸² y^e people had left theire howses. The Metle it runs is of 2 sorts, both w^{ch} I haue, & alsoe a paper full of the Ashes.

After 3 days we imbarqued for Messina, in w^{ch} Citty I lodged at the howse of Mr. Parker Marchant & by him Mr. Wilkinson, Mr. Morgan & Mr. Hill, Mr Stannier & Mr. Meade (all Engl^l), was kindly treated.

The Day of June we weighed Anchor for Seanderroone⁸³ in Turkey, y^e winde faire, and sailed by y^e west end of Candia, vnder w^{ch} land lay 10 saile of Turks men warr belonging to Argier [Algiers], w^{ch} had beene in y^e Service of y^e grand Senior ag Candia, And gaue vs chace from 10 in y^e Morninge till 7 at night, at w^{ch} hower we could not avoid speakeing wth them. They Commanded vs hoyce out or boate. Or Capt possatively told them he woud not. We weere all in redinesse, or yards slunge, and everyman to his quarters, resolved to die or sinke by them. They Chased vs wth french Cullers [colours], but when they haled vs, put out theire Swalloe tailes.

When they see we woud not hoyce out or boate, theire Admirall hoyced out his & sent his Leavetennant aboard to Comd or Capt [command our captain] aboard him, but Capt. Bates woud not, nor anie other in y^e ship. At last we iudged it fit to send [some one] & all refusing, I⁸⁴ went. Many questions he asket by y^e runagado English,⁸⁵ but I answered as I thought good. At last it hapned soe well that insteale of being in y^e bottom of y^e sea, or Carring water in Arger,⁸⁶ the one of w^{ch} we se noe way to avoyd, all y^e 10 sayle being Come vp, we got Cleere, & arrived saife at Silena⁸⁷ in Cyprisse.

⁸² The author has mixed up Latin and Italian in his quotation.

⁸³ Seanderoon, or Alexandretta, the port of Aleppo.

⁸⁴ Apparently, Richard Bell.

⁸⁵ The writer evidently means that the Turkish ships had on board renegade Englishmen in their service.

⁸⁶ i. e., made to work as slaves in Algiers.

⁸⁷ Silenia, on the east of Cyprus. — cf. Dr. Pococke's *Travels in the East* in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, Vol. X. p. 580.

Being becalmed, lay there a day, in w^{ch} tyme came vp to vs Capt^t Morrisse Commandr of y^e *Providence* from Scanderroone bound for St^t John De Acra, wth 3 passengers One Mr ffra : [Francis] Hemsworth, One Mr Blunt, M^r Sa : Godscall, all 3 intending for Jerusalem. I then left Capt. Bates and imbarqued in Capt. Morrisse, it beinge ye 26 day of June 1669.

We arrived at St^t Juno de Acra y^e 29 June, & weere received at the Chamber of Seno^r Antonia De Antonia Consull of y^e place in y^e Cane [*Khān, Sarāi*], & mett there Mr Hunt & Senior Francisco Consull, formerly at Trippiloe [Tripoli] a Jennerous [generous] pson. There was alsoe Captain Middleton Comd^r. of y^e *Margerett*, who had a banderetta⁸³ given him by y^e Padre Guardian of Jerusalem, who entertained vs respectfully aboard.

30th of June, wee hyred horsses & a Jannasary & 2 Arrabbs to gide vs for Nazereth. We got to it that night at 12 Clock And weere received at y^e Convent, w^{ch} Consists of 5 franciskians, 1 The padre guardiā, 2 Joseph, 3 Petro, 4 Nicolo, 5 Martene.⁸⁹ Padre Nicolo accompanied vs in all or Jurney to tyberious [Tiberias] & Mount Taber wth y^e Janaserry & 3 Arrabbs.

At Nazareth, we se y^e howse of y^e Virgin Mary on w^{ch} seems to haue beene built a spatious Church, s^d by Quene Hollena y^e Mother of Constantine y^e Emperro^r.⁹⁰ 2d the place wheere y^e Angell appeared to hir at prayer; in the same place now is a Chappell vnder ground,⁹¹ 3, the fountaine of St^t Peeter; 4, the Senagog of y^e Jewes; 5 the stone on w^{ch} o^r Savior and his Appostles vsed to eate; 6 y^e howse of Joseph.⁹² Noe thinge elce in Nazereth observable, Saue they make in it about Two pounds and a halfe of Silk in it in Twelve months.

Betwixt Cana & The Blessed mount is a valley about 5 Eng^l miles in lenth & 2 in bredth, in w^{ch} valley it was y^e desiples pluckt the ears of Corne. Its verry rich earth, but for want [of] tilling only thistles grow, w^{ch} are as high as a man On horssback.

July 1st 1669. Wee parted from Nazereth for the sea of Tyberious. On the way, about 3 Miles from Nazereth, stands y^e ruins of y^e Metropolis of Gallile, formerly cald Cana, Wheere we drinke out of y^e same fountaine out of w^{ch} Caine y^e water was made wyne at y^e Wedding by o^r Savio^r. Alsoe y^e ruins of y^e howse was showne vs in w^{ch} the Merrackle was don.⁹³

Seaven Miles from Cana is y^e Mount of blessings, On y^e top of w^{ch} seemes to haue beene a chappell built in Remembrance of o^r Savio^rs sermon⁹³ & y^e Merrackle of y^e 5 loues & 2 fishes, w^{ch} fed y^e Multitude at y^e bottom of y^e hill 2 miles from y^e top. 3 miles further is the sea of Gallile, & in y^e way my horss fell & brused my knee. This sea beares 3 seuerall naines from the 3 seuerall Contreys border on it, vizt 1, y^e Sea of Gallile; 2, y^e Lake of Genazareth; 3, y^e Sea of Tyberious. The Sea of Gallile, for y^e it borders on it; the Lake of Genazareth, for y^e Genazareth borders On y^e east of it, downe w^{ch} hill ran y^e herd of Swine; The Sea of Tyberious, from the Citty Tyberious, w^{ch} stauds on y^e west side of it. On y^e east is y^e Desert of Arrabia.

⁸³ i. e., a Bannerette, a small silk banner.

⁸⁹ Compare Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, 1697*, ed. 1810, p. 151, "Nazareth At this place are as it were immured, seven or eight Latin fathers, who live a life truly mortified, being perpetually in fear of the Arabs, who are absolute lords of the country." Compare also Chiswell, *Journey to Jerusalem*, in 1697, Add. MS. 10623, "18th April . . . Nazareth . . . The Convent here is a small and very mean Building, and the Poor Fathers who are six or seven in Number, lead a Life truly mortified being frequently Molested and Constantly in fear of the Arabs who take from them what they please, and abuse them besides — also their Lodgings were so nasty and full of Virmin, their Victuals so Ordinary, and Wine sower, that Our stay here was Very uneasy."

⁹⁰ See Maundrell, *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 151.

⁹¹ See Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 455.

⁹² See Maundrell, *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 152.

⁹³ See Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 457 f.

The Citty Safhet [Saphet]⁶⁴ is seene from Tyberious, it being On a hill shewes it selfe very pla[n] the 20 Miles of the Hill vnder w^{ch} is Damaskus is also plainly seene from thence, tho it be esteemed 50 Engl miles or 2 days iurney.

In y^e Citty Tyberious, w^{ch} is 3 parts incompost [encompassed] wth a wall sleight but shows new,⁶⁵ y^e 4th wth y^e sea, in all its compass about an Engl Mile And hath Only One litle gate in w^{ch} y^u enter In this Citty is a Church cald y^e Church of St Peeter, some part standing as of Old⁶⁶, But vsel Only for Cattle to shelter themselves from y^e Sunn in the heate of the day. In this Citty is of all Ages & Sexes about y^e number of 50 p^{rs}ons but not a howse wthin y^e walls of ye Citty, Only ruins⁶⁵ in y^e walls of w^{ch} they live & dwell. The people speak Arrabb, there habbit wild & poore like y^e Contrey about them, w^{ch} affords noething worth mentioninge, not y^t the soyle is not good, but the people Idle. We had for o^r food while we staid a night & a day, Milk, Cake & Honney.

In former tyme, 25 years since, was a boate on y^e Sea of Tyberious, w^{ch} belonged to some Jewes wth priviledge to fish, paying 30 Dollers yearly to y^e Bashaw of Safhet, w^{ch} boate tooke fish & furnished all y^e Contrey round about, but the Bashaw raised it to 200 Doll^{rs}, soe y^e boate was taken away & it n^ever fished in since to this day. We see abundance of fish play neare y^e shore, for some part of y^e runs of a great howse runs into y^e water 20 yds.

A quarter of a Mile without y^e now wall of Tyberious is a natural hot bath, soe hot I could not goe into it till moderated wth Cold water,⁶⁵ its wthin a stones east of y^e Sea of Tyberious, vnder a great hill, & It seems as if the Old Citty wall had Compast it, by y^e ruins of many buildings & an old wall runs beyond it.

2^d July 1669. Wee parted from the Citty Tyberious to Nazereth. In y^e way wee vewed two Cunes [Khāns or Castles places in that rule contrey for Marchis, to lodge themselves, Goods & Cammells in safe from Robbers. The later is cald Innoth Nu tow Jar [Al-lukandlatut-tujjar],⁶⁶ this is wthin a days Jurney of the place where Josephs Bretheren sold him to y^e Ishmalites.⁶⁷ This Came hith its name from a fount une was where it stands.

A mile beyond this, at y^e foote of Mount Taber, we kild a yong boar, & roasted it and & eat it On y^e top of Mount Taber. On y^e very top of this Mount is y^e ruins of 3 Churches, in One of w^h at some y^e 3 tabernackles Queene Hellen built in memory of o^r savior^{rs} transfiguration.⁶⁸ From the top of this Mount w^{ch} is two miles high, in o^r ascent we se, 1st Ender, where K. Saull went to y^e witch, 2nd, the plaines of Jozia II, 3rd, Mount hermon, 4, the place where y^e widdowes son was carried to buriall [Naim] & raised to lye; 5th Mount Gilboa; 6, the sea of Jordan; 7, the sea of Gallile, And at y^e bottom of this hill is y^e place where Crissera was discomfeted [the place of Eschulon] & y^e place where y^e blood of y^e shame ran into y^e sea of Gallie; 8, y^e M^{id} terraman sea Att y^e west end of this Mountaine is y^e village of Debora,⁶⁹ And a Church, in w^{ch} y^e 9 Appostles rested when o^r savior went vp the mount wth y^e other 3.⁶⁸

3^d July. Wee departed from Nazereth at 11 Clock at night, & y^e 4 July we, at 5 in y^e morning arrived at St Jn de Acre. The Charge of this Jorney Cost each man 13 Lyon Dollers⁷⁰ besides his gifts.

⁶⁴ See Maurer *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 155.

⁶⁵ See Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 459.

⁶⁶ The inn of the merchants the Commercial Inn.

⁶⁷ See Maurer *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 156.

⁶⁸ See Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 456.

⁶⁹ A Dutch coin bearing the figure of a lion.

5th July 1669. Att 7 Clock at night we imbarqued in a foluke we hyred for Joppa, wheere we arrived the 6 day at 3 Clock in y^e afterpoone. In y^e way we see Cesaria Phillippi, but durst not goe ashore for y^e Arrabbs wth are there & take Copher¹⁰⁰ 3 Dollers pr man.

In Joppa is a ruined castle & Symon the tanners howse,¹ now a place wheere wyne is sold. Theires a great trade there, it beinge the port for Jerusalem. Much Cake sope, flalladoes² & Cotten Lynnen wth & blew is sold there Cheap.³

7th July 1669. We departed from Joppa to Ramah in y^e Phillistines Contrey, w^{ch} is 10 Miles from Joppa, & all y^e way throw a greates plaine & fertile Contrey. In y^e way was 100 tents of Arrabbs together wth thereir families, Cattle & Cammells. When they have eaten that part bare, they remoue further in to fresh pasture.

We arrived at Ramah at 9 in y^e morninge, & at 10 Clock at night we mounted horse for Jerusalem. In Ramah is much tobacco planted, & its a great towne, & hath faire Moskeys in it. There is a Convent w^{ch} does receive all franks w^{ch} belongs to Jerusalem, wheere we arrived the 8th July 1669 at 7 Clock in the Morninge, spending that day in the Ceremonies of the Convent, Cal^d Lyon Convent, The Padrey Guardian washinge o^r feete,⁴ & after wth Candles in o^r hands, went in p^{re}cession [procession] about y^e howse and church in it, wheere we ended y^e day wth devotion.⁵ Our entrance was at y^e gate culld y^e gate of Damaskus. We were reced by y^e Druggaman [Dragoman] & y^e Cadlies [cadi, q^uli] officer; the former conducted vs to y^e Convent,⁵ w^{ch} is wheere was y^e howse of St John y^e Evangelist.⁵

9th Beinge fryday, in the morninge we were accompaned out Towne wth fratre Thomas⁶ throw y^e gate of Bethle'n. On y^e west side wth y^e towne is a small castle built by y^e Pesans⁷ in w^{ch} is a garde of Turks solliers. Passing southward, neare y^e Citty wall, is y^e Valley of Goshennon, & in y^e Middle there of, there seemes to have bene a pool, w^{ch} is s^d to be that wheere Barsheba [Bathsheba] was seene by David bathing hir selfe, & dwelt by it, beinge vnder & neare Mount Zion, wheere was y^e pallas of king David & Over looks y^e Pooll.⁸ A little further is the potters feild bought wth y^e 30 ps silver Judas returned.⁹ On w^{ch} small peece ground is a building levells it wth adioyneing rock. At y^e top of w^{ch} rock are 3 holes, throw w^{ch} are let downe the bodies of y^e dead into a valt about 20 yds deepe, w^{ch} earth is of such nature, it consumes the flesh in 24 howers after put in.⁹

(To be continued.)

¹⁰⁰ *Khafārah*, a premium for defence, a tax for safe passage. Compare Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 4, "Caphars are certain duties which travellers are obliged to pay at several passes upon the road, to officers who attend in their appointed stations to receive them."

¹ See Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 407.

² Mr. Ferguson suggests that this word may be the Spanish *follados*, an ancient kind of trousers, very baggy, and that possibly the kind worn by Arabs is intended. On the other hand, "Falladoes," may be the Turkish *feraje*, a cloak worn out of doors by women.

³ See Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 407.

⁴ See Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 415.

⁵ See Pococke, *Travels in the East*, pp. 411, 413, 415.

⁶ Compare Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 414, "it is the office of one of the lay-brothers to take care of them [European pilgrims] . . . the lay-brother . . . goes always out with them."

⁷ Compare Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 412, "The castle, which is now called the tower of David . . . is said to have been built by the Pisane in the time of the holy war." See also Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 35.

⁸ See Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 135.

⁹ Compare Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 135, "One moiety of it [the Potters Field] is taken up by a square fabric twelve yards high, built for a charnel house. The corpses are let down into it from the top, there being five holes left open for that purpose. Looking down through these holes, we could see many bodies under several degrees of decay; from which it may be conjectured, that this grave does not make that quick dispatch with the corpses committed to it which is commonly reported. See also Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 424.

BOOK-NOTICE.

BUCH DES RĀGĀWAN, DER KÖNIGSGESCHICHTE. DIE GESCHICHTE DER MON-KÖNIGE IN HINTERINDIEN NACH EINEM PALMBLATT-MANUSKRIFT AUS DEM MON ÜBERSETZT, MIT EINER EINFÜHRUNG UND NOTEN VERSEHEN, VON P. W. SCHMIDT, S.V.D. Vienna, 1903. (Reprinted from the *Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*.)

PATER W. SCHMIDT'S researches into the Mon-Khmer dialects are well known. In 1904 appeared his *Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Khasi-Sprache*, and in the following year his *Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Mon-Khmer Sprachen*. In these works he so carried on the enquiries begun by Logan and Forbes and placed on a scientific footing by Kuhn, that we have now a definite knowledge as to the mutual relationship of the various members of the group.

It will be observed that the works to which reference has just been made deal only with one aspect of the subject, — the *Lautlehre*, Phonetics. Pater Schmidt was quite aware that even more important from a philological point of view would be a comparative study of the laws of the word-formation, in its widest sense, of these languages. But for this purpose trustworthy texts of two or three of the principal forms of speech were an absolute necessity, and while such were forthcoming for Khmer, for the other leading tongue Mon, nothing was available beyond three short fables in the Haswell-Stevens Grammar and a few translations from English of doubtful value. Pater Schmidt was therefore compelled to refrain from carrying his researches further till, through the kindness of that accomplished authority on Malacca languages, Mr. C. O. Blagden, he came into possession of the manuscript of the work, the name of which heads this notice. It is partly a life of the Buddha and partly a history of the Mon Kingdom from the middle of the 12th to the middle of the 13th century, A.D., mostly written in the Mon language. He lost no time in editing it, both in the native and in the Roman character, and has supplied in addition a valuable Introduction, Translation, and notes. In Appendixes, he gives lists of words which do not appear in any Mon vocabularies hitherto published. These words amount to a considerable number, and as he has succeeded in ascertaining the meanings of most of them, the Appendixes form a substantial addition to Mon lexicography.

In the Introduction, besides the necessary particulars concerning the manuscript, Pater Schmidt gives an abstract of its contents and a summary of the information available about other Mon MSS. at present known to exist. Forchhammer in 1880 made a list of 53 Mon MSS. which are said to be now in the Bernard Free Library in Rangoon, and besides these there are a few catalogued in European collections. Owing to the Mon character being practically the same as the Burmese, these last have usually been classed as belonging to that language, — scholars in Mon being so rare in the West, that apparently no one has yet been found capable of reading them. Now that attention has been drawn to the fact, it is possible that other works in the same language may be found in European libraries, similarly hidden under a Burmese classification.

While we can most heartily congratulate Pater Schmidt on being privileged to introduce Mon literature so successfully to British students, it is not easy to repress a feeling of patriotic envy that the first serious attempt at dealing with an important Oriental language, spoken by nearly 175,000 British subjects, should have appeared in Vienna, and not in London or Rangoon. One resource there is, and I hope it will be soon adopted. This is to translate Pater Schmidt's excellent work as quickly as possible so that it may become accessible to scholars in India who are not acquainted with the German language.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

READERS of the *Indian Antiquary*, who interest themselves in Iranian studies, will be glad to learn that Professor Bartholomae has issued a supplement to his monumental *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* which appeared in 1904. It appears under the title of *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch Nacharbeiten und Vorarbeiten*, and is published at Strasburg by Karl J. Trübner.

The book, which contains about three hundred pages, includes not only additions and corrections to the main work, but also replies to criticisms and a special *excursus* of 68 pages devoted to a consideration of the vowels and vowel signs in the Iranian manuscripts lately discovered in Turfan.

It is hardly necessary to say that the importance of the subjects dealt with, and the eminence of the writer, render the book indispensable to all students of Old Iranian literature.

G. A. G.

A PLAN FOR A UNIFORM SCIENTIFIC RECORD OF THE LANGUAGES OF SAVAGES.

Applied to the Languages of the Andamanese and Nicobarese.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

Preface.

SOME years ago, I published *ante*, Vol. XXVIII. (1900), pp. 197 ff., 225 ff., a **Theory of Universal Grammar** as applied to a Group of Savage Languages, and in Vol. XXXI. (1902), pp. 165 ff., this theory was **successfully applied** by Mr. Sydney Ray for the elucidation of a short statement in sixteen unrelated and morphologically distinct languages. While compiling Vol. III. of the *Report on the Census of India, 1901, Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, I had an opportunity of **applying it in detail** to the languages of the inhabitants of those islands. In 1904 I had another opportunity of **revising the Theory** in a lecture to the British Association at Cambridge. I now publish the Theory as revised on that occasion, and **its application to systematic grammars of the languages of the Andamanese and the Nicobarese**. In this matter I have had the advantage of the assistance of Mr. E. H. Man, the greatest expert on the subject.

The following abstract of the ideas elaborated in the succeeding pages may be of use to the reader.

During the last 30 years the careful record of "savage" languages has been frequently undertaken, and a serious difficulty has arisen, owing to the accepted European system of grammar, which is based on a system originally evolved for the explanation of highly inflected languages only, whereas in many, if not in most, "savage" languages, inflexion is absent or present only in a rudimentary form. The European system has therefore been found to be unsuited for that purpose. During attempts to provide a suitable system a Theory of Universal Grammar was evolved.

The root idea is that, as speech is a convention devised by the human brain for inter-communication between human beings, there must be fundamental natural laws by which it is governed, however various the phenomena of those laws may be.

The Theory starts with a consideration of the sentence, *i. e.*, the expression of a complete meaning, as the unit of all speech, and then seeks to discover the natural laws of speech by a consideration of the internal and external development of the sentence.

In explaining internal development, the sentence is ultimately divided into words, considered as components of its natural main divisions, in the light of their respective functions. This leads logically to a clear definition of grammatical terms.

From the consideration of the functions of words the Theory passes to that of the methods by which they are made to fulfil their functions. It shows how words can be divided into classes according to function and explains their transfer from class to class. This leads to an explanation of connected words and shows how the forms of words grow out of their functions. The growth of the forms is next considered, involving an explanation of roots, stems, and radical and functional affixes. This explanation shows that the affixes determine the forms of words. This is followed by a consideration of the methods by which the affixes affect the forms.

The sentence, *i. e.*, the unit of speech, is then considered as being itself a component of something greater, *i. e.*, of a language. This consideration of its external development leads to the

explanation of syntactical and formative languages, the two great divisions into which all languages naturally fall, i. e., those which depend on the position of the words, and those which depend on the forms of the words in a sentence, to express complete meaning.

Syntactical languages are then shown to divide themselves into analytical, or those which depend for comprehension mainly on the position of the words, and into tonic, or those which combine tone with position for the same purpose. So also **formative languages** are shown to divide themselves into agglutinative and synthetic, according as the affixes are attached without or with alteration. Formative languages are further divided into premutative, intramutative or postmutative, according to the position of the affixes.

The Theory further explains that, owing to a fundamental Law of Nature, no language can have ever been left to develop itself alone, and how this leads to the phenomenon of **connected languages** and thus to groups and families of languages. It also explains how, again according to a Law of Nature, no language has ever developed in one direction only or without subjection to outside influences, leading to the natural explanations of the **genius**, or peculiar constitution, that **each language possesses**.

It is believed that every language must conform to some part or other of the Theory and it can be shown that children and untutored adults in learning a language act on the instinctive assumption of the existence of such a Theory. Assuming the Theory to exist and to be correctly stated, it is of great practical importance as leading to the quick, accurate and thorough, because natural, acquirement of a new language.

In brief, the Theory is based on the one phenomenon which must of necessity be **constant in every variety of speech**, viz., the expression of a complete meaning or technically the sentence. Words are then described as components of the sentence, firstly as to the functions performed by them and next as to the means whereby they fulfil their functions. Lastly, languages are considered according to their methods of composing sentences and words.

Phonology and orthography, i. e., pronunciation, spelling, and alphabets, are not considered, as these belong to other branches of the development of the human mind.

I.

The Theory of Universal Grammar.

(a) The Theory.

The existing European system of Grammar is an old growth based on ancient Greek and Latin Grammars, which embodied the results of a system originally evolved for recording the observed laws of highly synthetic or inflected languages. It is naturally engrained in all European scholars. The objection to it for general use and to my mind the overwhelming objection, is that it is in essentials unsuited to a very large number of languages, which are not synthetic or inflected, or at any rate have synthesis or inflection present only in a rudimentary form. It is entirely unsuited, for instance, for recording English, and in order to use it for that purpose, terms suitable for describing Greek and Latin have to be forced to new and unsuitable uses.

As regards the civilised and deeply studied languages, scholars and students have naturally become so imbued with the ancient system, that it is hardly to be expected that they can be induced to adopt any new or radically different system, and it is not now proposed to appeal to them to change that which is so well established. It is rather sought to find a way of recording on a uniform system the languages of savages nowadays so frequently reported, and, owing to the lack of a suitable and settled method, much too often on a haphazard plan, to the detriment of their successful handling.

Thirty years ago this subject was forcibly brought to the present author's notice when trying to represent, with Mr. E. H. Man, the purely "savage" language of the Andaman Islanders, in which work the active and very competent assistance of the late Mr. A. J. Ellis, F. R. S., President of the Philological Society, was secured. Some years later Mr. Ellis, finding the accepted grammatical terms so little suited to the adequate representation of savage speech for scientific readers, stated in his Annual Presidential Address to that Society for 1882, that : — "we require new terms" and an entirely new set of grammatical conceptions, which shall not bend an agglutinative language to our inflexional translation." In 1883 he started the author on the present enquiry, and asked if it were not possible "to throw over the inflexional treatment of an uninflected language." Ever since then, as opportunity offered, the enquiry has been taken up and has resulted in the evolution of a **Theory of Universal Grammar**, which is of necessity a plan for the uniform scientific record of all languages, though, for the reason already stated, it is now sought to limit its application to "savage" languages only.

The Theory was applied in part in Portman's *Comparative Grammar of the South Andaman Languages* in 1898 and again in an article on the same languages by the present author in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1899, and elaborately and fully in his *Census Report of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands* for 1901, in which the languages of both groups of islands were discussed and explained in full Grammars. The Andamanese Languages are agglutinative and represent the speech of savages of very limited mental development : the Nicobarese Languages are a highly developed analytical form of speech, like English. In both, inflection is only present in a secondary and rudimentary form, as in English. The Theory was also applied in outline by Mr. Sydney Ray in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1902 to sixteen selected languages of every type — synthetic, agglutinative, analytical, syntactical (monosyllabic) — from the most highly civilised and developed to those of the most primitive savages. In the opinion of these writers, the theory succeeds in describing on a uniform plan every language to which it has been applied, as indeed it must succeed in doing, if it be a correct theory.

The very great importance to anthropologists and observers of savage tribes and peoples unknown to Europeans of a uniform scientific system in this matter is so obvious, that no excuse is made for bringing it once more before the readers of this *Journal*.

The root-idea of the Theory is, that as speech is a convention devised by the human brain for intercommunication between human beings, there must be some fundamental natural laws by which it is governed, however various the phenomena of those laws may be. The business of the Grammarian is to discover and report the laws. These considerations form the basis of the Theory of Universal Grammar, the practical application of which at the present day must, on account of long formed habits, be limited to a **Plan for Uniformly Recording the Languages of Savages**.

In building up a Theory of Universal Grammar, it is necessary, in order to work out the argument logically, to commence where the accepted Grammars end, *viz.*, at the sentence, defining the sentence as the expression of a complete meaning, and making that the unit of language. This is the fundamental argument. Nothing is an intelligible communication, unless it is complete enough to be understood. It is by observation of the internal and external development of the sentence or complete meaning that the natural laws of speech will be discovered.

A sentence may, clearly, consist of one or more expressions of a meaning or "words," defined as single expressions of a meaning. The difference between a word and a sentence may be shown thus : — "go" is a sentence, as it says all that is necessary ; but "cow" is merely a word, because something must be said about the cow before the communication is complete.

A sentence can also consist of two separate parts — the subject, *i. e.*, the matter to be discussed or communicated, and the predicate, *i. e.*, the discussion or communication. Thus,

"the badly hurt cow" would be the subject and "*died* suddenly yesterday" would be the predicate of a sentence.

And when the subject or predicate consists of many words, it must contain principal and additional words. In the sentence already quoted, the words "cow" and "died" are the principal words, and the rest are additional.

This leads to the argument that the **components of a sentence are words**, placed either in the subjective or predicative parts of it, having a relation to each other in that part of **principal and subordinate**. Therefore, because of such relation, **words fulfil functions**. The functions then of the principal words must be to indicate the subject or predicate, and of the subordinate words in the predicative part of the sentence to illustrate the predicate, and in the subjective part to explain the subject or to illustrate that explanation. Thus, in the sentence already discussed, the functions of each word are quite clear. "Cow" indicates the subject and "died" the predicate. "The" and "hurt" explain the sort and condition of the cow, *i. e.*, of the subject. "Badly" illustrates the explanation of the subject by stating how much the cow was hurt. "Suddenly" and "yesterday" illustrate the predicate by stating how and when the cow died.

Again, as the predicate is the discussion or communication on the subject, it is capable of extension or completion by **complementary words**, which form that part of a sentence recognised in the Grammars as "**the object**." Thus, in "the policeman found the dead man," the communication made in the predicate "found" is completed by the complementary words "the dead man," which form **the complement or object**.

These observations complete the first stage of the argument leading to a direct and simple definition of grammatical terms. But speech obviously does not stop here, because mankind speaks with a **purpose**, and the **function of his sentences** is to indicate that purpose, which must be one of the five following in any specified sentence: — (1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, (5) information. Now, **purpose can only be indicated in a sentence** by the position, as in English, or by the tones, as in Chinese, of its components; or by variation of their forms, as in Latin; or by the addition of special introductory words, as in most languages. Also it is obvious that when purposes are connected, they can be indicated by **connected sentences**, and that these sentences must be **in the relation of principal and subordinate**. This relation can only be **expressed** by the position of the sentences themselves, as in English; by variation of the forms of their components, as in Tamil, Turkish, and many other languages, or by the addition of special words of reference. In English, subordinate sentences usually follow the principal. When they do not, this rule is recognised by saying that the statement is inverted. The use of special words of reference is shown in such a statement as "I am certain John died on Sunday, because Mary told me so," where "because" is specially added to the subordinate sentence to connect it with the principal sentence.

A **word of reference** must act in one of two ways, either by merely **joining sentences**, or by **substituting itself** in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. In "I caught the man who ran away," the word of reference "who" connects the subordinate with the principal sentence. "John ran away. He had killed his mother." Here are two connected sentences, the subordinate following the principal and connected with it by the words "he" and "his" substituted for "John" in the principal sentence to which they refer.

Further, as there is a necessary **interrelation between the words in a sentence**, this can only be expressed by the addition of special connecting words, or by variation or correlated variation of form. In "the story about John was told me yesterday," the intimate relation between "story" and "John" is expressed by the connecting word "about." In "*descensus Averni*," inflexion of one of two intimately related words is used for the same purpose, just as in English the special

connecting word "into" would be used in such a corresponding expression as "descent into Hell." Agreement or concord between adjective and noun, or verb and noun, in the inflected languages has exactly the same object. In the Persian "ism-i-sharif" (noble name), the relation between noun and adjective is expressed by the connecting word "i."

These considerations complete what may be called the second stage of the argument leading to clear definitions of grammatical terms. The argument thereafter becomes more complicated, taking us into the explanation of elliptical, *i. e.*, incompletely expressed, forms of speech, and into those expansions of sentences known as phrases, clauses and periods. But, to keep our minds fixed only on that part of it which leads to plain grammatical definitions, it may be stated now that functionally a word must be, inventing new terms for the purpose, one of the following:—

- (1) An integer, or a sentence in itself (imperatives, interjections, pronouns, numerals).
- (2) An indicator, or indicative of the subject or complement (object) of a sentence (nouns).
- (3) An explicator, or explanatory of its subject or complement (adjective).
- (4) A predicator, or indicative of its predicate (verbs).
- (5) An illustrator, or illustrative of its predicate or complement, or of the explanation of its subject or complement (adverb, adjective).
- (6) A connector, or explanatory of the interrelation of its components (or words, conjunctions, prepositions).
- (7) An introducer, or explanatory of its purpose (conjunctions, adverbs).
- (8) A referent conjunctive, or explanatory of the interrelation of connected sentences by joining them (pronouns, conjunctions).
- (9) A referent substitute, or explanatory of the interrelation of connected sentences by substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers (relative pronouns, conjunctions).

These then are the terms it is proposed to use in the explanation of the functions of words, and the arguments out of which they grow. Of course, grammarians will know that all this is **syntax**, and it must now be explained why the Theory makes it necessary to consider it far more important to study function than form or tone, as essential to the correct apprehension of the nature of words, and that **accidence** arises properly out of **syntax** and not the other way round, as so many of us have been taught.

It is obvious that any given word may fulfil one or more or all the functions of words, and that therefore words may be collected into as many classes as there are functions, any individual word being transferable from one class to another and belonging to as many classes as there are functions which it can fulfil. This is to say, that **words are divisible into classes according to function** as just explained, and that **the same word can belong to more than one class**, as it does constantly in English. Thus, "the tiger returns to his kill," "Shall we kill the horse?," "Shall we cross at the bridge higher up, or shall we bridge the river here at once?" And so on *ad infinitum*. In the above examples the same word has been transferred from the indicator (noun) class to the predicator (verb) class. And the same words in English and many other tongues are constantly nouns, adjectives, verbs or adverbs, simply according to the function they happen to perform for the time being.

The function a word fulfils in any particular sentence can be indicated by its position therein, without and with variation of form, as in English and Latin respectively; or by its

tone, as in Chinese. And because of this, the form or tone which a word can be made to assume is capable of indicating the class to which it belongs for the nonce. In Chinese the same word can become a noun or verb and so on merely by the tone used in uttering it: tone being to Chinese what inflexion is to Latin. So the Latin stem *domin* by changing its form does all sorts of things and belongs to all sorts of classes. As *domin-us* it is an indicator (noun): as *domin-or* it is a predicator (verb): as *domin-ans* it is an explicator (adjective): as *domin-i* it may be a subordinate noun showing its intimate relation to some other word or it may be simply a noun according to context: as *domin-o* it is, again according to context, an illustrator (adverb) of a verb or a complementary indicator, i.e., a noun governed by a verb, as we have all been taught to say: as *domin-um* it is always a complementary indicator: and so on.

It is further obvious that words transferable from class to class belong primarily to a certain class and secondarily to the others, that a transfer involves the fulfilment of a new function, and that a word in its transferred condition becomes a new word connected with the form fulfilling the primary function, the relation between the forms or tones, i.e., the words so connected, being that of parent and offshoot. Form and tone therefore can indicate the class to which a parent word and its offshoots respectively belong. In English it is not usually difficult to detect primary and secondary function, or parent and offshoot words. Thus, in the case of "bridge" the noun and "bridge" the verb: of "kill" the verb and "kill" the noun, or in the case of "kill" and "killer." In the inflected languages it is never easy, as all the observable forms are probably connected secondary forms of some older lost word. It is not easy to say offhand what should be affixed to *domin* as the form of its primary function. But the principle of the application of every existing inflected form is precisely that above explained.

It is by the above induction that one is led to the argument that form grows out of function, or, to put it in a familiar way, accident grows out of syntax, because when connected words differ in form they must consist of a principal part or stem, and an additional part or functional affix. The function of the stem is to indicate the meaning of the word, and the function of the functional affix to modify that meaning with reference to the function of the word. This modification can be expressed by indicating the class to which the word belongs, or by indicating its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence. All this is illustrated in the words just quoted. The meaning of these connected words lies in the stem *domin*, and this meaning is modified, and the function in the sentence and relation to its other words of each individual is determined, by affixing *us*, *or*, *ans*, *i*, *o*, *um* and so on.

But the stem itself may consist of an original meaning and thus be a simple stem, or it may contain a modification of an original meaning and so be a compound stem. A compound stem must consist of a principal part or root and additional parts or radical affixes, the function of the root being to indicate the original meaning of the stem, and of the radical affixes to indicate the modifications by which the meaning of the root has been changed into the meaning of the stem. As simple examples may be instanced, the modern English words "form" and "information," of which the former is a simple stem and the latter a compound stem, built up of the root "form" and the radical affixes "in" and "at" and the functional affix "ion." So too the stem *domin* already mentioned is a compound stem with root *dom*, having the sense of "(to be) set," modified into the sense of "mastery" by a radical affix, which has there the form of *in*.

Further, since words fulfil functions and belong to classes, they must possess inherent qualities, which can be indicated by qualitative affixes and by tones. There are many English words, whose modern forms are however chiefly old decayed inflexional forms, which can illustrate

this point. Thus, "bury" is always a verb; so too are "believe," "give," and so on. So also by form *dominari* would always be a verb, and *dominus* a noun.

Thus it is that **affixes** determine the forms of words, bringing into existence what is usually called **etymology or derivation**. They are attachable, separably or inseparably, to roots and stems and words by the well-recognised methods of prefixing, infixing and suffixing, either in their full or in a varied form. It is the method of attaching them by variation of form that brings about **inflexion** in all its variety of kind. This is an important point. Affixes are additions to roots or stems. Those to roots are both prefixed and suffixed in most languages and are sometimes fixed into the roots, dividing them into parts, as in Arabic with much inflexion, and more plainly in Nicobarese: e. g., in the latter case *pa-hoa*, to fear; *pa-ma-hoa*, a coward; *d-āk*, to come; *d-am-āk*, a guest. Prefixed affixes to show function are the rule in the South African Languages, infixed affixes in Arabic, suffixed affixes in the European inflected languages.

Such is the line inductive argument naturally takes in order to work out the grammar of any given language or group of languages logically, starting from the base argument that speech is a mode of communication between man and man through the ear by talking, through the eyes by signs, or through the skin by touch, and taking a language to be a variety or special mode of speech. The **grammar**, i. e., the exposition of the laws, of any single language stops at this point and to carry the argument further, as one of course must, is to enter the region of **Comparative Grammar**. In doing so one must start at the same point as before, viz., the sentence, but progress on a different line, because hitherto the effort has been to resolve the unit of language into its components, and now it has to be considered as being itself a component of something greater, i. e., of a language.

To continue the argument. Since a sentence is composed of words placed in a particular order without or with variation of form, its meaning is clearly rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position and tones or form or both. Also, since sentences are the units of languages, and words are the components of sentences and languages are varieties of speech, **languages can vary** in the forms and tones of their words, or in the position in which their words are placed in the sentence, or in both. And thus are created **classes of languages**. Again, since the meaning of a sentence may be rendered complete either by the position of its words or by their tones and forms, languages are primarily divisible into **syntactical languages**, or those that express complete meaning by the position of their words; and into **formative languages**, or those that express complete meaning by the forms of their words. These are the **two great divisions into which all languages fall**. The order of the words and the forms of the words in the sentence determine the particular natural laws to which a language chiefly conforms.

Now, since syntactical languages depend on position, or on position combined with tone, to express complete meaning, they are divisible into **analytical and tonic languages**. Of such English and Chinese are respectively typical examples.

Further, since words are varied in form by the addition of affixes, and since affixes may be attached to words in an altered or unaltered form, formative languages are divisible into **agglutinative languages**, or those that add affixes without alteration, of which Turkish is a good example; and into **synthetic languages**, or those that add affixes with alteration, of which any inflected language serves as an example. And lastly, since affixes may be prefixes, infixes or suffixes, agglutinative and synthetic languages are each divisible into (1) **promutative**, or those that prefix their affixes, like the South African Languages; (2) **intromutative**, or those that infix them, like Arabic; and (3) **postmutative**, or those that suffix them, like Latin, Greek, or Sanskrit.

Thus inductive argument can be carried onwards to a clear and definite apprehension of the birth and growth of the phenomena presented by the varieties of human speech, i. e., by languages.

But, as is the case with every other natural growth, in obedience to a fundamental Law of Nature, no language can ever have been left to develop itself alone, and thus do we get the phenomenon of **connected languages**, which may be defined as those that differ from each other by varying the respective tones, forms and position, but not the meanings, of their words. And since variation of form is affected by the addition of altered or unaltered affixes, connected languages can vary the forms of the affixes without materially varying those of the roots and stems of their words. In this way they become divisible into groups, or those whose stems are common, and into families, or those whose roots are common. On this definition it is possible to gather French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and the "Latin" Languages into a Group. Hindi, Hindostani, Bengali, Uriya, Bihari, Panjabi, Marathi and the "Prakritic" Languages could be formed into a Group. Latin, Greek, Persian, Zend, Sanskrit, Pāli, and the Prakrits would belong to a Family.

It is also against natural conditions for any language to develop only in one direction, or without subjection to outside influences, and so it is that we find languages developing on more than one line and belonging strictly to more than one class, but in every such case the language has what is commonly called its **genius or peculiar constitution**, *i. e.*, it belongs primarily to one class and secondarily to the others. This point cannot be too strongly insisted on. No language has ever developed entirely on one line of development, hence the "irregularities" that vex the souls of learners. English is fundamentally analytical, but there are many highly inflected forms and functional inflexion occurs in many instances. There is also intromutation present in such forms as "man, men," "broad, breadth," "know, knew." Such highly inflected languages, too, as Greek and Latin have points in common with analytical languages.

I have long thought and I believe it can be proved that every language must conform to some part or other of the Theory just outlined, and in that case the Theory would be truly, as I have ventured to call it, a Theory of Universal Grammar. That the facts for such a Theory exist in Nature and only await unearthing I have no doubt whatever. Mankind, when untrammelled by teaching, acts on an instinctive assumption of their existence, for children and adults alike always learn a language in the same way, if left to themselves. They copy the enunciation of complete sentences from experts in it to start with, learning to divide up and vary the sentences so acquired afterwards, and this is not only the surest but also the quickest way of mastering a foreign tongue correctly. Its natural laws, *i. e.*, its grammar, as stated in books about it, are mastered later on, and in every case where they only are studied there comes about that book-knowledge of the language which is everywhere by instinct acknowledged to be a matter apart from, and in one sense inferior to, the practical or true knowledge. I use the term "true" here, because, unless this is possessed, whatever knowledge may be acquired fails to fulfil its object of finding a new mode of communicating with one's fellow man.

Book-knowledge of a language is only useful for 'scientific and educational purposes, but if the laws laid down in the set Grammars were to follow closely on the laws instinctively obeyed by untutored man, and to do no violence to what instinct teaches him to be the logical sequence of ideas, the divorce between practical and linguistic knowledge — between knowledge by the ear and knowledge by the eye — would not be so complete as it is nowadays. And not only that, if the laws could be stated in the manner above suggested, they could be more readily grasped and better retained in the memory, and languages could consequently be more quickly, more thoroughly and more easily learned by both children and adults than is now practicable to the ordinary learner. Looked at thus, the matter becomes of the greatest practical importance.

This is what the Theory attempts to achieve : but assuming it to be fundamentally right, and correctly worked out, it should explain the workings of the untutored mind of the savage as exhibited in his speech, although it reverses the accepted order of teaching, alters many long accepted definitions, and while admitting much that is usually taught, it both adds and omits many details, and taken all round is a wide departure from orthodox teaching. How wide the following observations will show. The familiar terminology has been changed in this wise. The old noun, adjective, verb, adverb, preposition and conjunction have become indicator, explicator, predicator, illustrator, connector and referent conjuncter, while interjections and pronouns have become integers and referent substitutes. Certain classes also of the adverbs have become introducers. Gender, number, person, tense, conjunction and declension all disappear in the general description of kinds of inflexion :—the object becomes the complement of the predicate and concord becomes correlated variation.

The Theory is based on the one phenomenon, which must of necessity be constant in every variety of speech, *viz.*, the expression of a complete meaning or technically the sentence. Words are then described as components of the sentence, firstly as to the functions performed by them and next as to the means whereby they can fulfil their functions. Lastly, languages are considered according to their methods of composing sentences and words. Assuming this course of reasoning to be logically correct, it must, when properly worked out, explain every phenomenon of speech ; and when its dry bones have been clothed with the necessary flesh for every possible language by the process of the direct natural development of every detail, a clear and fair explanation of all the phenomena of speech must be logically deducible from the general principles enunciated therein.

The Theory takes no count of two subjects introduced into all formal Grammars for obvious reasons of convenience — phonology and orthography. It has no concern with pronunciation, spelling, and alphabets. These are subjects which do not affect it and belong to other branches of the development of the human mind.

(b) The Course of Grammatical Development.

The Sentence is the Unit of all Speech.

I. — The Sentence and its Components.

- (a) A Sentence is composed of words.
- (b) A Word is the expression of a meaning.
- (c) A Sentence is the expression of a complete meaning.
- (d) Words required to express the meaning of a sentence are (1) integers, (2) indicators, (3) predicators, (4) explicators, (5) illustrators.

II. — The Interrelation and Intimate Relation of the Components.

- (a) Interrelation of components can be expressed by variation in form.
- (b) Intimate relation of components can be expressed by correlated variation in form (agreement).
- (c) Words required to express the interrelation of components are (6) connectors.

III. — The Sentence and its Function.

- (a) The function of a sentence is to express its purpose.
- (b) Words required to express the function of a sentence are (7) introducers.
- (c) The function of a sentence can be expressed by variation of the tones of its components.
- (d) A Tone is a point on a conventional scale of the voice in speaking.

IV. — Expansion of the Sentence into the Period by the substitution of Phrases, Clauses and Connected Sentences for Words.

- (a) A Phrase is the substitute for a Word by the collective expression of a meaning by two or more words.
- (b) A Clause is the substitute for a Word by the collective expression of a complete meaning by two or more words.
- (c) A Period is a Sentence expanded by Clauses or Words.

V. — Interrelation of the Components of the Expanded Sentence or Period.

- (a) Connected Sentences express connected purposes.
- (b) Words required to express the interrelation of connected sentences are (8) referent conjunctors, (9) referent substitutes.

VI. — The Functions of the Components of the Sentence.

- (a) The Essential Components of the Sentence are (1) indicators, (2) explicators, (3) predicators, (4) illustrators, (5) complements.
- (b) Complements are indicators or explicators.
- (c) The Optional Components of a Sentence are (1) introducers, (2) referents, (3) connectors.
- (d) Referents are referent conjunctors or referent substitutes.
- (e) An Integer is a sentence in itself.
- (f) An Indicator indicates the subject or complement of the sentence.
- (g) An Explicator explains the subject or complement.
- (h) A Predicator indicates the predicate.
- (i) An Illustrator illustrates the predicate or complement or the explanation of the subject or complement.
- (j) A Connector explains the interrelation of the components.
- (k) An Introducer explains the purpose of the sentence.
- (l) A Referent Conjunctive explains the interrelation of connected sentences by joining them.
- (m) A Referent Substitute explains the interrelation of connected sentences by the substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers.
- (n) The Subject of the sentence is the matter communicated.
- (o) The Predicate of the sentence is the communication made about the subject.
- (p) The Complement of the sentence is the completion of the predicate.

VII. — The Classes of the Components of the Sentence.

- (a) Class indicates the nature of a word.
- (b) Form, tone and position can indicate the class of a word.

VIII. — The Interrelation of the Classes of the Components.

- (a) Connected words indicate their transfer from one class to another.

IX. — The Interrelation of the Functions of the Components.

- (a) The Root indicates the original meaning of a word.
- (b) Affixes comprise prefixes, infixes and suffixes.
- (c) Affixes modify the meaning of a word.
- (d) A Radical Affix modifies the meaning of a root.
- (e) A Simple Stem is the principal part of a word indicating its meaning.
- (f) A Functional Affix modifies the meaning of a stem in relation to its function.
- (g) A Compound Stem comprises a root and its radical affix.
- (h) A Qualifying Affix modifies a word by indicating its nature (inherent qualities) in relation to function or class.
- (i) Connected Words comprise stems and their affixes.
- (j) Inflexion is caused by alteration of the form of inseparable affixes.
- (k) Inflected words conform to particular kinds of inflexion.
- (l) Tone is a substitute for inflexion.

X. — The Position, Form and Tone of the Components.

- (a) The meanings of the components combined with their positions or with their forms or combined with the positions and the forms or tones complete the meaning of the sentence.

XI. — General Development of Languages from the Sentence.

- (a) No Language has ever developed along one line of development only.
- (b) The sentence by the forms or positions of its components or by their forms or tones combined with their positions causes the development of all languages.

XII. — Development of Languages from the Sentence into Classes.

- (a) The positions of the components of the sentence cause the development of Syntactical Languages.
- (b) In Analytical Languages position governs the class.
- (c) In Tonic Languages position combined with tone governs the class.
- (d) The forms of the components of the sentence causes the development of Formative Languages.
- (e) In Agglutinative Languages the affixes developing the forms are attached unaltered.
- (f) In Synthetic Languages the affixes developing the forms are attached altered by inflexion.
- (g) In Premutative Languages the affixes developing the forms are prefixed.
- (h) In Intromutative Languages the affixes developing the forms are infixed.
- (i) In Postmutative Languages the affixes developing the forms are suffixed.

XIII. — Development of the Interrelated Classes of Languages from the Sentence.

- (a) Affixes to stems develop Groups of Languages.
- (b) Affixes to roots develop Families of Languages.
- (c) Variation of tone, form or position in Families develops Connected Languages.

(c) Skeleton of the Theory.

Speech is a mode of communication between man and man by expression. Speech may be communicated orally through the ear by talking, optically through the eye by signs, tangibly through the skin by the touch. Languages are varieties of speech.

The **units** of languages are **sentences**. A sentence is the expression of a complete meaning.

A sentence may consist of a single expression of a meaning. A single expression of a meaning is a **word**. A sentence may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, it has two parts. These parts are the **subject** and the **predicate**. The subject of a sentence is the matter communicated or discussed in the sentence. The predicate of a sentence is the communication or discussion of that matter in the sentence.

The subject may consist of one word. It may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, there is a principal word and additional words. The predicate may consist of one word. It may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, there is a principal word and additional words. Therefore the **components** of a sentence are words placed either in the subjective or predicative part of it, having a **relation to each other** in that part. This relation is that of principal and subordinate.

Since the words composing the parts of a sentence are placed in a position of relation to each other, they fulfil **functions**. The function of the principal word of the subject is to indicate the matter communicated or discussed by expressing it. The function of the subordinate words of the subject may be to explain that indication, or to illustrate the explanation of it. The function of the principal word of the predicate is to indicate the communication or discussion of the subject by expressing it. The function of the subordinate words of the predicate may be to illustrate that indication, or to complete it. The predicate may be completed by a word explanatory of the subject, or indicative of the **complement**. Therefore, primarily, the words composing a sentence are either —

- (1) **Indicators**, or indicative of the subject.
- (2) **Explicators**, or explanatory of the subject.
- (3) **Predicators**, or indicative of the predicate.
- (4) **Illustrators**, or illustrative of the predicate, or of the explanation of the subject.
- (5) **Complements**, or complementary of the predicator.

And complements are either indicators or explicators. Therefore also **complementary indicators** may be explained by explicators, and this explanation may be illustrated by illustrators. And **complementary explicators** may be illustrated by illustrators.

But, since speech is a mode of communication between man and man, mankind speaks with a **purpose**. The function of sentences is to indicate the purpose of speech. The purpose of speech is either (1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, or (5) information. Purpose may be indicated in a sentence by the **position** of its components, by the **tones** of its components, by **variation** of the forms of its components, and by the addition of introductory words to express it or **introducers**.

Also, since the function of sentences is to indicate the purpose of speech, **connected purposes** may be indicated by **connected sentences**. The relation of connected sentences to each other is that of principal and subordinate. This relation may be expressed by the position of the connected sentences, by variation of the tones or forms of their components, or by the addition of referent words expressing it or **referents**. A referent word may express the interrelation of connected sentences by conjoining them, or by substituting itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. Referents are therefore **conjunctors** or **substitutes**.

Also, since the words composing the parts of a sentence are placed in a position of relation to each other, this relation may be expressed in the sentence by the addition of connecting words expressing it or connectors, or by variation of the forms of the words themselves.

Also, since predicators are specially connected with indicators, explicators with indicators, illustrators and complements with predicators, and referent substitutes with their principals, there is an intimate relation between predicator and indicator, indicator and explicator, illustrator and predicator, predicator and complement, referent substitute and principal. This intimate relation may be expressed by the addition of connecting words to express it, or by correlated variation in the forms of the specially connected words or by their relative position or by their relative tones.

Since speech is a mode of communication between man and man by expression, that communication may be made complete without complete expression. Speech may, therefore, be partly expressed, or be partly left unexpressed. And since speech may be partly left unexpressed, referent words may refer to the unexpressed portions, and words may be related to unexpressed words or correlated to them. Referent substitutes may, therefore, indicate the subject of a sentence.

Again, many words may be used collectively to express the meaning of one word. The collective expression of a single meaning by two or more words is a **phrase**. The relation of a phrase to the word it represents is that of original and substitute. A phrase, therefore, fulfils the function of its original.

Since a phrase is composed of words used collectively to represent a single expression of a meaning, that meaning may be complete in itself. Therefore a phrase may be a sentence. A sentence substituted for a word is a **clause**. A clause, therefore, fulfils the function of its original.

Since clauses represent words, a sentence may be composed of clauses, or partly of clauses and partly of words. A sentence composed of clauses, or partly of clauses and partly of words, is a **period**.

Therefore a word is functionally either —

- (1) A sentence in itself or an **integer**,
- (2) An **essential component** of a sentence, or
- (3) An **optional component** of a sentence.

The essential components of a sentence are (1) indicators, (2) explicators, (3) predicators, (4) illustrators, (5) complements. And complements are either indicators or explicators.

The optional components of a sentence are (1) introducers, (2) referents, (3) connectors. And referents are either referent conjunctors or referent substitutes.

To recapitulate: Functionally a word is either —

- (1) An **integer**, or a sentence in itself.
- (2) An **indicator**, or indicative of the subject or complement of a sentence.
- (3) An **explicator**, or explanatory of its subject or complement.
- (4) A **predicator**, or indicative of its predicate.
- (5) An **illustrator**, or illustrative of its predicate or complement, or of the explanation of its subject or complement.
- (6) A **connector**, or explanatory of the interrelation of its components.
- (7) An **introducer**, or explanatory of its purpose.
- (8) A **referent conjunctor**, or explanatory of the interrelation of connected sentences by joining them.
- (9) A **referent substitute**, or explanatory of the interrelation of connected sentences by substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers.

An individual word may fulfil all the functions of words, or it may fulfil only one function, or it may fulfil many functions. When a word can fulfil more than one function, the function it fulfils in a particular sentence is indicated by its **position** in the sentence, either without variation of form, or with variation of form or by its **tone**. There are, therefore, **classes of words**.

Since a word may fulfil only one function, there are as many classes as there are functions. Also since a word may fulfil more than one function, it may belong to as many classes as there are functions which it can fulfil. A word may, therefore, be transferable from one class to another; and this transfer may be effected by its **position** in the sentence without variation of form, or with variation of form or by its **tone**. The class to which a word belongs may, therefore, be indicated by its **form** or **tone**.

When a word is transferable from one class to another, it belongs primarily to a certain class and secondarily to other classes. But, since by transfer to another class from the class to which it primarily belongs (with or without variation of form) the word fulfils a **new function**, it becomes a **new word** connected with the original word. The relation between **connected words** is that of parent and offshoot. Since the form of a word may indicate its class, both parent and offshoot may assume the forms of the classes to which they respectively belong.

When connected words differ in form, they consist of a principal part or **stem**, and an additional part or **functional affix**. The function of the stem is to indicate the meaning of the word. The function of the functional affix is to modify that meaning with reference to the function of the word. This **modification** may be effected by indicating the class to which the word belongs, or by indicating its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence.

A stem may be an original meaning or **simple stem**, or it may be a modification of an original meaning or **compound stem**. A compound stem consists of a principal part or root, and additional parts or **radical affixes**. The function of the root is to indicate the original meaning of the stem. The function of the radical affixes is to indicate the **modification** by which the meaning of the root had been changed into the meaning of the stem.

Since words fulfil functions and belong to classes, they possess **inherent qualities**. The inherent qualities of words may be indicated by **qualitative affixes** or by **tones**.

Affixes are, therefore, **functional**, or indicative of the function of the word to which they are affixed, or of its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence; **radical**, or indicative of the modifications of meaning which its root has undergone; **qualitative**, or indicative of its inherent qualities.

Affixes may be —

- (1) **Prefixes**, or prefixed to the root, stem, or word;
- (2) **Infixes**, or fixed into the root, stem, or word;
- (3) **Suffixes**, or suffixed to the root, stem, or word.

Affixes may be attached to roots, stems, or words in their **full form**, or in a **varied form**. When there is variation of form, there is **inflexion** or inseparability of the affix from the root, stem, or word. All the functions of affixes can, therefore, be fulfilled by inflexion; and **inflected words** may conform to particular **kinds of inflexion**.

Since a sentence is composed of words placed in a particular order, with or without variation of form, the meaning of a sentence is rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position, with their tones, or with their forms, or partly with their position and partly with their forms or tones.

Since sentences are the units of languages, and words are the components of sentences, and since languages are varieties of speech, languages may vary in the forms of their words, in the tones of their words, in the position in which their words are placed in the sentence, or partly in the forms and tones and partly in the position of their words. There are, therefore, classes of languages.

Since the meaning of a sentence may be rendered complete by the position of its words, by their tones, or by their form, languages are primarily divisible into **syntactical languages**, or those that express complete meaning by the position and tones of their words; and into **formative languages**, or those that express complete meaning by the position and forms of their words.

Since syntactical languages use either position or position and tone, they are divisible into **analytical languages** and **tonic languages**.

Since words are varied in form by the addition of affixes, and since affixes may be attached to words in an unaltered or altered form, formative languages are divisible into **agglutinative languages**, or those that add affixes without alteration; and into **synthetic languages**, or those that add affixes with alteration.

Since affixes may be prefixes, infixes, or suffixes, agglutinative and synthetic languages are each divisible into (1) **premutative languages**, or those that prefix their affixes; (2) **intromutative languages**, or those that infix their affixes; (3) **postmutative languages**, or those that suffix their affixes.

Languages are, therefore, by class either syntactical or formative. And syntactical languages are either analytical or tonic, and formative languages are either agglutinative or synthetic. And agglutinative and synthetic languages are either premutative, intromutative, or postmutative.

A language may belong entirely to one class, or it may belong to more than one class. When a language belongs to more than one class, it belongs primarily to a particular class, and secondarily to other classes.

Since the meaning of a sentence is rendered complete by the meaning of its words in combination with their forms or position, languages may be **connected languages**, or those that vary the forms, the tones, or the position, without varying the meanings, of their words.

Since variation of form is effected by the addition of affixes in an unaltered form, connected languages may vary the affixes without variation of the roots or stems of their words. Connected languages whose stems are common belong to a **group**. Connected languages whose roots are common belong to a **family**; and, therefore, all connected languages belonging to a group belong to the same family.

(d) A Brief Exposition of the Theory.

All speech expresses a communication between man and man by talking or by signs. Languages are varieties of speech. The unit of every language is the expression of a complete communication, *i. e.*, the sentence. All sentences are divided into incomplete expressions of communication, *i. e.*, words, and are as naturally multiplied into languages. Thus there is a development both ways from the sentence.

The necessary primary division of every sentence made up of words is into the matter communicated (**subject**) and the communication made about it (**predicate**). The words in each of these divisions are of necessity in the relation of principal and subordinate, which involves the fulfilment of a function by every word.

The function of the principal word of the subject is obviously to indicate the matter communicated and of the subordinate words to explain the indication and illustrate that explanation. Similarly, the principal word of the predicate indicates the communication made and the subordinate words illustrate the indication or complete it.

Therefore, in every language the essential words in a sentence are : —

- (1) indicator, indicating the subject or the complement.
- (2) explicator, explaining that indication.
- (3) predicator, indicating the predicate.
- (4) illustrators, illustrating the predicator or the explicator.

As all speech expresses a communication, it has a purpose, and the functions of the sentences is to express one of the five following purposes : — (1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, (5) information. The methods adopted for indicating the purpose of a sentence are (1) placing the components in a particular order, or (2) varying their forms or the tones in which they are spoken, or (3) adding special introductory words. When the purposes of speech are by their nature connected together, this connection is naturally indicated by connected sentences in the relation of principal and subordinate, which is expressed by methods similar to those above noted, viz., placing them in a particular order, or varying the forms or tones of their components, or adding special referent words of two kinds, (1) simple conjoining words, (2) words substituting themselves in the subordinate sentence for the words in the principal sentence to which they refer.

The relation of the words composing the parts of a sentence is also expressed by the similar methods of adding special connecting words, or of varying the forms or tones of the words ; and so, too, the intimate relation between indicator and predicator, indicator and explicator, illustrator and predicator, predicator and complement, referent substitute and principal, is similarly expressed by special connecting words, by correlated variation of the words in intimate relation, by their relative position, or by the tones used in severally expressing them.

Complete communication can be, and is habitually, in every language, made without a complete expression of it in speech, and so referent words are made to refer to words unexpressed and to be related or correlated to them, and referent substitutes are made to indicate the unexpressed subject or complement of a sentence.

The function of the sentence and the interrelation of the words composing it are therefore in all speech expressed by three methods : position, variation, or addition of special words. Every language adopts one or more or all of these methods.

Therefore, in every language the optional words in a sentence are : —

- (5) connector, explaining the interrelation of the components,
- (6) introducer, explaining its purpose,
- (7) referent conjuncter, joining connected sentences,
- (8) referent substitutes, indicating the interrelation of connected sentences or unexpressed communications.

To the essential and optional components of the sentence must be added (9) the integer, or word that of necessity in every language expresses in itself a complete communication, i. e., is a sentence.

Thus is explainable the natural resolution of the sentence into its component words, but any one word can be, and habitually is, extended to many words, used collectively to express its meaning. Words thus used collectively form a phrase, which is substituted for its original. When a phrase contains in itself a complete meaning, and thus is a sentence substituted for a word, it becomes a clause. Therefore, clauses and phrases are merely expanded words, fulfilling the functions and bearing the relations of the words for which they are substituted in an expanded sentence or period. Therefore also, the period is a true sentence in the sense of being the expression of a complete meaning, and so the unit of every language adopting it.

In all speech, words are made to indicate the functions they fulfil in a sentence by their position in it, with or without using tones, and with or without variation in form, and this habit gives rise of necessity to clauses of words according to function. And as any given word can naturally fulfil more than one function, it becomes as naturally transferable from its own class to another, the transfer

being indicated by position in the sentence with or without variation in form or tone. The class of a word thus indicates its function; and its position, alone or combined with its form or tone, indicates its class.

So when a word is transferred from its original class, it necessarily fulfils a new function and becomes a new word, connected with the original word in the relation of parent and offshoot, each equally of necessity assuming the form or tone of its own class.

The functions of words in a sentence, and consequently their classes, are therefore in all speech expressed by two methods: position or position combined with variation or tone. Every language adopts one or other or both.

When in any language connected words differ in form, they are made to consist of a principal part or stem and an additional part or functional affix. The stem is used for indicating the meaning of the word, and the functional affix for modifying that meaning according to function, by indicating the class to which the word belongs, or its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence.

A simple stem necessarily indicates an original meaning, but a stem can be, and habitually is, used for indicating a modification of an original meaning. It then naturally becomes a compound stem, *i. e.*, made up, by the same method as that above noted, of a principal part or root and of additional parts or radical affixes, each with its own function, the root to indicate the original meaning, and the affix its modification into meaning of the stem.

As all words differing in form or tone of necessity fulfil functions and belong to classes, they must possess a nature, *i. e.*, qualities inherent in themselves, and these, in all languages using such words, are indicated by the addition of qualitative affixes or by the tones in which they are spoken.

Every affix is of necessity fixed in the midst of, or prefixed or suffixed to, a root, stem, or word, the affixing being naturally effected in full or in a varied form. Whenever there is variation of form amounting to material change, there is necessarily inflexion, or inseparability of the affixes. Inflexion can therefore be made to fulfil all the functions of affixes, and inflected words to conform to particular kinds of inflexion, in order to indicate function and class: and as tone can be equally made to indicate the functions and classes of words, it takes the place of inflexion.

Words are therefore made to fulfil their functions merely by the tone in which they are spoken or by an external development effected by affixes, and to express modifications of their original meaning by a similar use of tones or of internal development. In the case of both internal and external development the affixes are prefixes, infixes, or suffixes affixed in full or varied form or by inflexion. All languages; using variation of form for causing the components of sentences, *i. e.*, words, to fulfil their functions, adopt one or other, or all the above methods of effecting the variation.

Therefore in all speech, communication expressed in a sentence is rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position, tones or forms, or with position combined with form or tone.

The methods adopted in developing the sentence, *i. e.*, the unit of speech itself, are found to entirely govern those adopted in its further development into a language or variety of speech.

Languages differ naturally in the position of their words in the sentence, or in their forms or tones, or in the combination of position with form or tone. Thus are set up naturally two primary classes of languages:—Syntactical Languages, which express complete communication by the position, and Formative Languages, which express it by the forms of their words.

As position alone or combined with tone can fulfil all the functions of speech, the Syntactical Languages employ one or both of those methods, and thus are created respectively Analytical Languages and Tonic Languages.

Again, in all speech, variety of form is secured by affixes attached to words in an unaltered or an altered form. Formative Languages necessarily therefore divide themselves

into Agglutinative Languages, attaching affixes in an unaltered form, and Synthetic Languages, attaching them in an altered form. These two classes are both further naturally divisible into (1) Premutative, (2) Intromutative, (3) Postmutative Languages, according as they attach affixes as prefixes, infixes or suffixes.

In obedience to a fundamental Law of Nature, no language has ever developed along a single line, and therefore every language belongs of necessity primarily to one of the above classes, and secondarily to others, by partial adoption of their methods.

Languages, varying the form, tones or position, without varying the meanings, of their words, form naturally Connected Languages in the relation of parent and offshoot. Connected Languages, whose stems, i.e., the meanings of whose words, are common to all, form a natural Group of Languages, and those Connected Languages, whose roots, i.e., the original meanings of whose words, are common to all, form a natural Family of Languages. Therefore also of necessity all Connected Languages belonging to a Group belong to the same Family.

As the above method of expounding the Theory involves the use of unfamiliar terms, it is as well to state that the new and the old terms of Grammar roughly, though not exactly, correspond as follows; it being remembered that the old terms are themselves the outcome of another tacit Theory, based upon other observations of natural laws or phenomena.

Table of Comparative Grammatical Terms.

<i>Old.</i>	<i>New.</i>
Noun.	Indicator.
Adjective.	Explicator.
Verb.	Predicator.
Adverbs of different classes.	{ Illustrator. Introducer.
Preposition. }	Connector.
Postposition. }	
Conjunction. }	
Interjection.	Integer.
Pronoun. }	Referent Substitute.
Relative Adverb. }	
Relative Particle. }	
Gender, Number, Case. }	Inflection of different kinds.
Declension. }	
Person, Mood, Tense. }	
Conjugation. }	
Concord, Agreement. }	{ Correlated Variation. Intimate Relation.
Government. }	

DIAGRAM I.

Explaining the Lines upon which the Theory is Worked out.

Principle of the Development of the Sentence out of its Components.

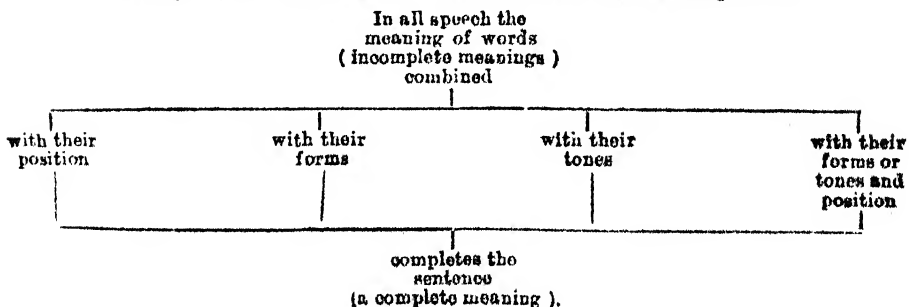
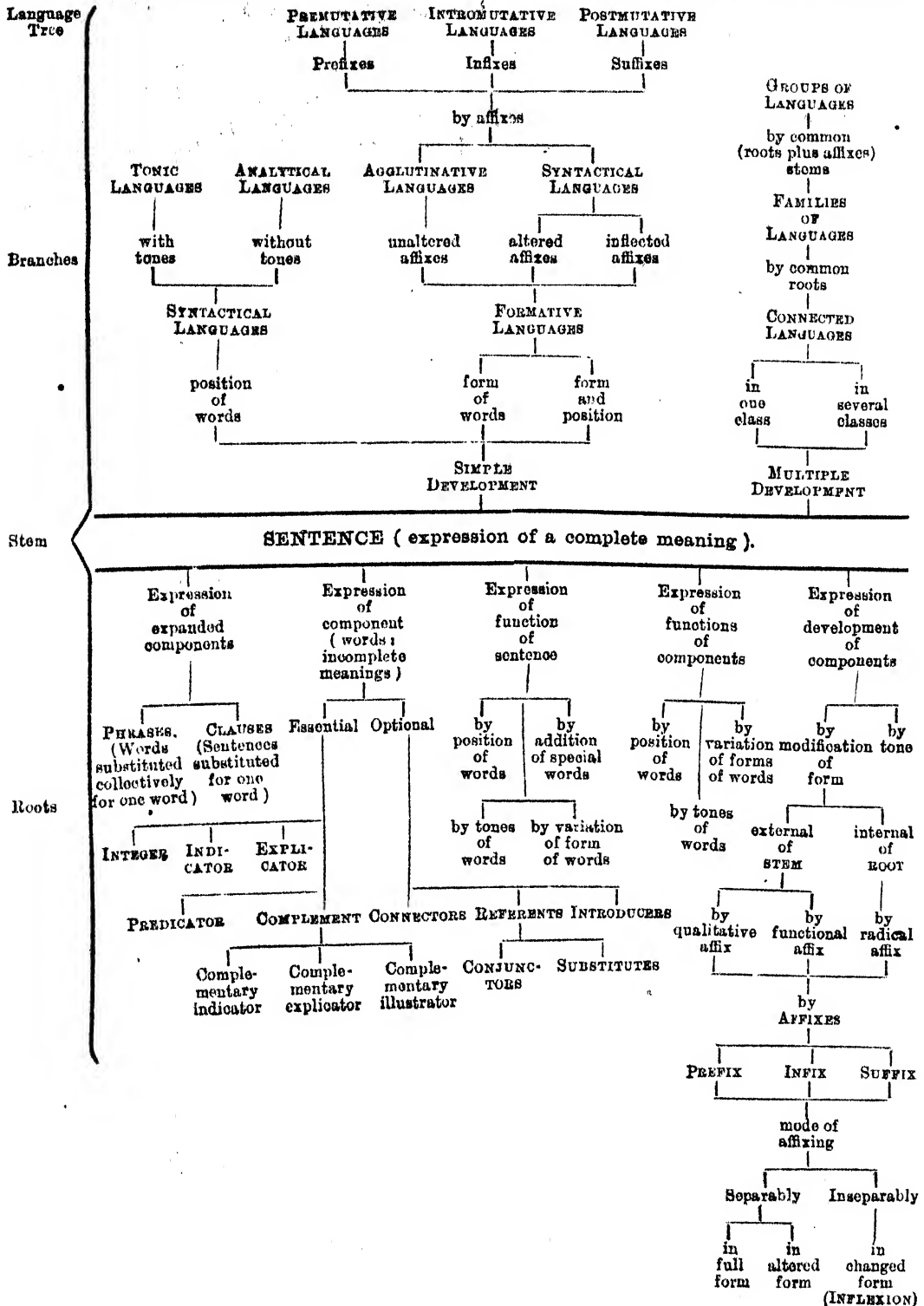


DIAGRAM II.

Development of the Sentence or complete meaning, upwards into languages, downwards into its components.



(c) Methods of Analysing the Sentence
according to the Theory of Universal Grammar.

I. — By its Components.

Definitions and Notes.

1. A sentence is composed of Words.
2. A Word is the expression of a meaning.
3. A Sentence is the expression of a complete meaning.
4. Words required to express the meaning of a sentence are (1) integers, (2) indicators, (3) predicators, (4) explicators, (5) illustrators.

Analyses.

1. An Integer completes the Sentence.
2. The Subject and the Predicate make up the Sentence.
3. An Indicator completes the Subject.
4. The principal word (Indicator) and subordinate words make up the Sentence.
5. Illustrators and Explicators make up the subordinate words.
6. The Predicator completes the Predicate.
7. The principal word (Predicator) and subordinate words make up the Predicate.
8. Illustrators and the Complement (Object) make up the Predicate.
9. An Indicator or an Explicator completes the Complement.
10. The principal word (Indicator or Explicator) and subordinate words make up the Complement.
11. Illustrators and Explicators make up the subordinate words.

II. — By the Interrelation and Intimate Relation of its Components.

Definitions and Notes.

1. Interrelation of component words is expressed by variation in form.
2. Intimate relation of component words is expressed by correlated variation in form (agreement and government).
3. Words required to express the interrelation of component words are (6) connector.

Analyses.

1. Connected Words complete the Sentence.
2. Component words with variation in form and connectors make up the Sentence.
3. Indicator and Predicate, Indicator and Explicator, Illustrators and Predicate, Predicate and Complement form the Component Words.
4. Correlated Variation in form expresses the intimate relation between Indicator and Predicate, Indicator and Explicator, Illustrators and Predicate, Predicate and Complement.

III. — By its Function.

Definitions and Notes.

1. The function of a sentence is to express its purpose.
2. Words required to express the function of a sentence are (7) Introducers.

Analyses.

1. Affirmation, Denial, Interrogation, Exhortation, or Information, completes the Sentence.
2. The function of the Sentence is either Affirmation, Denial, Interrogation, Exhortation, Information.
3. Words varied in tone or form indicate the function.
4. The position of the words indicates the function.
5. An Introducer indicates the function.

IV. — By its Expanded Components.*Definitions and Notes.*

1. The Components are expanded by the substitution of Phrases, Clauses and Sentences for Words.
2. A Phrase is the substitute for a word by the collective expression of a meaning by two or more words.
3. A Clause is the substitute for a word by the collective expression of a complete meaning by two or more words.
4. A Period is a sentence expanded by Clauses or Words.

Analyses.

1. Clauses substituted for Words complete the Expanded Sentence or Period.
2. Phrases or Clauses substituted for Words and Words make up the Expanded Sentence or Period.

V. — By the Interrelation of its Expanded Components.*Definitions and Notes.*

1. Connected Sentences express connected purposes.
2. Words required to express the interrelation of Connected Sentences are (8) Referent Conjunctors, (9) Referent Substitutes.
3. A Tone is a point on a conventional scale of the voice in speaking.

Analyses.

1. Connected Sentences complete the Expanded Sentences or Period.
2. The Principal Sentence and Subordinate Sentences make up the Connected Sentences.
3. Referent Conjunctors indicate the Principal Sentence.
4. Variation of the tone, form and position of the words indicates the Principal Sentence.
5. Variation of the tone, form and position of the words indicates a Subordinate Sentence.
6. In Subordinate Sentences the Subjective part is indicated by referent substitutes with correlated variation in form, with or without variation in form, and with or without tone.
7. In Subordinate Sentences unexpressed communication is indicated by referent conjunctors with correlated variation in form, with or without variation in form, and with or without tone.

VI. — By the Functions of its Components.*Analyses.*

1. Essential and Optional Components make up the Sentence.
2. An Integer completes the Sentence.
3. Indicator, Explicators, Predicator, Illustrators and Complement form the Essential Components.
4. Indicator and Explicators complete the Complement.
5. Indicator, Explicators and Illustrators make up the Complement.
6. Connectors, Introducer, Referent Conjunctors, and Referent Substitutes form the Optional Components.

VII. — By the Classes of its Components.*Definitions and Notes.*

1. The Class indicates the Nature of a Word.
2. The Form indicates the Class of a Word.

Analyses.

1. Fulfilment of function by component words combined with position completes the Sentence.
2. Fulfilment of one, many, or all functions produces the transfer of component words from class to class.
3. Fulfilment of one, many, or all functions indicates the class of a component word.
4. A Component Word, without and with variation of form and with and without tone, by position fulfil one, many, or all functions.

VIII. — By the Interrelation of the Classes of its Components.*Note.*

1. Connected Words indicate their transfer from one class to another.

Analyses.

1. Connected Words in the form of their Primary Class or of their Secondary Classes together with other Component Words make up the Sentence.
2. The Parent Word and Offshoot Words form the Connected Words.
3. Classes of words consist of the Primary Class which forms the Parent Word and of Secondary Classes which form the Offshoot Words.
4. Secondary Classes by fulfilling new functions and by transfer from the Primary Class, with or without variation of form and without or with tone, form the Offshoot Words.

IX. — By the Interrelation of the Functions of its Components.*Definitions and Notes.*

1. The root indicates the original meaning of a word.
2. Affixes comprise prefixes, infixes, suffixes.
3. Affixes modify the meaning of a word.
4. A radical affix modifies the meaning of a root.
5. A simple stem is the principal part of a Word indicating its meaning.
6. A functional affix modifies the meaning of a stem in relation to its function.
7. A compound stem comprises a root and its radical affix.
8. A qualitative affix modifies a word by indicating its nature (inherent qualities) in relation to function or class.
9. Connected words comprise stems and their functional affixes.
10. Inflexion is caused by an alteration in the form of inseparable affixes.
11. Inflected words conform to particular kinds of inflexion.
12. Tone is a substitute for inflexion.

Analyses.

1. Connected words and other component words make up the Sentence.
2. Qualitative Affixes indicate the inherent qualities of classes of connected words.
3. Simple stems and compound stems make up connected words.
4. Functional Affixes, by indicating class, interrelation and correlation, modify simple stems and compound stems.
5. Radical Affixes modify roots into compound stems.
6. Prefixes, Infixes and Suffixes attached separably in full or varied form to root, stem or word form Affixes.
7. Prefixes, Infixes and Suffixes attached inseparably by inflexion (altered form) of one or many kinds to root, stem or word form Affixes.

X. — By the Position, Tone and Form of its Components.*Analyses.*

1. The meaning of the components with position or form completes the Sentence.
2. The meaning of the components with position and form or tone completes the Sentence.

XI. — By General Development into Languages.*Note.*

1. No Language has ever developed along one line of development only.

Analyses.

1. The Sentence by the forms or position of its components creates all Languages.
2. The Sentence by the forms or tones combined with the position of its components creates all Languages.

XII. — By Development into Classes of Languages.*Analyses.*

1. The Sentence by variation of the forms or position of its components creates Classes of Languages.

2. The Sentence by combining variation of the forms and position or of the tones and position of its components creates Classes of Languages.

3. The Classes of Languages comprise the Syntactical and Formative Languages.

4. The position of the components of the sentences create the Syntactical Languages.

5. The forms of the components of the sentences create the Formative Languages.

6. The Syntactical Languages without tones form the Analytical Languages.

7. The Syntactical Languages with tones form the Tonic Languages.

8. Formative Languages by varying the forms of the components of the sentences by means of unaltered affixes form the Agglutinative Languages.

9. Formative Languages by varying the forms of the components of the sentences by means of altered affixes (inflexion) form the Synthetic Languages.

10. Agglutinative and Synthetic Languages by means of prefixed, infixed and suffixed affixes form respectively the Premutative, Intromutative and Postmutative Languages.

11. Syntactical and Formative Languages which are by nature of one Primary Class are Parent Languages.

12. Syntactical and Formative Languages which partially adopt the nature of Secondary Classes are Offshoot Languages.

13. Parent and Offshoot Languages comprise all Languages.

XIII. — By Development with Interrelated Classes of Languages.*Analyses.*

1. The Sentence with or without varied affixes to the stems of its components creates Groups of Languages.

2. The Sentence with or without varied affixes to the roots of the stems creates Families of Languages.

3. The Sentence by variation of the tones, forms or position of its components in Families of Languages but without variation in the meaning of the components creates Connected Languages.

4. Connected Languages by conforming to one Primary Classes or by conforming partially to Secondary Classes comprise all Languages.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE CHINS OF BURMA.

BY THE REV. G. WHITEHEAD.

(Formerly Missionary to the Chins, S. P. G.)

Religion.

THE religion of all the Turanian races has been **Animism or Shamanism**. The general lines of the religion of all the hill-tribes of Burma may be given in brief in the words in which Prof. A. H. Sayce in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*¹ describes the religion of the Sumerians of Babylonia of three thousand years B. C. "According to the Sumerian idea every object and force in nature had its *zi* or 'spirit,' which manifested itself in life and motion. The *zi* was sometimes beneficent, sometimes malignant, but it could be controlled by the incantations and spells which were known to the sorcerer-priests."

The chief objects of worship among the Chins may be divided into three groups : — (i) **the Great Parent** of all; (ii) **the spirits** who live in earth and sky, who send rain or withhold it, who watch over the village, the rice-fields, the jungle, or some one tree or mountain, &c.; and (iii) **the penates**, i. e., deceased forefathers, whom they fear rather than love, for while they dread their anger they expect little in the way of blessing from them. The Chins **do not worship any images**; nor do they make any carved representations of any of these objects of worship.

The **Great Parent** of all is regarded as a female, **Mother 'Li**, and they do not think that she has or had any male counterpart. Perhaps one may rather say that they believe that sex does not enter into 'Li's essence. Mother 'Li reigns "on her throne in the heavens," "never growing old and never dying." She created, of her spittle, the earth and the sea and the sky, and brought forth by her power all life, animal and vegetable. She created man and imparted to him all the material and mental and spiritual blessings that he enjoys. All mankind are her children, and she loves them all. She has given to each nation its bounds and language and letters. She is wholly good.

Reasoning, as I imagine, from the analogy of daily life, the teachers or priests have told the Chins that Mother 'Li herself has not existed from all times, but had, as parents and ancestors, **Yin, Aw, 'Keu and 'Kyên**, who are now dead, and, like other departed spirits, much more apt to trouble the living than to assist them; — so much so that the names **Yin-Aw** are sometimes used to denote in brief all the spirits (Mother 'Li alone excepted), and that in a very unfavourable sense. It was too much, however, for the Chin mind to go back one step further, and to ask whence Yin and Aw came. They have never really faced the question of the First Cause.

The **genesis of the human race in general**, and of the Chins in particular, is thus told by the Chin teachers. In the beginning, after **Mother 'Li** had made the world, she **laid a hundred eggs**, which she hatched in cotton-wool, and from which sprang a hundred pairs of human beings, the progenitors of the different races of mankind. She laid **yet another egg, a little one**, which was most beautiful to see, and which she specially cared for. In her affection she did not put this one in cotton-wool, but kept it in an earthen pot, and so it did not hatch. After a while, thinking that the egg was addled, she threw it on to the roof of the house. It fell from the roof into some rubbish under the eaves, and was not broken. Afterwards when the rains came, it was borne down by the water with the rubbish into a stream, and finally lodged in a *yang-lai* (or *gyin-yè*) bush. Here the **ashun, or king-crow, spied the egg**, and carrying it off, hatched it; and from this egg came a boy and a girl, the progenitors of the **Chin race**. It was only a small hamlet of nine or ten houses where the Chin race was hatched; but as to the race of the people who lived in

¹ Tenth Edition, Vol. XXVI, p. 46.

that hamlet, tradition naturally says nothing. To this day, out of gratitude to the benefactor of their ancestors, the Chins will not kill or eat the king-crow (or the long-tailed edolus) which they will still speak of as their father and mother.

"After the boy and girl were born they were separated. When the boy grew up, as he had no mate, he **made a bitch his wife**. The Chin girl also grew up by herself, and was carried off by a bear, who placed her in a tree and kept her there. From this captivity she was delivered by a bee, which came to her and directed her to tie a piece of cotton to his tail, by means of which he guided her to where the male Chin was living in the valley of the river called by the Burmese, the Chindwin. In commemoration of this, when children are born a piece of cotton is tied to their hands. The man wished to make this woman his wife, but the woman objected, because the bee had told her that they were brother and sister. To settle this dispute they went to their Mother 'Li. Her order was that as the man had married a bitch, **the bitch should be sacrificed**, and the man should then marry the woman; that their sons and daughters should also intermarry, but after that the brother's daughters should marry the sister's sons. Hence arose the Chin customs of offering up a dog to the household spirits and of **giving the daughters of brothers in marriage to those brothers' sisters' sons**.

"Mother 'Li loved her youngest born son, but before she found him she had already partitioned off the world among her other children, and there was nothing but inhospitable mountain ranges left for the Chin. These she assigned to him, and she gave him also elephants and horses and cattle, and directed his Burman brother to look after his education. This **Burman brother**, however, turned out to be a very wicked and unscrupulous guardian. He pretended to educate the 'ignorant wild Chin,' but he showed him nothing but the blank side of his slate; so that he never learned a single letter. Before he put him on an elephant, he rubbed the elephant's back with cowhage, which so tickled the poor Chin's bare skin that he refused to have anything to do with such animals in future, and gave them all to his elder brother the Burman. The buffalo, too, the Burman managed to deprive him of. When the Chin tried to ride it, the Burman's wife put herself in the way and got knocked down. The Burman complained to Mother 'Li, who decided that the buffalo should be given over to the Burman in compensation for the injury done. Ultimately of all the animals which had been given to him, goats and fowls and pigs were the only ones which remained in his possession.

"The grasping Burman did not even permit his brother to remain in undisturbed possession of his mountain home. When the boundaries of the different countries were marked out, the Burman took care to mark his with permanent objects, but the Chin set up no marks save some twisted knots of grass. These were burnt up by the jungle fires, and then as the Chin had no marks to show, he was ordered to live wherever the Burman allowed him. Thus his race has never had a country of its own, and wanders still over the mountain ranges of Burma.

"The origin of every Chin law and custom is religiously assigned by the Chins to the orders of Mother 'Li, the great mother of the human race, who is said to have laid down a complete code of laws for the guidance of her Chin progeny."²

As Mother 'Li gave letters to other nations, so she did to the Chins also. The Burman paid not very much attention to the gift, but wrote the letters on leaves and stones; the Chin in his veneration towards the Giver wrote his language on parchment (deer's skin); but when no one was in the house, the dog came along and ate the skin. The Chin submitted as patiently as he could to the loss, but he still hopes, when he eats the flesh of his young dogs, as he

² Col. Horace Browne, *Gazetteer of Thuyetmyo* (1874), pp. 48, 49.

frequently does, to imbibe some of the wisdom which that progenitor of the race of dogs then swallowed.³

Like the other hill-tribes, the Chins are much addicted to drinking 'kaung, or rice-beer, and this gift is also attributed to Mother 'Li, and the Chins say that when it is prepared in the orthodox fashion it has the same consistency as Mother 'Li's milk. It was given them, they say, to maintain their strength after the lake of milk with which Mother 'Li had first endowed them was dried up. 'Kaung, however, is not offered to Mother 'Li, though it is always offered to the spirits (*penates*, or otherwise), and forms an essential part of every Chin marriage or funeral. Among the wild Chins, I believe, at the end of a big wedding, often not a single man, woman, or child is sober; and charges made before the village elders of adultery committed on such occasions have been summarily put aside on the ground that there was no person present at the time who was sober enough to know and to remember what took place. The Burmans, as Buddhists, are all, at any rate in theory, total abstainers from alcoholic liquors; and the Southern Chins, who have come very much in contact with them, have, at least, learnt to believe that it is not meritorious to get drunk, and many of them are free from the vice of intemperance. It should be added that it is not the Chin custom to drink 'kaung regularly, but they are addicted to very heavy drinking on the occasion of a feast or of making sacrifices (to the spirits).

Tribal System.

The Chins are divided into forty or more of clans, called a'so, each clan having its common ancestry, called 'kun. The 'kuns are often spoken of as male. There is also the (n)zö-yai ancestry worshipped only by the women, with an offering of dog's flesh; but of this, and of another tribal distinction called 'kó, little information can be got. The (n)zö-yai does not seem to be a female ancestry, but it is reckoned to be in the female line of natural birth. One may be adopted into a different 'kun, for the name is used of the clan, as well as of the original ancestor and of his deceased descendants, male and female; but one's (n)zö-yai can never be changed.

The Chin clans are all exogamous, *i. e.*, a man may not marry a woman of his own clan; but, as we shall see later on, after the marriage ceremonies are over, the wife is initiated into her husband's clan, and has her wrists wrapped round with cotton-yarn as a witness to all evil spirits that she is under the guardianship of the 'kun of her husband. So, too, all children, four or five days after birth, are admitted in like manner into the 'kun; and at the same time children have their ears bored. As to the origin of this last custom, the Chins have a strangely childish tradition. They say that if Póí 'Kleuk, the Lord of the Underworld, spies a man who has not his ears bored, he will think that this is not a man but a rabbit, and will give chase. So to avoid this mistake, and the disaster that might attend it, all Chin infants have their ears bored.

If a Chin dies leaving a widow with young children, some months after his death she will return to her parents or elder brother, and she will be readmitted, with the children also, into her ancestral 'kun. Afterwards when the children are grown up, they may be readmitted into their father's 'kun. The widow, too, may marry again; and in that case will, of course, be

³ Of recent years the American Baptist Missionaries have, with somewhat modified success, adapted, for the Chin language, the Pwo-Karen alphabet, which is again a modification of the Burmese one. They have also published in that form a Chin spelling-book, an elementary catechism, a hymn-book, and a translation of St. John, i-vi. They are, however, I understand, doubtful as to the advisability of continuing to use these characters. In 1892, Mr. Bernard Houghton, I.C.S., issued his "Essay on the Language of the Southern Chins" (with grammar, vocabularies, and sentences), in which he used the Roman characters, and this has been found far more suitable for the purpose, although as there is as yet no reading public very little has been produced in that form.

admitted into the *'kun* of her second husband. If the string were not tied round their wrists on their admission into the *'kun*, they would probably soon come to an untimely end, and on their death they would not be permitted to arrive at the land of Póí Klenk.

When two Chins who are strangers meet and enter into conversation, the first question is ordinarily, "What is your clan?" All of the same clan are regarded as brothers.* Like all the hill-tribes and the people of the plains, too, of Burma, the Chins are hospitable according to their means, — and more especially so towards their brethren of the same clan.

The explanation which the Chins themselves give of their origin of the clans is that long, long ago each tribe, or clan, lived by itself on one mountain side, *e. g.*, that the Mendet tribe originally lived in Mendet village. Nowadays even a small village may have members of an indefinite number of tribes.

Some of the clans, as the Mendet and Talau, are to be held in more honour than others; but as their daughters must marry into other clans than their own, and their own wives also must have come from other clans, there is a complete absence of caste feeling.

*Certain sacrifices to the guardian nat (the Burmese name for "spirit") are performed by the Mendet and Talau clans alone. When they make these sacrifices, one person from each house, partaking in the sacrifice, brings a small measure (*salè*) of uncooked rice with a little cotton-yarn on the top of it. A pig is sacrificed, and the rice is cooked. A stand for the offering to the nat is erected before the house where the worshippers assemble, and all the persons taking part in the sacrifice have their wrists wrapped round with the yarn. Then, after the *pa'san* *'sayá* (their teacher or priest) has uttered the incantations, and the nat is satisfied and gives permission, they all fall to and feast.

Every year each clan will have a special sacrifice to their deceased forefathers, and will offer them pork and rice and *'kaung*. The *pa'san* *'sayá* invites the spirits to the feast, calling over their names, and if there have been any comparatively recent deaths (say within two or three years) in the clan, the spirits of these their relatives are enrolled in the *'kun*.

Propitiatory Ceremonies.

The Chins have a custom of offering first-fruits to Mother Ceres, whom they call **Pók Klai**. They say that if she gives them but one look they will have plenty of rice, and they tell a somewhat gruesome story to explain the origin of the custom of offering first-fruits. "Once upon a time a woman had a daughter. Before her death, as she lay adying, she said to her daughter, 'After I am dead and cremated, I shall return, wearing my intestines as a necklace. You must remain on the stairs. I shall come up by the back stairs and verandah. When I come you must throw some of the *kadu*-water (with which the corpse had been washed) over me. If you throw it I shall become a human being again.' Now when her mother came wearing her intestines as a necklace, the daughter was afraid, and durst not throw the *kadu*-water upon her mother; so, because she dared not, this woman could not become a human being again. Yet afterwards, her mother showed her where the cucumber seeds and the sweet cucumber and pumpkin seeds were,⁵ and, giving her a command, said: 'My daughter, eat the first-fruit of the corn in its season.' So to this day the Chins eat the first-fruits of their corn, as a religious function. Before the men eat they make offerings in their *yas* (corn, or vegetable patches) for their deceased ancestry to eat."

* Perhaps "cousins" would be the better rendering; for the Chins, like the Burmese, call their cousins of the first, and even of the second or third remove, by the same words as are used for "brother" or "sister."

⁵ *i. e.*, taught her how to grow the vegetables required for their curry.

The Chins also propitiate the rain fairy, Plaung 'Saw, with offerings of cattle, pigs, and chickens, and, of course, with rice and *'kaung* too. When this sacrifice is being held all the women must remain standing from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m.

When the Chins have sown their corn, they gather together in their fields and pray the Earth to lend herself (i. e., her increase) to them once again. If they do not thus petition the Earth to lend herself to them, but thanklessly and gracelessly clutch at what they can get without even so much as 'By your leave,' they may expect poor crops, and their children too will fall sick of fever through possession by the spirit. So they make an offering of a pig, a fowl, and a pot of *'kaung*, and also of three large and one small wicker-basketfuls of rice. They also wrap cotton-yarn on a piece of bamboo about three-quarters of a yard long, and pour some water from the bamboo on the baskets of offerings and on the worshippers. Again, as has been already stated, after the harvest is reaped, they assemble in the fields to make to the ancestor and others an offering of the first-fruits, and then they can eat the new corn.

In their houses, too, some Chins will, before they take a meal, call upon their ancestral *'kun*, or some other spirit, and then throw away a little ball of rice for the summoned spirit to eat; but of late the custom has not been performed with much devotion, even where it is still kept up.

Chins will also offer on sundry occasions to their ancestors the flower of the *thalyé* or *eugenia*, stones, cooked glutinous rice, and cotton.

The Chins have no images of Mother 'Li, of their *penates*, or of the other spirits whom they fear; and the figures of the king-crow and of the elephant, which are often carved on the top of the memorial posts placed in their ancestral cemetery, are not worshipped by them. Neither have they any chapels, temples, or other set places for assembly and for worship. Possession by an evil spirit does not connote with them either madness or moral turpitude, but merely sickness or some untoward accident.

Sickness or other trouble is supposed to be due to the animosity of some spirit-being, who has been provoked by something some one has done, probably unintentionally and in ignorance; but the consequence is the same, the spirit holds the man in his grip. The spirits are considered as capricious rather than wicked; though the people do not shrink from saying that they worship them because they (the spirits) are bad and therefore dangerous to them.

If a man strikes his naked toe against the ground, for they wear no boots or shoes, and his foot grows more and more painful after two or three days, he must propitiate the spirit of the ground, (n)Dek'san'put, by an offering of cooked rice, which is placed in a small bamboo basket, and buried at the place where the man hurt his foot. So, it is hoped, the spirit may be appeased by the food given him.

Immediately after the birth of a child, *nats* have to be appeased by the offering of two chickens made underneath the house; otherwise they would cause the child to be for ever crying, and to be in bad health.

The Spirits.

The names and number of these spirits is legion, and the duty of the teacher is to show the people how to perform the sacrifices duly, and to utter the right incantations; otherwise the offerings would be ineffective. The common name for the teacher is *yai-shên*, (called by the Burmans *pa'san 'sayá*), or *ok-mi* if skilled and respected. All these teachers recite rhythmically the customs relating to Mother 'Li, which they have received orally from their own teachers, and all of them are much given to the drinking of *'kaung*. The *lai-lö*, who holds forth at marriages, is a less esteemed teacher, and is especially fond of liquor. The office of teacher is not hereditary; neither are they intent on keeping the knowledge of their sacred

lore to themselves. They are, at least among the Southern Chins, agriculturists like their neighbours, and a villager who is not skilled enough in the traditions to be a *yai-shên* may yet be a *mong 'tên* (i. e., of "skilled lip") and able occasionally to make certain offerings in the absence of one more skilled than himself.

Some spirits may be satisfied if a chicken is offered in sacrifice, and a little of the flesh and some cooked rice thrown on the ground for them to eat; but generally a miniature house has to be constructed for the spirit (or *nat*, as the Burmese would call him), and offerings made of dogs, or pigs, or bullocks, or buffaloes. Sometimes whatever offerings may be made, the mind of the *nat* cannot be appeased; and in such cases, of course, the man dies. The *pa'san* 'sayé would not find the people so ready to listen to him, I imagine, were it not that the occasion of a sacrifice is almost the only time that the Chins eat any other than vegetable curry with their rice.

Cosmology.

The Chins conceive of the world as a flat surface, which is supported by two giants (n)Sóng and (n)Hói. Sometimes to ease their shoulders they change the position of the load somewhat, and this is the cause of the earthquakes. The weight of the earth has caused awful sores on their shoulders, and as, after the manner of Chins, they do not wash the sores freely, much less use antiseptics, maggots have bred on their wounds, and these maggots are as big as elephants, so I have heard them say.

Forked lightning is considered to be the work of a spirit called (n)Glet; and meteorites sometimes found are called (n)Glet's teeth. Of the sheet lightning, so common in mild evenings, sundry accounts are given; but there seems to be common to these varying traditions the attributing of the lightning to two spirits (one or both female), the one placed in the east and the other in the west, who wink at one another out of mutual affection.

The rainbow is called the yawning of the dragon, and when they speak of an eclipse of the sun or moon they say that "the dog bites" or "catches" them; but I have not heard from any Chins the explanation of these sayings.

Witches.

The Chins are afraid of witches; but, as has been the case with other peoples, they find great difficulty in learning for certain whether a given woman is a witch or not. If they know it they would certainly drive the woman out of the village, and perhaps resort to further violence. Like the Burmese, they believe that witches have the power by their incantations to introduce foreign matter into the bodies of those whom they hate, and so to cause them to sicken and die. It is the custom of the Chins to cremate the dead, and they think that when a witch is cremated, her bowels, which they conceive to be anything but human in their formation, will explode with a loud noise; and so the relatives of one who is suspected of being a witch will, when she is cremated, take care to put some big bamboos on the pyre, along with the cutch wood which is always used on such occasions, so that when the explosion takes place they may be able to affirm confidently that it was not her body that exploded, but the bamboos.

Law.

In the former days the Chin elders would decide all manner of questions and disputes that might crop up in a village, in accordance with Chin customary law; and the expenses of litigation were but pots of *kaung*, and sometimes also a pig for sacrifice and consumption. Nowadays, the powers of the elders are limited to their religious customs, including, of course, questions of marriage and divorce. Other matters come before the Government representative, the *thugyi* (i. e., head man), to whom they must give "the cost of a quid of betel" (commuted in these jungle villages at one rupee), on referring any matter for his decision. The Chin

national custom of taking an oath was to hold a sprig of the *Eugenia (thabyé)* in his hand whilst giving his evidence. It may be noted that the Burmese when victorious in war would crown themselves with chaplets made of the leaves of the same tree. Disputes are not frequent in Chin villages, and even under the British rule, which in practice unfortunately seems to foster litigation, it is very rare that the Chins ever appear in any case in the courts.

Manner of Life.

The Chin manner of life is of the simplest, and before the days of the British occupation they were very chary of leaving their homes. The Chin requires very little, excepting salt and a *da* (or chopper), which he cannot get for himself; though he frequently nowadays has all kinds of luxuries unknown to his forefathers, *e. g.*, *ngapi* (*i. e.*, pickled fish, generally more or less putrid), earthenware jars, matches and lamps. The bamboo alone gives him material for the walls, floor, and roof of his house, for his mats, cups, and waterjugs, for handles to his tools, for his weaving implements, for his baskets of all sizes, and for his substitute for twine. By rubbing two little pieces of bamboo together he can at once make a fire; and he can also make musical instruments of sorts from the bamboo. He grows his own corn (rice), and threshes and pounds it himself. In his *ya* he also grows all the vegetables he requires for his curry, beyond what can be found growing wild in the jungle, and cotton too, which his wife spins into yarn and weaves into garments and blankets. The dyes which he requires, and he has a considerable number of them, including indigo, he manufactures himself mainly from plants, either wild or cultivated. He grows his own tobacco, though, like the Burman, he spoils it in the drying, and he manufactures his pipe from a little bamboo. Formerly the Chins were only able to take up the laborious and wasteful *taung-ya* method of cultivation, whereby fresh patches of jungle must be cleared each year for that year's crop, as they had no paddy-fields (*li*) and often neither bullocks nor buffaloes: but of recent years they have slowly been improving their condition. In all his work, excepting the cutting of the jungle for *ya*, or the cutting down of bamboos and timber generally, and in ploughing, in the few cases where he has paddy-fields, the wife and daughter of the Chin take their full share.

The Chins are a very simple-minded people, and have not that facility in lying which most Orientals seem to possess; that is to say, the Chins may lie freely, but they cannot ordinarily lie boldly and consistently. I have been told by a magistrate who had lived among the Northern Chins, a savage people whose greatest delight, until the British occupied the country a few years ago, was to go head-hunting along the neighbouring mountains, that a bold liar was considered a great acquisition in any of these villages, and that whenever a Government enquiry was to be made on any point "the liar" was brought forward to answer all questions. The Chins have been, and are, perpetually being defrauded by their more wily Burmese neighbours, who keep up the character ascribed to their ancestor in Chin folklore. The Chins have a saying that "the Burman language is the most simple and straightforward of languages, but the Burmese man is the most crooked and deceitful of men."

Tattooing.

Until a few years ago every girl on reaching the age of puberty had her face tattooed. In the Northern Chin Hills this tattooing is done chiefly in rings and dotted lines; but among the Southern Chins, who were hemmed in by the Burmans, the whole face from the roots of the hair on the forehead, round by the ear to the neck, including even the eye-lids, was tattooed, and that so thickly and darkly that at a distance the whole face looked indigo, and only a close inspection would disclose the patterns worked on the face. It is not the Chin hereditary custom for boys or men to be tattooed; but now they mostly have their body and thighs tattooed as the Burmese do, whose manner of dress they also generally follow. The reason generally given by the Chins themselves, and by others, of this strange custom of tattooing their women's faces is that they wished to make them ugly, so that there would be less danger of their

being forcibly carried off by the Burmese ; though some Chins attribute this custom also to Mother Li's injunctions. I should imagine that the custom of tattooing the faces of the women goes back far beyond the time when the Burmans grew strong enough to harass the Chins.

Burmese Influence.

In the days before the British occupation of Lower Burma, the Southern Chins who had been driven down southwards along the mountains by pressure from their fellow countrymen in the north, had found for their abode a land naturally more fertile than their old home ; but they were perpetually harassed by the Burmans. Whenever a Burman was seen near a Chin village, the whole population would flee, if there was opportunity ; for the Burmese, and more especially the officials, seem to have regarded the Chins as their legitimate prey. In those days the Chins were desperately poor : sometimes a man would be sold into slavery, or would sell his children, on account of a debt amounting to no more than a shilling, and few Chins had any cattle. Occasionally a band of Burmans, villagers who lived perhaps a day's march away, would surround a Chin village and carry off forcibly as slaves all the youths and maidens ; on such occasions they would sometimes give Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 to the parents, as a proof, I suppose, should the matter ever possibly come to the ears of the Government, that these were slaves lawfully purchased. Sometimes the women were set free after a number of years when they had ceased to be attractive to their captors or purchasers, and when they could no longer get through as much work as when they were young. At other times the Chins fared still worse. The village would be surrounded by armed men, generally headed by a Government official, and the men who were not able to make good their escape into the surrounding woods were slaughtered. The Chin women, too, were first ravished and then slaughtered ; and sometimes even the babes would be thrown up in the air and caught on the points of spears. The village, and all that could not be carried away, was burnt or destroyed ; and many even of those who had escaped into the woods died of starvation and exposure. As the Chin who told me said, " those were terrible times. "

Latterly, the Chins have largely copied the language and dress of the Burmans, and to some extent their religion and other customs, — though without throwing over their own hereditary practices altogether. " If you do not know the fashion in dressing your hair, follow the mode in your village," says a Burmese proverb ; and certainly, if we may judge from their acts, the Chins seem largely to approve of that motto. In some few villages not only have the Chins given up most of their national customs, but the children do not even know the Chin language.* In the Census Reports, decade by decade, a larger percentage of the Chins and other hill-tribes is returned as **Buddhist** ; thus in the Prome District in 1872 there were 15,200 persons returned as animists, in 1901 the number was 8,632. " Nor is Buddhism yet a moribund faith, for it is still attracting to it Shamanist or *nat*-worshipping Karens that have not yet fallen within the influence of the Christian missionaries The fact that no attempt at proselytising is attempted by the Buddhist clergy is probably an inducement to the uncultured to join them. The savage looks upon the missionary with suspicion. He cannot readily understand that the missionary's motives are disinterested, whereas he sees the advantage of joining such a religion as Buddhism, as it raises him in the social scale.⁶ Moreover, he need not abandon his tutelary gods. It is this easy tolerance that has facilitated the spread of Buddhism. It may be taken as an axiom that the more thorough the conversion from one religion to another is, the more difficult it becomes to obtain converts. But this easy tolerance of Buddhism has led to its becoming adulterated in the process of absorption of the wilder creeds.⁷ As a matter of fact, however, the Chins are at present between two stools and there is much room for Christianity as a means of raising them. As a rule they will more or less

* He thereby practically becomes a Burman, much as the Turcoman becomes a Russian by joining the Orthodox faith.

⁷ *Census Report (Burma)*, 1891, pp. 59-60.

frequently kneel before the Buddha's image and join with the Burmese in their festivals, and yet they follow the customs of their forefathers. They dread the evil spirits and revere the name of the Great Parent of all good, but hardly worship that power. Their worship is mainly a propitiation; and what need, think they, is there to propitiate their Parent who loves them dearly, and ever does them good? Very few Chins have any real affection for Buddhism, though they can see the beauty of the moral law laid down as binding on the Buddhist 'householders' or laity. Since the British occupation the Chins have been less attentive, as I have been informed by the people themselves, to the religious ordinances incumbent on Buddhists than they were before; for now they do not need the material protection which the profession of Buddhism used to give them, by raising them from the state of 'savages,' the lawful prey of any one, to that of civilized men.

Marriage Customs.

When a little girl is born she is placed under the guardianship of an elder brother, or cousin or uncle, on her father's side, and when she grows up she may not marry without his consent, — though this is rarely denied when there is persistence on the part of the sweet-hearts. Of course, the parties to a Chin marriage must be of different clans, and the ancient customs must be followed. Pre-nuptial chastity does not seem to be very highly esteemed among the Chins, and the parties often, if not generally, live together openly before marriage. Infidelity after marriage is not very common in the remote villages. Girls are generally married at fifteen years of age onwards; boys when two or three years older. If a girl reaches twenty or twenty-five years of age and is yet unmarried, she is counted an old maid and avoided by the young men; indeed, it is not considered creditable, and hardly reputable. A marriage should take place only in the hot weather, on or just before the full moon of the months of *Tabodwè* and *Ka'sóng*. If the parties elope together, the youth may then, or afterwards, be fined Rs. 60; but this is rather a following of Burmese customary law.

Some time previous to the marriage the youth will have gone with some comrades to the house of his prospective brother-in-law, taking some '*kaung*' with him. This time nothing is said about marriage; but, I suppose, if the '*kaung*' is tacitly accepted it implies consent on the part of the guardians of the girl. After that the parents of the youth will go with him to her brother or parents, and formally ask for her in marriage for their son. The girl's parents or brother will then settle what kind of wedding feast the youth's parents must provide, that is to say, what pigs have to be sacrificed for the feast. On the day fixed for the wedding the friends and relatives of the bridegroom will assemble very early at the bride's house, the men bringing the pigs required, and the girls carrying '*kaung*' in gourds. Sometimes there will be as many as twenty or thirty girls thus carrying '*kaung*'. These will all sit on or by the steps of the house where the bride lives, and none of the bridegroom's party may go in without contributing a pot of '*kaung*'. The friends and relatives of the bride also bring '*kaung*' in pots, and in addition chickens and rice for the feast. The '*kaung*' is put into a huge jar into which two bamboo tubes are inserted, and through these they all suck the beer.

In the meanwhile a little porker has been killed, and the village elders examine its liver. If certain marks are seen on the liver, it is declared to be inauspicious, and a second porker is killed. When the bridegroom is in real earnest, if this second liver, too, is pronounced to be inauspicious, a third little pig is offered; but if now, too, the fates declare against it, the marriage may not take place. The brother or parents of the girl would not allow the marriage, for there would be no children born of it, or, if there should be, they would die early, or some other dread misfortune would befall them. So the wedding is stopped, and they give the youth a present on account of the expense and inconvenience he has been put to, and this present is called a "wiper away of tears." But if, as is ordinarily the case, the fates have been more propitious, the *tanzü* pig, of medium size, which has been presented by the youth to his father-in-law, is slaughtered and cooked to serve as food for the bride's company,

the "superior" company as it is generally called. The bridegroom's or "inferior" company on the other hand eat of the chickens provided and cooked for them by the "superior" company. This rule about eating is strictly kept, or at least any breach of the rule brings about a fine of a pot of '*kaung*'. The two companies sit and eat separately, but drink from the same jar, though through different tubes.

The two pigs mentioned above are always killed at a Chin wedding, and sometimes the bride's brother or parents insist also on the offering of a huge tusker, and occasionally even of a fourth pig as a special offering to the spirits. Under certain special circumstances yet other pigs may have to be offered, over and above what may be demanded to satisfy the appetites of the guests. The "inferior" company cook the pigs which they have brought, and wait on the bride's relatives and friends at the wedding breakfast; then these in their turn serve those with the chickens and rice they have brought. After that, all young and old men and women drink freely. The marriage is considered as settled and confirmed when the bride's brother eats of the pork which the groom's party have prepared.

After that one of the bride's party, or some other of their friends who may be skilled in the precepts of Mother 'Li, will recite these to the bridegroom. Presents are also interchanged, and her parents give the bride her share of their property. Before and during the marriage the bridegroom has to pay very great deference to his elder brother-in-law. The bridegroom is also exhorted to treat his wife kindly and with due respect. "Do not beat our sister," say they, "so as to make blood flow, or to raise a festering sore. If she is stupid and will not obey you, correct her by word of mouth, or at least with moderation. If you beat her so as to break a bamboo over her, or to break her bones, she will run away back to her brother." After this the drunken *lai-lō* "teacher" also recites rhythmically the precepts of Mother 'Lian amidst his liberal potations of '*kaung*'. Soon after mid-day the function is over, and the bridegroom's friends are summarily dismissed; the "superior" party will pour water over them, or beat them with the tubes through which the '*kaung*' has been drunk. The bride is then conducted to her father-in-law's house, where she is admitted into her husband's clan, the bridegroom's mother and sisters wrapping cotton-yarn round her wrists. She afterwards gives them a chicken or a pig, yarn or money for this service. After a woman has been married, and the young people have been established in a new home, she has by Chin law no more inheritance in her parents' house.

Should the young husband be violent in his treatment of his wife, she can demand to be separated from him, receiving a full share of their united property and also in addition a bullock as compensation. More frequently, however, matters are settled peaceably by apologies and offerings of pigs and of '*kaung*' for a feast. Husband and wife may mutually agree to part, and then, as is the Burmese custom, they divide equally their acquired property between them. If the husband alone wishes to separate, he must give his wife Rs. 60 over and above her half of the property; and very few Chins have so much money. If the wife wishes to leave her husband without any offence on his part, she must leave behind everything she possesses. Still there are among the Chins but few cases of separation, *i. e.*, of divorce, and the husband and wife generally get on fairly well together. In these days it is more customary for the young people to continue to live, until perhaps a second child may be born, with the parents of one of them; and if with the bride's parents, they would only receive the dowry when they set up house for themselves. A few days' labour, or a few weeks' labour, would make all the difference between a mean house and one above the average, — and this built at no other cost than their own labour at a time when they might otherwise have been doing nothing.

Sometimes, on account of the expense, a man is unable to marry the woman with whom he lives, and who may have borne him two or three children. Should she die without ever having been lawfully married, the husband is bound to go through the marriage ceremony with the corpse; and the wife at last will be admitted into the '*kun*' of her husband.

Burial Customs.

All sickness or accident is, as has been already stated, supposed to be directly due to the action of some supernatural being, and when this spirit refuses to be appeased by the offerings made to him, the man must die. The body is then washed with water, in which the leaves of the *kadu* plant have been steeped, and the hair is combed. A small chicken is killed, and tied by a string to the big toe of the deceased. This chicken will accompany the deceased to the other world, and will peck at the caterpillars lying in the way, which might otherwise incommode the traveller to that far-off land. Other chickens are sacrificed, and pigs also; and if the man was fairly well-to-do, buffaloes and bullocks too, — for the welfare of the deceased and to provide a feast for the visitors. Whenever bullocks or buffaloes are sacrificed, the blood is mixed with rice or “bread” and then put into the large intestines and roasted. A portion of this, too, is thrown away for the spirits to eat, and the rest is eaten by the guests.

Rice-beer (*‘kaung*) is prepared before a man dies, for it takes four or five days to brew; and were all left to the last, there might not be found time to make it before the body would have to be disposed of. Should this happen, or should there be no *yai-shen* present to utter the incantations, the corpse is buried; and then after a year it is unearthed, and the burial customs are duly performed. Chicken and rice and *‘kaung* are from time to time given to the corpse to eat; and the *yai-shen*, sitting between the liquor and the corpse, chants the customs of Mother ‘Li. All the village, and many visitors from a distance, flock to a big funeral; but if the body is to be buried there will only be a very few present. Often the women, and formerly the men too, would dance in front of the dead man’s house.

A piece of wood, nearly four feet in length, is carved with a figure of the bird (the king-crow) or an elephant on the top of it; or in the case of a poor man a piece of bamboo is cut, and the end of it is made into a fringe. This is called the (*n*)*’klo-‘seung*, and is put into the dead man’s hand. The *yai-shen* utters his charms, and the spirit of the deceased is bidden to take up his abode in this stick. Before the corpse is removed from the house, the (*n*)*’klo-‘seung* is taken away and set up in the ground somewhere outside the village.

Frequently, too, a wooden spear and a wooden gun were put into the hands of the dead man; or in the case of a woman the lath of her loom. There is also put into the dead man’s hand money to pay as ferry-charge over the stream of death. Sometimes a pice or two, or two annas it may be, or sometimes as much as Rs. 10, or even more, is given. This money, as well as the little chicken tied to the big toe of the deceased, and the *pawn-zeng* (thread) is burnt at the cremation of the body. Five small pieces of bamboo, wound round with thread (red, white, black, green, and yellow) called *pawn-zeng*, are also put into the hands of the deceased for him to take with him to the land “over there.” The neighbours make an offering of a pig for sacrifice, also called *pawn-zeng*; and the master of the house gives a big pig (called *larn-gá*) for the guests to eat. A wake is kept up the whole night before a funeral; “There can be no sleeping.” The whole village attend the corpse to the burning-ground, which is not far away; but all, excepting a few men, return before the cremation actually takes place. The funeral pyre is of no great height, and is made of cutch-wood, as this is found to be the best for burning. The few who remain by the fire imbibe still more *‘kaung*, and keep the fire up until the body is consumed. Then they gather the charred bones and put them in a new earthen pot of the ordinary kind, such as are in daily use. The pot is for a time, at least in the rains, or when the people are otherwise busy, placed on a small stand made for it under a tree outside the village fence. Afterwards, at a convenient season, the bones are conveyed away

to the ancestral burial-place, which is generally situated in some remote jungle. It is usual for a person to be cremated about three days after his death. A burial would normally take place within twenty-four hours of the death.

The spirit of the dead man should take up its abode in the (n)'klo-'seung; but the living are much afraid that it may not do so. They do not believe that the life "over there" is a very joyous one; being rather of the view of Achilles, whose shade told Ulysses that it was better to be a slave on earth than a prince in Hades. The dead man is told that he may not linger more than seven days in his old house; for they believe that the spirits of the dead look with envy on the living, and that they will harm them. The night before they take away the charred bones to the cemetery (*ayólaung*) they interrogate the pot of bones. They ask him what disease he died of, and will say "Let it be that he died of fever" if the pot feels light; of some other disease if it feels heavy"; and then they test it. Again they ask him if he is still lingering about here, or does he now inhabit "that country," and the answer is given in the same way as before.

Next morning they start off early, and if the deceased was a person of any means at all, they will carry with them an elaborately carved memorial post of cutch-wood to erect in the cemetery. On the top of the post will be carved the figure of an elephant or of a bird; and beneath that six-parallel circles will be cut round the post in the case of a male, and five in the case of a female. In the case of an unmarried girl all her private belongings are taken and deposited by the pot of bones, and in every case rice, chicken, *nyapí*, chillies, betel, and tobacco will be left for the soul of the departed to enjoy.

I do not find it possible to reconcile all the traditions and ideas held by the same individual Chin; and perhaps it would be too much to expect that they should admit of being harmonized, -- and more especially so with regard to matters concerning the future life. Certainly the Chins generally do not seem to believe in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls; yet my chief informant gave me the following information in Chin writing: -- "We, Chin people, must die when the rice given to our spirits on their departure from their former existence is finished. We can only remain in this existence as long as that rice lasts. The people who had much given them [*lit.* "brought much with them"] live long. This rice is put in small baskets outside the village fence before the corpse is removed from the house for cremation." The writer went on to add, what is indeed more in accord with the general traditions, but scarcely consonant with the above. "When a woman dies her husband will cry out by the corpse, 'when you come to Póí 'Kleuk tell him that I am left behind here; and ask him to call me before long.' Now when [he adds] people with some little property die, bullocks and buffaloes are offered in sacrifice that they may find favour when they present themselves before Póí 'Kleuk; but if the people are poor they make offerings of pigs and fowls."

But to return to the funeral. When the people convey the pot of bones to the cemetery, they take with them some cotton-yarn, and whenever they come to any stream or other water, they stretch a thread across, whereby the spirit of the deceased, who accompanies them, may get across it, too. When they have duly deposited the bones and food for the spirit in the cemetery they return home, after bidding the spirit to remain there, and not to follow them back to the village. At the same time they block the way by which they return by putting a bamboo across the path.

The spirit, however, has not finished his travels yet. It must go on until it comes to the stream of white water, on the other side of which dwells the Lord of Hades, Póí 'Kleuk. He will cry out to Póí 'Kleuk, and after he appears will let the breeze waft, streamer-like

across the water, the thread which is let loose from the *pawn-zeng* bamboos that were burnt along with the corpse at the cremation; for the shades of the little chicken and of this thread have accompanied the deceased on his journey to his comfort and assistance. Then, after the thread has been duly fastened, the spirit goes across to receive his judgment for the deeds done in the body. Sometimes a spirit is terrified on account of his past misdeeds, and will endeavour to escape. But though the spirit may run, there is no remedy; for Pôï 'Kleuk has a dog, who will bite the runaways, and they dare not face him. In his terror the spirit will climb the tree of hell; but the mighty Pôï 'Kleuk will shake the branches, and the poor wretch will fall into the cauldron of hell, which is full of boiling water. Or, if he climb to the top of the tree, the dreadful vulture, *hak-kyi*, will devour his vitals. There is no escape. He must come down and receive his just punishment. There is no need to utter the sentence of condemnation. Pôï 'Kleuk merely points to them with his fourth, called "the nameless," finger, and they go away to be roasted in hell.

The Chins have some belief in a happier land, but their ideas on this subject are not very tangible; and it is difficult to know how far the hope, which they sometimes express, that they may be enabled to go by the straight and narrow way into the presence of the Great Parent of all good, and there for ever abide, is derived, directly or indirectly, from Christian teaching.

BOOK-NOTICE.

DIE MON-KHMER-VÖLKER EIN BINDEGLIED ZWISCHEN VÖLKERN ZENTRALASIENS UND AUSTRONESIENS VON P. W. SCHMIDT, S.V.D. Brunswick, 1905. (Reprinted from the *Archiv für Anthropologie*, Neue Folge, Band v, Heft 1 v. 2.)

THIS work, also from the pen of Pater Schmidt, appeared originally in the *Archiv für Anthropologie*, and has been reprinted in another form at Brunswick in the same year. In it, we have the summing up of the author's researches into the Mon-Khmer languages and his final conclusions as to their relationship, whether mutual or to other forms of speech. A detailed account of its contents would occupy too much space, and moreover can be found in the pages of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for January 1907 by those who are interested in the subject. I confine myself here to stating the results to which his enquiries have led Pater Schmidt, and which, in my opinion, he has conclusively proved. Briefly, they are these:—

(a) There is a group of languages called Mon-Khmer, which is closely connected not only with several tongues spoken on the Burma-Chinese frontier, such as Palaung, Wa, and others, but also with the speeches of certain aboriginal tribes of Malacca, with Nicobarese, with the Khâsi of Central Assam, and with the Mundâ languages of Central India. It is further to be remembered that under the last head must be included a number of extinct sub-Himalayan dialects, reaching as far west as Kanâwar, traces of which still plainly survive in the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken by the descendants of

those who employed them. To this group of Mon-Khmer-Malacca-Mundâ-Nicobar Khâsi languages Pater Schmidt has given the name of "Austroasiatic," and he shows that not only are all the different forms of speech mutually related, but that their speakers have the same physical type.

(b) In former works the learned author showed the existence of another group of languages, the "Austronesic," which included three related sub-groups, the "Indonesic," the "Melanesic," and the "Polynesian," covering the areas indicated by their respective names. In a second part of the work under notice, he undertakes the task of comparing, by rigorously scientific methods, the Austroasiatic and the Austronesic languages, and of proving that these two groups of speeches are ultimately related to each other, and form together one great united whole which he calls the "Austrie" family. This speech-family is the most widely spread of those whose existence has been established since the birth of comparative philology. The tract over which it extends reaches from the Panjâb in the West to Easter Island, off the coast of South America, in the East; and from the Himâlaya in the North to New Zealand in the South. Such a result,—and I do not think that any one can seriously impugn the arguments on which it is founded,—amply justify us in maintaining that Pater Schmidt's work is one of the most important contributions to comparative philology which has issued from the press in recent years.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

A PLAN FOR A UNIFORM SCIENTIFIC RECORD OF THE LANGUAGES OF SAVAGES.

Applied to the Languages of the Andamanese and Nicobarese.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 203.)

II.

The Theory of Universal Grammar applied to the Andamanese Languages.

Prefatory Remarks.

I.

The Andamanese are divided into **twelve Tribes** belonging to **three Groups or Divisions**, as under, from North to South (*vide* Map attached): —

1. The Yērewa or Northern Division, consisting of the Chāriār, Kōrā, Tābō, Yēre and Kede Tribes.
2. The Bojigngiji or Southern Division, consisting of the Jūwai, Kōl, Bojigyāb, Balawa and Bēa Tribes.
3. The Ōnge-Jārawa or Outer Division, consisting of the Ōnge and Jārawa Tribes.

Port Blair is situated in the Bēa Territory, and that Tribe and its language are consequently by far the best known and the Bojigngiji is the best known Group or Division.

Every Tribe has its own set of names for itself and all the others, and these names have constant conventional prefixes and suffixes attached to them, making the names long and unwieldy. In this *Grammar* the Bēa set of names has been adopted, and for convenience of presentation they have been stripped of the habitual prefixes and suffixes attached to them (*vide* Appendix C).

Also, except where otherwise specially stated, all examples and all vernacular words quoted are taken from the Bēa (āka-Bēa-da) speech. Diacritical marks are not used except where unavoidable.

Lastly, it is necessary to note that Colebrooke's *Jārawa Vocabulary* made in the XVIIIth Century was gathered from one individual of the Tribe and not from several persons, as has been hitherto supposed.

I. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

a. — Philological Value.

The Andaman Languages are extremely interesting from the philological standpoint, on account alone of their isolated development, due to the very recent contact with the outer world on the part of the speakers. Of the speech of the only peoples, who may be looked upon as the physical congeners of the Andamanese, — the Samangs of the Malay Peninsula and the Aetas of the Philippine Archipelago, — no *Vocabulary* or *Grammar* is available to me of the latter, and the only specimens of the Samang tongue I have seen bear no resemblance or roots common to any Andamanese Language.

The Andamanese Languages exhibit the expression only of the most direct and simplest thought, show few signs of syntactical, though every indication of a very long etymological, growth, are purely colloquial and wanting in the modifications always necessary for communication by writing. The Andamanese show, however, by the very frequent use of ellipsis and of clipped and curtailed words, a long familiarity with their speech.

¹ Largely reprinted with additions and many corrections from Chapter IV. of Part I. of the *Census Report, India, 1901*, Vol. III. Since this article was written, Skent and Blagden's *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* has appeared, but I have not been able to collate it for the present purpose.

The sense of even Proper Names is usually immediately apparent and the speakers invariably exhibit difficulty in getting out of the region of concrete into that of abstract ideas, though none in expanding or in mentally differentiating or classifying ideas, or in connecting several closely together. Generic terms are usually wanting, and specific terms are numerous and extremely detailed. Narration almost always concerns themselves and the chase. Only the absolutely necessary is usually employed and the speech is jerky, incomplete, elliptical and disjointed. Introductory words are not much used and no forward references are made. Back references by means of words for that purpose are not common, nor are conjunctions, adjectives, adverbs and even pronouns. An Andamanese will manage to convey his meaning without employing any of the subsidiary and connecting parts of speech. He ekes out with a clever mimicry a great deal by manner, tone and action; and this habit he abundantly exhibits in the form of his speech. His narration is, nevertheless, clear, in proper consecutive order and not confused, showing that he possesses powers of co-ordination.

b. — Savage Nature.

The general indications that the Languages give of representing the speech of undeveloped savages are confirmed by the intense anthropomorphism exhibited therein. As will be seen later on, the Andamanese regard not only all objects, but also every idea associated with them, as connected with themselves and their necessities, or with the parts of their bodies and their attributes. They have no means of expressing the majority of objects and ideas without such reference; e. g., they cannot say "head" or "heads," but must say "my, your, his, or ———'s, this one's, or that one's head" or "our, your, theirs, or ———'s, or these ones', those ones' heads."

But though they are "savage" languages, limited in range to the requirements of a people capable of but few mental processes, the Andamanese Languages are far from being "primitive." In the evolution of a system of pre-flexion in order to intimately connect words together, to build up compounds and to indicate back references, and in a limited exhibition of the idea of concord by means of post-inflexion of pronouns, they indicate a development as complete and complicated as that of an advanced tongue, representing the speech of a highly intellectual people. These lowest of savages show themselves to be, indeed, human beings immeasurably superior in mental capacity to the highest of the brute beasts.

c. — Agglutinative Form.

The Andamanese Languages all belong to one Family, divided into three Groups, plainly closely connected generally to the eye on paper, but mutually unintelligible to the ear. They are agglutinative in nature, synthesis being present in rudiments only. They follow the general grammar of agglutinative languages. All the affixes to roots are readily separable, and all analysis of words shows a very simple mental mechanism and a low limit in range and richness of thought and in the development of ideas. Suffixes and prefixes are largely used, and infixes also to build up compound words. As with every other language, foreign words have lately been fitted into the grammar with such changes of form as are necessary for absorption into the general structure of Andamanese speech.

d. — Samples of Minuteness in Detailed Terms.

The following are examples of the extent to which the use of specific terms to describe details of importance to the Andamanese is carried by them.

Stages in the growth of fruit: — *Okdēreka*, small: *chimiti*, sour: *pūtungaij*, unripe:² *chēba*, hard: *telebich*, seed not formed: *gad*, seed forming: *gama*, seed formed: *tela*, half-ripe: *munukel*, ripe: *rōioha*, fully ripe: *otyōb*, soft: *chōrore*, rotten.

Stages of the day:— *Waingala*, first dawn: *elawainga*, before sunrise: *bōdola dōatinga*, sunrise: *wainga*, early morning: *bōlola kāgalnga*, morning: *bōdola kāngga*, full morning:³ *bōlo*

² *Lit.*, black skin.

³ *Litti*, early to-morrow morning: *dilma*, *liti*, early morning that is past: *dilmaya*, *dilmalen*, *lilya*, *lilinga*, this morning: *wainga dilu-rāatek*, early every morning.

chánag, forenoon : *bōdo chāu*, noon : *bōlola lōringa*, afternoon : *bōdo l'ardiyaŋga*, full afternoon : *elardiyaŋga*, evening : *dīla*, before sunset : *bōlola lōtinga*, sunset : *elākkāduya*, twilight : *elartinga*, dark : *gūrug chāu*, midnight,

e. — Specimen of Andamanese Method of Speech.

The following account of a story, abstracted with corrections from Portman, of an imaginary pig-hunt as told by a Bēa *ēremīlga* (forest-man) for the amusement of his friends, will go far to explain the Andamanese mode of speech, and the form that its Grammar takes.

The narrator sits on the ground, facing a half circle of lounging Andamanese. After a short silence, he leans forward with his head bent down. Suddenly he sits erect with brightening eyes and speaks in a quick, excited way, acting as if carrying on a conversation with another person. "In how many days will you return?" And then answering as if for himself: "I will come back early in the morning, I am off pig-hunting now." A pause. "I am going." Very suddenly. "You stay here in my place." Moving as if going away. "I am going away." Squeaking like a young pig with pantomime of shooting it. "It is only a little pig. I will bring it to the hut." Moving his shoulders as if carrying. "They can roast it here." Wave of the hands signifying that the pig was of no account. Pause. "I will start early to-morrow morning after a big one, — a big pig." Motions of hands to show length and breadth of pig. To an imaginary friend. "I will sharpen pig arrows to take with me. Come after me and we will hunt together." Imitation with the hands of a pig running, shooting arrows, slap on the left breast, squeals of several wounded pigs, and so on. A pause. "You bring them in readiness to cook for me." Directions by pantomime to other persons as to the pigs. "They were cooking them for me in the hut, cooking them well." Brightens up and begins again. "I will bring several more." Pretends to listen. "We have got them here. The dogs have barked." And so on for hours.

The actual expressions for such a story are:—

Kichukin—tūn? *ārīa—l'—ēlīte ngo òn .* *Wāinga—len do òn .* *Ńā do ɾeg*
How —many? day—past you come. Morning—in I come. Then I pig
dele . *Kan wai dol.* *Kam wui do òn .* *D'—ārīōg—len*
hunt. Here indeed I . Here indeed I come (go). Me-place—in
kā . *Wai do jūla —ke.* *Reŋ—bā .* *Kam wai do tī òn .*
here. Indeed I go-away —do. Pig—little. Here indeed I take come.
Wai kā ēda otjōi . *Do liti dōga —lat.* *Reŋ*
Indeed here they roast. I (in—the)—early—morning⁴ big —(pig)—for. Pig
dōga. *Do ēla l'iggīt —ke.* *D'—ōkanumu—kan.⁵* *Kaich d'—ārōlo.*
big I pig-arrow sharpen—do. I —go —do . Come me—after.
Do—ng'—igilele. *D'—ōkotōlīma ik òn .* *Wai d'—at otjōi —ka*
I —you—hunt . Me—before take come. Indeed me—sake cooking —were
būd—lən. *Tūn rōicha—bēringa—ke.* *Nā do ikpāŋ —ke .* *Īk —re ka .*
hut—in . More ripe —good—do. Then I several—do. Get—did here.
Wai ēda ilkkānawā—re .
Indeed they bark —did.

Nothing could show more clearly how "savage" the speech is in reality, how purely colloquial, how entirely it depends on concurrent action for comprehension. When the party, who were out with Mr. Vaux when he was killed by the Jārawas in February, 1902, returned, they explained the occurrence to their friends at the Andamanese Home in Port Blair by much action and pantomime and few words. The manner of his death was explained by the narrator lying down and following his movements on the ground.

⁴ i. e., of to-morrow.

⁵ This is not a Bēa form; probably borrowed from Bojigyañb.

f. — Bibliography.⁶

a. — Books.

1877. Man and Temple. *Lord's Prayer in the Bojigngijida (South Andaman) Language*: Calcutta.
1883. Man. *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*: London. (Many references to older writers.)
1887. Portman. *Andamanese Manual*.
1898. Portman. *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*: Calcutta (Government). (Many references to older writers.)

b. — Journals.

1794. Colebrooke, in *Asiatic Researches*.
1882. A. J. Ellis, in *Journal*, Philological Society.
- J. R. A. S., Temple, Man, Portman.

c. — Pamphlets.

1899. Temple. *Theory of Universal Grammar, as applied to the South Andaman Language*: London.

II. — GRAMMAR.

a. — History of the Study.

I have taken so large a share in the development of the knowledge of the Andamanese tongue that a brief personal explanation is here necessary to make clear the mode of presenting it that now follows.

The first person to seriously study the Andamanese Languages and reduce them to writing was Mr. E. H. Man, and in this work I joined him for a time soon after it was commenced, and in 1877 we jointly produced a small book with an account of the speech of the Bojigngiji Group, or more strictly, of the Bēa Tribe. We then worked together on it, making such comparisons with the speech of the other Andaman Tribes as were then possible and compiling voluminous notes for a Grammar and Vocabulary, which are still in manuscript. In 1882 the late Mr. A. J. Ellis used these notes for an account of the Bēa Language in his Presidential Address to the Philological Society.

In compiling our manuscript, Mr. Man and myself had used the accepted grammatical terms, and these Mr. Ellis found to be so little suited for the adequate representation for scientific readers of such a form of speech as the Andamanese, that he stated in his Address that: — "We require new terms and an entirely new set of grammatical conceptions, which shall not bend an agglutinative language to our inflectional translation." And in 1883 he asked me, in a letter, if it were not possible "to throw over the inflectional treatment of an uninflected language."

b. — History of the Theory of Universal Grammar.

Pondering, for the purpose of an adequate presentation of Andamanese, on what was then a novel, though not an unknown, idea, never put into practice, I gradually framed a Theory of Universal Grammar, privately printed and circulated in that year. This Theory remained unused, until Mr. M. V. Portman compiled his notes for a *Comparative Grammar of the Bojigngiji (South Andaman) Languages* in 1898, based avowedly, but not fully, on my theory. These notes I examined in a second article on the Theory of Universal Grammar in the *Journal*

⁶ In addition to the article mentioned in the Preface to this article.

of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1899, which again was subjected to the favourable criticism of Mr. Sidney Ray, who has since successfully applied it in outline to sixteen languages,⁷ selected because unrelated and morphologically distinct, *etc.* —

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| 1. English. | 10. Nufo, Dutch New Guinea. |
| 2. Hungarian. | 11. Motu, British New Guinea. |
| 3. Latin. | 12. Mortlock Ids, Caroline Group, Micronesia. |
| 4. Khasi, Hills of N.-E. Bengal. | 13. Mota, Banks' Islands, Melanesia. |
| 5. Anam, French Cochin China. | 14. Samoan, Polynesia. |
| 6. Ashanti, West Africa. | 15. Awabakal, Lake Macquarie, Australia. |
| 7. Kafir, South Africa. | 16. Dakota, North America. |
| 8. Malagasy, Madagascar. | |
| 9. Olo Ngadju or Dayak, South East Borneo. | |

c. — Position of the Andamanese Languages in the General Scheme of the Theory.

The next point for consideration is: — Where do the Andamanese Languages come into the general scheme? This will be shown in the following general account of them, and as the grammatical terms used will be novel to the reader, the corresponding familiar terms will be inserted beside them in brackets, wherever necessary to make the statements clear in a familiar manner. Diacritical marks will only be used when necessary to the elucidation of the text.

d. — Examples of Sentences of One Word.

The Andamanese Languages are rich in integer words, which are sentences in themselves, because they express a complete meaning. The following examples are culled from Portman's lists:—⁸

TABLE OF INTEGER WORDS.

ENGLISH.	BEA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYAN.	JŪWAI.
Hurrah	Wē	Yui	Yui	Yui
I don't know	Uchin	Maka	Konkete	Koien
Very well : go (with a lift of the chin)	Uchik	Kobale	Kōi	Kōi
Humbug	Ākanōiyadake	Akanōiyadake	Omkotichwake	{ Okamkoti- chwachin.
Oh : I say (ironical)	{ Pētek	Ya	{ Kalāitata Kalat	Yokokene
It's broken	Turushno ⁹	Turuit	Turush	T'ruish
Back me up	{ Jegō	Jegō	Jeklungi	Atokwe
Say 'yes'	Kak	Kak	Kaka	Alō
Not exactly	Cho	Ya	Aikut	Kene
Nonsense	Wai (drawled)	Wai (drawled)	Kōle	K'le
Yes (ironical)	Chuŋgō	Chunye	Chunye	Chunye
What a stink				
How sweet (smell, with a puffing out of the lips)	{ Pue	Pue	Pue	Pue

⁷ See ante, Vol. XXVIII. pp. 197 ff., 325 ff.; Vol. XXXI. p. 165 ff.

⁸ Portman is so frequently inaccurate that it must be understood that throughout this article, wherever he is quoted it is with corrections.

⁹ This is doubtful.

ENGLISH.	BĒA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYĀB.	JŪWAL.
It hurts	Iyī	Yi	Yi (drawled)	Eyō (indignantly)
Oh (shock)	Yite (with a gasp)	Yite	Yite	Jite
Don't worry	Ijiyomaingata	Idiyomaingata	Iramyolano	Remjolakne
What? Where?	Tān?	Tan?	Ilekot?	Alech?
Is it so?	An wai?	An yatya?	En kōle?	An k'le?
Lor	Kākātek	Kakate	Kelcba	Alōbai

e. — Elliptical Speech.

Portman's *Vocabulary* shows that the habit of speaking by integers, *i. e.*, single words, or by extremely elliptical phrases, is carried very far in Andamanese, and the *Fire Legends*¹⁰ themselves give the clearest instances of it, in so far as these legends have been recorded by Portman.

The Bēa version winds up with the enigmatic single word "Tōmolola," which has to be translated by "they, the ancestors, were the Tōmolola." In the Kōl version occurs the single-word sentence "Kōlotatke," *lit.* "Kōlotat-be," which has to be translated: — "Now there was one Kōlotat." In the first instance, one word in the indicator (noun) form completes the whole sense; in the second, one word in the predicator (verb) form does so. Such elliptical expressions as the above and as the term of abuse, "*Ngabgōrob*" (*ng + ab + gōrob*, you + special—radical—prefix + spine), would be accompanied by tone, manner, or gesture to explain its meaning to the listener. Thus, the latter would be made to convey "You humpback," or "Break your spine," by the accompanying manner.

f. — Portman's Fire Legend in the Bēa Version dissected to illustrate Grammar.

The Andamanese sentence, when it gets beyond an exclamation or one word, is capable of clear division into subject and predicate, as can be seen by an analysis of the sentences in a genuine specimen of the speech, Portman's "Fire Legend" in the five languages of the South Andaman (Bojigngīji) Group. In the Bēa Language it runs thus: —

BĒA VERSION OF THE FIRE LEGEND.

Tôl-l'oko-tima-len	Pûluga-la	mâmi —ka .	Lûratût-la ¹¹	châpa	tâp —nga	ômo —re .	
(a Place)—in	God	asleep—was.	(a Bird)	firewood	steal-ing	bring-did.	
châpa-la	Pûluga-la	pûgat —ka .	Pûluga-la	bôï —ka .	Pûluga-la	châpa	
firewood	God	burning—was.	God	awake—was.	God .	firewood	
eni —ka .	a	ik	châpa —lik	Lûratût	l'ot-pûguri—re . ¹²	jek	Lûratût-la
seizing—was.	he	taking	firewood—by	(Bird)	throw-at —did.	at-once	(Bird)
eni —ka .	a	Târcheker ¹³	l'ot-pûguri—re .	Wôta-Êmi-baraij—len	Châuga-tâbanga		
taking—was.	he	(a Bird)	throw-at —did.	Wôta-Êmi-village-in	The —ancestors .		
oko —dal-re. ¹⁴	Tômolola .						
made-fires .	Tomolola.						

g. — Portman's Rendering (amended).

God was sleeping at Tōl-l'okotima. Lūratūt came, stealing firewood. The firewood burnt God. God woke up. God seized the firewood; took the firewood and threw it at Lūratūt. Then Lūratūt took (the firewood); he threw it at Tārcheker in Wōta-Ēmi village, (where then) the Ancestors lit fires. (The Ancestors referred to were) the Tōmolola.

¹⁰ Cf. Man's *Andaman Islanders*, p. 59.

¹¹ One of the (?) six kinds of the Andamanese Kingfisher.

¹² This expression means "threw a burning brand at," a common practice among the Andamanese. It has been extended to meet modern requirements to denote "shooting with a gun," the flash from which is likened to that from a burning brand when thrown.

¹³ Probably an error for Chāltek, the generic term for the kingfishers.

¹⁴ This expression is elliptical. *Chāpa*, firewood: *chāpa-l'idal*, the eye of the firewood, a fire; *chāpa-l'okodal-ke*, firewood-eye-do (make), make a fire.

h. — Subject and Predicate.

Taking this Legend sentence by sentence, the subject and predicate come out clearly thus: — (P. = predicate: S. = subject).

- (1) Tollokotimalen (P.) Pulugala (S.) mamika (P.).
- (2) Luratutla (S.) chapatapnga (S.) omore (P.).
- (3) Chapala (S.) Pulugala (P.) pugatka (P.).
- (4) Pulugala (S.) boika (P.).
- (5) Pulugala (S.) chapa (P.) enika (P.).
- (6) A (S.) ik (S.) chapalik (P.) Luratut (P.) lotpugurire (P.).
- (7) Jek (P.) Luratutla (S.) enika (P.).
- (8) A (S.) Tarcheker (P.) lotpugurire (P.).
- (9) Wota-Emi-baraijlen (P.) Chauga-tabnga (S.) okodalre (P.).
- (10) Tomolola (S.) (P. unexpressed).

i. — Principal and Subordinate Words.

That the words in the above sentences are in the relation of principal and subordinate is equally clear thus: —

- (1) In the Predicate, *Tollokotimalen* is subordinate to the principal *mamika*.
- (2) In the Subject, *Luratutla* is the principal with its subordinate *chapatapnga*.
- (5) In the Predicate, *chapa* is subordinate to the principal *enika*.

And so on, without presentation of any difficulties.

j. — Functions of Words.

The next stage in analysis is to examine the functions of the words used in the above sentences, and for this purpose the following abbreviations will be used: —

Abbreviations used.

int.	integer.	intd.	introducer.
in.	indicator.	r. c.	referent conjunctive.
e.	explicator.	r. s.	referent substitute.
p.	predicator.	c. in.	complementary indicator.
ill.	illustrator.	c. e.	complementary explicator.
c.	connector.	c. ill.	complementary illustrator.

In this view the sentences can be analysed thus: —

- (1) Toll'okotimalen (ill. of P.) Pulugala (in.) mamika (p.).
- (2) Luratutla (in.) chapa-(c. in.)-tapnga (p., the whole an e. phrase) omore (p.).
- (3) Chapala (in.) Pulugala (c. in.) pugatka (p.).
- (4) Pulugala (in.) boika (p.).
- (5) Pulugala (in.) chapa (c. in.) enika (p.).
- (6) A (r. s., in.) ik (e.) chapalik (ill.) Luratut (c. in.) lotpugurire (p.).
- (7) Jek (r. c.) Luratutla (in.) enika (p.).
- (8) A (r. s., in.) Tarcheke (c. in.) lotpugurire (p.).
- (9) Wota-Emi-baraijlen (ill. phrase of P.) chaugatabanga (in. phrase) okodalre (p.).
- (10) Tomolola (in. P. unexpressed).

k. — Order of Sentence.

By this analysis we arrive at the following facts. The purposes of all the sentences is information, and the Andamanese indicate that purpose, which is perhaps the commonest of speech, by the order of the words in the sentence thus : —

- (1) Subject before Predicate :
Pulugala (S.) boika (P.).
- (2) Subject, Complement (object), Predicate :
Pulugala (S.) chapa (c. in.) enika (P.).
- (3) Indicator (noun) before explicator (adjective) :
Luratutla (in.) chapa-tapnga (e. phrase) omore (p.).
- (4) Illustrator of Predicate (adverb) before Subject :
Toll'okotimalen (ill. of P.) Pulugala (in.) mamika (p.).
But illustrators can be placed elsewhere,¹⁵ thus :
A (r. s. used as in.) ik. (p. of elliptic e. phrase, c. in. unexpressed)
chapa lik (ill.) Luratut (c. in.) l'otpugurire (p.).
- (5) Referent conjunctors (conjunctions) commences sentence :
Jek (r. c.) Luratutla (in.) enika (p.).
- (6) Referent substitutes (pronouns) follow position of the originals :
A (r. s. in.) Tarcheke (c. in.) l'otpugurire (p.).

From these examples, which cover the whole of the kinds of words used in the sentence, except the introducers and connectors, the absence of which is remarkable, we get the following as the order of Andamanese speech : —

- A. (1) Subject, (2) Predicate.
- B. (1) Subject, (2) Complement (object), (3) Predicate.
- C. (1) Indicator (noun) before its explicator (adjective).
- D. Illustrator (adverb) where convenient.
- E. Referent conjunctors (conjunctions) before everything in connected sentences.

We have also a fine example of an extremely elliptical form of speech in the wind up of the story by the one word "Tomolola" as its last sentence, in the sense "(the ancestors who did this were the) Tomolola." *Jek Luratutla enika* is also elliptic, as the complement is unexpressed.

1. — Order of Connected Sentences.

Connected sentences are used in the order of principal and then subordinate :

Pulugala chapa enika (principal sentence) and then *a ik chapalik Luratut l'otpugurire* (subordinate sentence), after which *jek Luratutla enika* (connected sentence joined by "jek, at once"), and then a *Tarcheke l'otpugurire* (subordinate to the previous sentence).

The sentences quoted show that the Andamanese mind works in its speech steadily from point to point in a natural order of precedence in the development of an information (story, tale), and not in an inverted order, as does that of the speakers of many languages.

m. — Interrogative Sentences.

It may also be noted here, though no interrogative phrases occur in the Fire Legend, that the Andamanese convey interrogation by introducers (adverbs) always placed at the commencement of a sentence or connected sentences.

¹⁵ We have this in English :—"suddenly John died ; John suddenly died ; John died suddenly."

The introducers of interrogation in Bēa are *Ba?* and *An?* And so, too, "Is _____?" or "_____?" are introduced by "*An* _____?" or "_____?" Either these introducers are used, or an interrogative sentence begins with a special introducer, like "*Tān?* Where *Mikēa?* What? *Mijola* (honoric form), or *Mija?* Who?" and so on.

n. — The Mode of expressing the Functions and the Interrelation of Words.

But the Andamanese do not rely entirely on position to express the function of the sentence and the functions and interrelation of its words. By varying the ends of their words, they express the functions of such sentences as convey information, and at the same time the functions of the words composing them.

Thus, the final form of *Pulugala*, *Luratula*, *chapala*, *Tomolola* proclaim them to be indicators (nouns): of *mamika*, *boika*, *pugalka*, *omora*, *okodalra*, *l'otpugurire*, to be predicators (verbs): of *chapa-lapnga* (phrase) to be an explicator (adjective): of *Toll'okotimalen* (phrase), *chapalik*, *Wota-Emi-barajlen* (phrase) to be illustrators (adverbs).

o. — Expression of Intimate Relation.

• The intimate relation between words is expressed by change of form at the commencement of the latter of them.

Thus in *Luratul* (c. in.) *l'otpugurire* (p.), where *Luratul* is the complement (object) and *l'otpugurire* is the predicator (verb), the intimate relation between them is expressed by the *l'* of *l'otpugurire*. So again in *Tareheker l'otpugurire*.

In phrases, or words that are fundamentally phrases, the same method of intimately joining them is adopted.

Thus *Tol-l'oko-tima-len* means in practice "in *Toll'okotima*," a place so named, but fundamentally

Tol ————— *l'* ————— *okotima-len*

Tol (tree) — (its) ————— corner — in

means "in (the encampment at, unexpressed) the corner of the Tol (trees, unexpressed)." Here the intimate relation between *tol* and *okotima* is expressed by the intervening *l'*.

The actual use of the phrases is precisely that of the words they represent. Thus,

Wota—Emi—baraj—len

Wota—Emi—village—in

Here a phrase, consisting of three indicators (nouns) placed in juxtaposition, is used as one illustrator word (adverb).

p. — Use of the Affixes, Prefixes, Infixes, Suffixes.

It follows from what has been above said that the Andamanese partly make words fulfil their functions by varying their forms by means of affixes.

Thus they use suffixes to indicate the class of a word. E. g., *ka*, *re*, to indicate predicators (verbs): *la*, *da*, for indicators (nouns): *nga* for explicators (adj.): *len*, *lik* for illustrators (adverbs). They use prefixes, e. g., *l'*, to indicate intimate relation, and infixes for joining up phrases into compound words, based on the prefix *l'*.

It also follows that their functional affixes are prefixes, infixes, and suffixes.

It is further clear that they effect the transfer of a word from class to class by means of affixes.

Thus, the compound indicator (noun) *Toll'okotima* is transferred to illustrator (adverb) by suffixing *len*: indicator (noun) *chapa* to illustrator (adverb) by suffixing *lik*: indicator (noun) phrase *Wota-Emi-baraj* to illustrator (adverb) by suffixing *len*: predicator (verb) *aga* (-*ka*, *-ka*, *-re*) to explicator (adj.) by suffixing *nga*.

A very strong instance of the power of a suffix to transfer a word from one class to another occurs in the Kôl version of the Fire Legend, where *Kôlotat-ke* occurs. *Kôlotat*, being a man's name and therefore an indicator (noun), is transferred to the predicator (verb) class by merely affixing the suffix of that class. The word *Kôlotatke* in the Kôl version of the Fire Legend occurs as a sentence by itself in the sense of "now, there was one *Kôlotat*."

q. — Differentiation of the Meanings of Connected Words by Radical Prefixes.

Fortunately in the sentences under examination, two words occur, which exhibit the next point of analysis for elucidation. These are:—

chapala	Pulugala	pugat—ka
firewood	God	burning—was

and then

a	Tarcheker	l'otpuguri - re		
he	(a Bird)	throw-at—did		
a	ik	chapa—lik	Luratut	l'otpuguri - re
he	taking	firewood-by	(Bird)	throw-at—did

Here is an instance of connected words, one of which is differentiated in meaning from the other by the affix *ot*, prefixed to that part which denotes the original meaning or root (*pugat*, *puguri*) of both. Therefore in Andamanese the use of radical prefixes (prefixes to root) is to differentiate connected words.

The simple stem in the above instances is *pugat* and the connected compound stem *otpuguri*. Similarly *okotima*, *okodalre*, occurring in the Fire Legend, are compound stems, where the roots are *tima* and *dal*.

r. — Indication of the Classes of Words — Qualitative Suffixes.

The last point in this analysis is that the words are made to indicate their class, i. e., their nature (original idea conveyed by a word) by the Andamanese by affixing qualitative suffixes, thus:—

ka, *re* to indicate the predicator class (verbs): *nga*, to indicate the explicator (adj.) class: *la*, *da* to indicate the indicator (noun) class: *lik*, *len* to indicate the illustrator (adverb) class.

s. — Composition of the Words.

The words in the sentences under consideration can thus be broken up into their constituents as follows:—

Using the abbreviations R. = Root: S. = Stem: P. F. = Prefix, functional: P. R. = Prefix, radical: I. = Infix: S. F. = Suffix, functional: S. Q. = Suffix, qualitative.

- (1) Mami (S.) —ka (S. Q.).
Sleeping—was.
So also pugat-ka, boi-ka, eni-ka.
- (2) Chapa (S.).
firewood.
- (3) Tap (S.)—nga (S. Q.).
steal — ing
- (4) Omo (S.) — re (S. Q.).
bring — did.
- (5) Chapa (S.) — la (S. Q.).
firewood— (honorific suff.).
- (6) A (S.).
He.

- (7) Ik (S.).
tak — (ing).
- (8) Chapa (S.) — lik (S. F.).
firewood— by.
- (9) l' (P. F.)—ot (P. R.)—puguri (R.)—re
(S. Q.).
(referant prefixes)—throw-at — did
- (10) Jek (S.).
At-once.
- (11) Barnij (S.) — len (S. F.).
village — in.
- (12) Oko (P. R.) — dal (R.) — re (S. Q.).
— eye-make—did (lighted).

— The Agglutinative Principle.

Words are therefore made to fulfil their functions in the Andamanese Languages by an external development effected by affixes and to express modifications of their original meanings by a similar internal development. Also, the meaning of the sentences is rendered complete by a combination of the meanings of their component words with their position, and form.

The sentences analysed further show that the Languages express a complete communication chiefly by the forms of their words, and so these languages are Formative Languages; and because their affixes, as will have been seen above, are attached to roots, stems and words mainly in an unaltered form, the languages are Agglutinative Languages. It will be seen later on, too, as a matter of great philological interest, that the Languages possess premutation (principle of affixing prefixes) and postmutation (principle of affixing suffixes) in almost equal development: intromutation (principle of affixing infixes) being merely rudimentary.

u. — Identity of the Five Languages of the Southern Group of Tribes.

The above observations, being the outcome of the examination of the ten sentences under analysis, are based only on the Bēa speech, but a similar analysis of the sentences conveying the Fire Legend in the five South Andaman Languages (Bojngijj Group), as given in Appendix A, would fully bear out all that has been above said. With the aid of this Appendix is here attached a series of Tables, showing roughly how these languages agree and differ in the essentials of word-building, premising that they all agree in Syntax, or sentence-building, exactly. An examination of the Tables goes far to show that the Andamanese Languages must belong to one family.

Comparative Tables of Roots and Stems of the same meaning occurring in the Fire Legend.

ENGLISH.	BEA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYĀB.	JŪWAI.	KÔL.
Indicators (nouns).					
camp	baraij	baroi j	...	...	pôroich
fire	chapa	choapa	at	at	at
Predicators (verbs).					
seize	eni	ena	di, li	...	...
take	ik	ik	ik	...	...
light-a-fire	dal	dal	kadak	kôdak	kôdak
sleep	mami	...	pa f	ema	pat
steal	tap	...	...	top	...
bring	omo	omo	lechi	...	...
burn	pugat, puguri	pugura	...	...	...
wake	boi	..	konyi	...	...

Referent Substitutes (pronouns).

ENGLISH.	BEA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYĀB.	JŪWAI.	KÔL.
he	a	i, ong	ong	a	...
(they)	...	ongo t	n'ong	..	n' a

Comparative Table of Affixes occurring in the Fire Legend.

ENGLISH.	BEA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYĀB.	JŪWAI.	KÔL.
Prefixes, functional, of intimate relation.					
(hi-, it-)-s	l'	l'	l'	l', t'	l'
(hi-, it-)-s	...	...	k'	...	k-
(their-)-s	...	...	n'	...	n'

ENGLISH.	BEA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYAB.	JŪWAL.	KŌL.
Prefixes, radical.					
...	ot-	oto-	oto-	...	otam-, oto-
...	...	atak-	...	atak-	...
...	oko-	oko-	oko-	ōkō-, ōko-	oko
...	...	...	o-	...	a-
...	...	ar-	...	...	ir-, iram-
...	i-	i-	...	...	...
...	...	ong-	...	on-	...
Suffixes, functional.					
by	-lik	-te	-ke	...	-lak
in	-len	-a	-in, -an, -en	-in	-en
to	...	...	-len	-lin	-kete
Suffixes, qualitative.					
was	-ka	-kate, -ia	...	-chike	-ke
-ing	-nga	-nga	-nga	...	...
did	-re	-t, -te	-ye, -an	-t	-an, -chine
(hon. of in.)	-la, -ola	-le	-la	...	-la

Many farther proofs of the existence of the Andamanese Languages as a Family, sub-divided into three main Groups, will be found later on when considering that great difficulty of the Languages, the use of the prefixes, and it will be sufficient here to further illustrate the differences and agreements between those of the South Andaman Group by a comparison of the roots of the words for the parts of the human body, a set of words which looms preponderatingly before the Andamanese mental vision.

Comparative Table of Roots and Stems denoting Parts of the Human Body.

ENGLISH.	BEA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYAB.	JŪWAL.	KŌL.
head	chēta	chekta	ta	tō	toi
brains	mūn	mun	mine	mine	mine
neck	lōngota	longato	longe	longe	longe
heart	kūktābana	kuktabana	kapōne	poktō	poktoi
hand	kōro	kōro	kōre	korō	kōre
wrist, shoulder	tōgo	tōgo	to	to	to
knuckle	kūtār	godla	kutar	kutar	kutar
nail	bōdoh	bōdo	pute	pute	pute
foot	pāg	pog	ta	tok	tok
ankle	tōgur	tōgar	togar	togar	togar
mouth	bang	boang	pong	pong	pong
chin	ādal	koada	teri	t'reye	t'reye
tongue	ētel	atal	tatal	tatal	tātal
jaw	ēkib	toa	ta	tō	teip
lip	pai	pa	pai	paka	pake
shoulder-blade	pōdikma	pōdiatoa	bea	bea	bein
thigh	paicha	poaicho	baichato	boichatōkan	baichatōkan
knee	lō	lō	lu	lu	lu
shin	chalta	chalanta	chalta	choltō	chaltō
belly	jōdo	jōdo	chute	chute	chute
navel	ēr	akar	tār	takar	takar

ENGLISH.	BĒA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYĀB.	JŪWAI.	KŌL.
armpit	āwa	ōkar	kōrting	kōrteng	kōrteng
eye	dal	dal	kōdak	kōdag	kōdak
eyebrow	pūnyūr	punu	bein	beakaiñ	beakiñ
forehead	mūgu	mūgu	mike	mike	mike
ear	pūku	puku	bo	bōkâ	bōkô
nose	chōronga	chōronga	kōte	kōte	kōte
cheek	āb	koab	kap	kap	kap
arm	gūd	gud	kit	kit	kit
breast	kām	koām	kōme	kōme	kōme
spine	gūrob	kategōrob	kinab	kurap	kurap
leg	châg	ehag	chok	chok	chok
buttocks	dama	doamo	tome	tome	tome
anus	tōmur	bang	tomur	kōlang	kōlang

Pulled to pieces, Andamanese words of any Group of the Languages seem to be practically the same, but this fact is not apparent in actual speech, when they are given in full with their appropriate affixes, thus :—

ENGLISH.	BĒA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYĀB.	JŪWAI.	KŌL.
head	otchētada	ōtchekta	otetada	ôtotōlekile	ôtetoiche
knee	ablōda	ablo	abluda	alulekile	oluche
forehead	igmūguda	idmugu	irmikeda	remikelekile	ermikeche

Any one who has had practice in listening to a foreign and partially understood tongue knows how a small difference in pronunciation, or even in accentuation, will render unintelligible words philologically immediately recognisable on paper.

III. — ETYMOLOGY.

a. — The Use of the Roots.

As the Andamanese usually build up the full words of their sentences by the simple agglutination of affixes on to roots and stems, the word construction of their language would present no difficulties, were it not for one peculiarity, most interesting in itself and easy of general explanation, though difficult in the extreme to discover. *experto crede*.

The Andamanese suffixes perform the ordinary functions of their kind in all agglutinative languages, and the peculiarity of the infixed *l'* occurring in compound words depends on the prefixes. It is the prefixes and their use that demand an extended examination.

b. — Anthropomorphism colours the whole Linguistic System.

To Andamanese instinct or feeling, words as original meanings, *i.e.*, roots, divide themselves roughly into Five Groups, denoting—

- (1) mankind and parts of his body (nouns) :
- (2) other natural objects (nouns) :
- (3) ideas relating to objects (adjectives, verbs) :
- (4) reference to objects (pronouns) :
- (5) ideas relating to the ideas about objects (adverbs, connecting words, Proper Names).

The instinct of the Andamanese next exhibits an intense anthropomorphism, as it leads them to differentiate the words in the First Group, *i.e.*, those relating directly to themselves, from all others, by adding special prefixes through mere agglutination to their roots.

c. — The Use of the Prefixes to the Roots.

These special radical prefixes, by some process of reasoning forgotten by the people and now obscure, but not at all in every case irrecoverable, divide the parts of the human body into Seven Classes; thus, without giving a full list of the words in each class—

Radical Prefixes in Words denoting Parts of the Human Body by Classes.

CLASS.	ENGLISH.	BĒA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYĪS.	JŪWAI.	KŌL.
I.	{ Head Brains Neck Heart }	ot-	ôt-	ote-	ôto-	ôto-
II.	{ Hand Wrist Knuckle Nail Foot Ankle }	ong-	ong-	ong-	ôn-	ôn-
III.	{ Mouth Chin Tongue Jawbone Lip }	ākā-	aka-	o-	ôkô-	o-
IV.	{ Shoulder Thigh Knee Shin Belly Navel Armpit }	ab-	ab-	ab-	a-	o-
V.	{ Eye Eyebrow Forehead Ear Nose Cheek Arm Breast }	i-, ig-	ig-, ik	id-	ir-	re-
						er-
		i-				
VI.	{ Spine Leg Buttock Hip }	ar-	ar-	ar-	ra-	a-
VII.	Waist	ôto-				

d. — Prefixes to Words referring to the Human Body.

Next, in obedience to their strong anthropomorphic instinct, the Andamanese extend their prefixes to all words in the other Groups, when in relation to the human body, its parts, attributes and necessities, and thus in practice, refer all words, capable of such reference, to themselves by means of prefixes added to their roots. In an Andamanese Language one cannot, as a matter of fact, say "head," "hand," "heart," one can only say—

my	}	head, hand, heart.
your		
his		
(so & so) — 's		
(that one) — 's		
(this one) — 's		

e. — The Prefixes of Intimate Relation.

It is thus that the otherwise extremely difficult secondary functional prefix (always prefixed to the radical prefix, which is usually in Bojüngijji *le-* or *la-* (but practically always used in its curtailed form *l'-*, or *k'-*, *n'-*, *l'-* in certain circumstances) is clearly explainable. It is used to denote intimate relation between two words; and when between two indicators (nouns) it corresponds to the English connector (of), the Persian *isdfat* (*-i-*), and so on, and to the suffix denoting the "genitive case" in the inflected languages. The Andamanese also use it to indicate intimate relation between predicator (verb) and complement (object); when it corresponds to the suffix of the "accusative case" in the inflected languages, and indeed to "cases" generally.

f. — The Prefix System.

Starting with these general principles, the Andamanese have developed a complicated system of prefixes, making their language an intricate and difficult one for a foreigner to clearly apprehend when spoken to, or to speak so as to be readily understood.

As examples of this, let us take the stem *bēri-nga* good : then *ā-bēri-nga*, good (human being) ; *un-bēri-nga* (good hand, *ong* pref. of hand), clever ; *ig-bēri-nga* (good eye, *ig* pref. of eye) sharp-sighted ; *dkā-bēri-nga* (good mouth or tongue, *dkā* pref. of mouth and tongue), clever at (other Andamanese) languages ; *ot-bēri-nga* (good head and heart, *ot* pref. of both head and heart), virtuous ; *un-l'ig-bēri-nga* (good hand and eye, *ong* pref. of hand, *ig* pref. of eye, joined by *l'* pref. of intimate relation), good all round.

So, too, with *jābag*, bad : *ab-jābag*, bad (human being) ; *un-jābag*, clumsy, *ig-jābag*, dull-sighted ; *dkā-jābag*, stupid at (other Andamanese) languages, also nasty, unpalatable ; *ot-jābag*, vicious ; *un-l'ig-jābag*, a duffer.

So again with *lāma*, failing : *un-lāma* (failing hand or foot), missing to strike ; *ig-lāma* (failing eye), failing to find ; *ot-lāma* (failing head), wanting in sense ; *dkā-lāma* (failing tongue).

Lastly, in the elliptic speech of the Andamanese, the root, when evident, can be left unexpressed, if the prefix is sufficient to express the sense, thus : —

i-bēri-nga-da ! may mean, "his-(face, pref. *i-*)-good-(is)." That is, "he is good-looking !"

ā-dkā-chām-ke ! may mean "my-(mouth, pref. *dkā*)-sore-is." That is, "my mouth is sore !"

g. — Prefixes to Words relating to Objects.

The system of using radical prefixes to express the relation of ideas to mankind and its body is extended to express the relation of ideas to objects in general. Thus : —

ad-bēringa, well (of the body) : *ad-jābag*, ill (of the body) : *ōko-lāma* (applied to a weapon), failing to penetrate the object struck through the fault of the striker. So *ig-bēringa* means pretty (of things) : *dkā-bēringa*, nice (to taste) : all in addition to the senses above given.

This is carried, with more or less obvious reference to origin, throughout the language. Thus : —

In Bēa : *yōb*, pliable, soft. Then a cushion, wax or sponge is *ot-yōb*, soft : a cane is *ōko-yōb*, pliable : a stick or pencil is *dkā-yōb*, or *ōko-yōb*, pointed : the human body is *ab-yōb*, soft ; Class II. of its parts (hand, wrist, &c.) are *ong-yōb*, soft ; fallen trees are *ar-yōb*, rotten ; an adze is *ig-yōb*, blunt.

So again, in Bēa : *chōrognga*, tying up (whence also that which is usually tied up in a bundle, viz., a bundle of plantains, faggots). Then *āi-chōrognga* is tying up a pig's carcase : *dkā-chōrognga*, tying up jack-fruit : *ar-chōrognga*, tying up birds : *ong-chōrognga*, tying up the feet of sucking pigs.

h. — General Sense of Prefixes to Roots.

Possibly the feeling or instinct, which prompts the use of the prefixes correctly, could be caught up by a foreigner, just as the Andamanese roots might be traced by a sufficiently patient etymologist, but it would be very difficult and would require deep study. The Andamanese themselves, however,

unerringly apply them without hesitation, even in the case of such novel objects to them as cushions, sponges and pencils; using *ot* in the two former cases, because they are round and globular, and *dkā* in the latter, because they are rounded off to an end. In both these cases one can detect an echo of the application of the prefixes to the body: *ot* of head, neck, heart, &c.; *dkā* of tongue chin, &c.

Portman gives somewhat doubtfully the following as the concrete modifying references of such prefixes to the names of things :—

ot-	...	...	round things
ôto-	...	...	long, thin, pointed, or wooden things
âkâ-, ôko-	...	...	hard things
ar-	...	...	upright things
ig-	...	...	weapons, utensils, things manufactured
ad-	...	...	speech (noises) of animals

With this habit may be compared the use of numeral coefficients in Burmese and many other languages.

From Portman also may be abstracted, doubtfully again, the following modifying abstract references of some of the radical prefixes :—

ot-, oto-, ôto-	...	...	special relation
ig-, ik-, i-	...	...	reference in singular to another person
iji-	...	...	reference in plural to another person
eb-, ep-	...	...	reference to ideas
âkan-	...	...	reference to self
ar-, ara-	...	...	plural reference to persons generally
ar-, ara-	...	...	(also) agency
ad-	...	...	action of self
ab-	...	...	action or condition transferred to another in singular
oiyo-	...	...	action transferred to others in plural

The following preliminary statement of the function of the radical prefixes can, therefore, be made out: *viz.*, to modify the meanings of roots by denoting—

- (1) the phenomena of man and parts of his body:
- (2) the phenomena of objects:
- (3) the relation of ideas to the human body and objects:
- (4) reference to self:
- (5) reference to other persons:
- (6) ideas; *i. e.*, (a) actions of self, (b) actions transferred to others, (c) actions of others (agency):
- (7) reference to ideas.

i. — The Use of the "Personal Pronouns."

The habit of the Andamanese of referring everything directly to themselves makes the use of the referent substitutes for their own names (personal pronouns) a prominent feature in their speech. These are in full in the Bojigugiji Group as follow :—

The "Personal Pronouns."

ENGLISH.	BĒA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYĀB.	JŪWAL.	KĀL.
I	d'ol-la	d'ol	t'u-le	t'u-le	la-t'u-le
Thou	ng'ol-la	ng'ol	ng'u-le	ng'a-kile	la-ng'u-le
He, she, it	ol-la	ol	u-le	a-kile	laka-u-le
We	m'ôlôî-chik	m'ôlo-chit	m-u-le	m'e-kile	la-m'u-le
You	ng'ôlôî-chik	ng'olo-chit	ng'uwe'l	ng'e'l-kile	la-ng'uwe'l
They	ôlôî-chik	olo-chit	n'u-le	n'e-kile	kuchla-n'u.

J. — Limited Pre-inflexion.

In combination with and, before the radical prefixes the "personal pronouns" are abbreviated thus in all the languages of the Bojigugiji Group;—

Abbreviated "Pronominal" Forms.

I, my ...	...	...	...	{ d' - in Bēa, Balawa
thou, thy ...	...	...	...	{ t' - in Bojigyab, Jūwai, Kōl
he, his, &c. ...	...	...	...	{ ng' - in all the Group
we, our ..	...	...	...	{ not expressed in the Group
you, your ...	...	...	...	{ m' - in all the Group
				{ ng' - in Bēa, Balawa, Bojigyāb
				{ ng' - in Jūwai, Kōl
they, their ...	...	...	...	{ not expressed in Bēa, Balawa
				{ n' - in Bojigyāb, Jūwai, Kōl
this, that one ...	...	...	...	{ k' - in Bēa, Balawa, Kōl
				{ not expressed in Bojigyāb, Jūwai
that one ...	...	...	...	{ t' - in all the Group

In this way it can be shown that there are no real "singular possessives" in Andamanese, as the so-called "possessive pronouns" are merely the abbreviated forms of the "personal pronouns" plus *ia* (-*da*), &c. = belonging to, (property) : thus—

"Possessive Pronouns."

ENGLISH.	BEA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYAB.	JŪWAI.	KŌL.
my, mine	d'ia-da	d'oge	t'iya-da	t'iea-kile	t'ie-che
thy, thine	ng'ia-da	ng'ege	ng'iya-da	ng'iea-kile	ng'ie-dele
his, her, its	ia-da	ege	iya-da	eyea-kile	iye-dele

The "plural possessives" have been brought into line with the expression of plurality by radical prefixes, as will be seen later on.

Now, it is easy enough to express on paper the true nature of the above abbreviations by the use of the apostrophe, but in speech there is no distinction made. Thus, one can write "*d'un-lāma-re*, I missed (my) blow," but one must say "*dunlāmare*." So one can write "*ng'ot-jābag-da*, "you (are a) vicious (brute)," but one must say "*ngotjābagda*." So also one can write:

<i>dr-tām</i>	<i>d'un-t'ig-jābag</i>	<i>l'edā-re</i>
formerly	I-hand-eye-bad	exist-did
<i>āchituk</i>	<i>d'un-t'ig-bēr-nga</i>	
now	I-hand-eye-good	
(once I was a duffer, now I am good all round).		

But one must say "*dr-tām duntigjābag lēdāre, āchituk duntigbēringa*." It would, therefore, be correct to assert that, though Andamanese is an agglutinative tongue, it possesses a very limited pre-inflexion, i. e., inflexion at the commencement of its words.

Limited Correlated Variation (Concord).

The Andamanese also express the intimate relation of the "personal pronouns" with their predicators (verbs) by a rudimentary correlated variation (post-inflexion in the form of concord) of forms thus:—

māmi-ke	māmik-ka	māmi-re	māmi-nga
sleeping-is	sleeping-was	sleep-did	sleep-ing

Then,

do māmī-ke	...	...	I am sleeping
da māmī-ka...	...	...	I was sleeping
da māmire	...	...	I slept
dona māmīnga	...	...	I (me) sleeping

This peculiarity is shown in all the Bojigngiji Group, except Kôl; thus:—

ENGLISH.	BĒA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGŨB.	JŪWAI.
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"In the Present Tense" (ke).

I	do	do	tuk	te
Thou	ngo	ngo	nguk	nge
He, she, it	a, o	ong	uk	a
We	môicho	môt	môt	me
You	ngôicho	ngôngot	nuk	ngel
They	eda	ôngot	net	a

"In the Past Tense" (ka and re).

I	da	do	tong	te
Thou	nga	ngo	ngong	nge
He, she, it	a	ong	ong	a
We	meda	mongot	môt	me
You	ngeda	ngongot	ngonget	ngel
They	eda	ongot	net	ne

"In the Present Participle" (nga).

I	dona	...	tong	tôn
Thou	ngona	...	ngong	ngôn
He, she, it	oda	...	ong	ôn
We	moda	...	môt	mon
You	ngoda	...	ngowel	ngôwel
They	oda	...	nong	no

1. — Expression of Plurality by Radical Prefixes.

The examination of the "pronouns" shows that the Andamanese can express things taken together (plural) as well as things taken by themselves (singular). This in their language generally is expressed by changing the forms of the radical prefixes, in Bêa and Balawa habitually and in Kôl and Jūwai occasionally. Thus:—

SING.	PLU.	SING.	PLU.	SING.	PLU.
In Bêa.					
ot-	otot-	ong-, on-	oiot-	ig-, ik-, i-	itig-
ab-	at-	ar-, ara-	arat-	aka-	akat-
ôto-	ôtot-	eb-	ebet-	iji-	ijit-, ijat-
ôko-	ôkot-	ad-	ad-	akan-	akan-
en-	et-				
In Balawa.					
ôt-	ôtot-	ông-	ôngot-	id-	idit-
ap-	at-	ar-, ara-	arat-	aka-	akat-
ôto-	ôtot-	eb-	ebet-	idi-	idit-
ôko-	ôkot-	ad-	ad-	akan-	akan-
en-	et-				

SING.	PLU.	SING.	PLU.	SING.	PLU.
In Jūwai.					
ir-	ir-	ab-	at-	iche-	iche-
iram-	iram-	in-	in-	...	...
In Kōl.					
re-	ri-	a-	o-	ache-	iche-
rem-	rim-	en-	in-	...	...

As has been already noted, the plural of the "personal pronouns" in the "possessive" form has been made to fall into line with the plan of expressing plurality by means of the radical prefixes. Thus:—

Table of Singular and Plural "Possessives."

	ENGLISH.	BEA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYAB.	JŪWAI.	KŌL.
Sing.	my	dīada	dege	tiyeda	tiyeakile	tiyiche
Plu.	our	mētāt	matāt	miyeda	miye	miyedele
Sing.	thy	nglāda	ngege	ngiyeda	ngiyekile	ngiyedele
Plu.	your	ētāt	ngatāt	ngiyida	ngiyel	ngiyil
Sing.	his	iāda	ege	iyeda	eyeakile	iyedele
Plu.	their	ōtāt	atāt	niyeda	niye	niyiche

m. — Qualitative Suffixes.

The suffixes of Andamanese are (radical) qualitative (expressing the class of a word) or functional (expressing its function in the sentence). The radical qualitative suffixes usually employed are:—

For Indicators (Nouns).

BEA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYAB.	JŪWAI.	KŌL.
-da	-da, -nga, -ke	da	-lekile, -kile	-che, la
-la, -ola	-le	-le	...	-le
-la, -lo	-o, -ō	-o	-ō	-o
-ba				

The first of these is usually dropped in Balawa, and in all the languages also unless the word is used as an integer, or sentence in itself. The second is an honorific, and is always added in full. The third is "vocative" and is suffixed to the name called out. The fourth is a negative: thus, *ablīga-da*, a child; *ablīga-ba*, not a child, a boy or girl.

For Explicators (Adjectives).

-da	...
-la	...
-re	-et, -ot, -t

The second is honorific: the third applies to attributes, &c., of human beings. Generally these affixes follow the rule for those of the indicators (nouns).

For Predicators (Verbs).

ENGLISH.	BEA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYAB.	JŪWAI.	KŌL.
(kill)s	-ke, -kan	-ke, -ken	-ke, -kan	-che, -chine	-ye
was (kill)ing	-ka	-ka, -te, -kate	-ya, -ye	-chike	-ye, -k
(kill)ed	-re	-t, -et	-nga, -nen	-chikan	-an, -wan, -nen
may-not (kill) ¹⁶	-kok	-ton	-k	-chik	-k
(kill)ing	-nga	-t, -et, -ña	-nga	...	-in
(kill)s not	-ba	-ba	-na	...	...
was (kill)ing not	-ta	...	...	...	...
will (kill)	-ho	...	...	...	...

¹⁶ Prescriptive.

The last three suffixes are added to the suffix — *nga* in *Bēa*, thus :—

do	māmi-nga-ba	
I	sleep-ing-not (I am not asleep)	
dona	māmi-nga-bo	
I	sleep-ing-will (I shall sleep)	
kārama	dol-la	kōp-nga-ta
bow	me-by	cutt-ing-(was)-not (I was not making a bow)

n. — The Functional Suffixes.

The usual functional suffixes in Andamanese are :—

Table of Suffixes.

ENGLISH.	BĒA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYĀB.	JŪWAI.	KŌL.
In, to, at	-len	-len, -kan, -a	-an	-an	-an
From	-tek	-te, -le	-e, -te, -le	-e, -lak	-e, -lake, -kate
To, towards	-lat	-lat	-lat	-late	-late
Of	-lia	-lege	-liye	-leye	-liye
For	-leb	-leb	-leb	-lebe	-lebe
After	-lik	-le	-le	-le	-le

o. — The Functional Suffixes are Lost Roots.

Attempt at Recovery.

It may be taken as certain that the functional suffixes are roots, now lost to Andamanese recognition, agglutinated to the ends of words by the usual means in their languages, as exhibited in the prefixes; *viz.*, by prefixing to them *l'*-, *t'*-, *k'*- in the manner already explained. The roots of some of the suffixes can be fairly made out thus, from the *Vocabularies* :—

- (1) *Len, kan, a, an*, "in, to, at," seem to be clearly *l'*-, *k'*- + the root *en, e, ik*, "take, hold, carry, seize."
- (2) *Tek, te, le, e, lak, lake, kate*, "from" seem to be *l'*-, *t'*-, *k'*- + the root *ik, i, eak*, "take away."
- (3) *Lat, late*, "to, towards," seem to be *l'*- + the root *at, ate*, "approach."
- (4) *Lia, lege, liye, leye*, "of" seem to be *l'*- + the root *ta, ege, ti, eye*, "belonging to."
- (5) *Leb, lebe*, "for" seem to be *l'*- + a root not traced.
- (6) *Lik, le*, "with, after" seem to be *l'*- + the root *ik, e, ak*, "to go with, follow on."

IV. — PHONOLOGY.

a. — The Voice of the Andamanese.

The voice of the Andamanese, though occasionally deep and hoarse, is usually pleasant and musical. The mode of speech is gentle and slow, and among the women a shrill voice is used in speaking; but though the tendency is towards a drawled pronunciation, they can express their meaning quickly enough on occasion, too quickly, indeed, for a foreigner to clearly follow the minutiae of pronunciation without very close attention. The general tone of the voice in speaking is low.

On an examination of the prevalent vowels and vowel interchanges and tendencies in the languages of the South Andaman (Bojigngīji) Group of Tribes, as described by Portman, it may be said that they relatively speak thus from a close to an open mouth :—

Jūwai	...	...	...	with closed lips
Bojigyāb and Kōl	...	...	...	with flattened lips
Balawa	...	...	...	with open lips
Bēa	...	...	...	with lips tending to open wide.

It is interesting to note that the above results carry one straight from North to South.

b. — History of the Reduction of the Language to Writing.

The Andamanese speech, as it is now studied, was first committed to writing on a system devised by myself, which was an adaptation of the system, invented by Sir William Jones in 1794 for the Indian Languages, and afterwards adopted, with some practical modifications introduced by Sir W. W. Hunter, by the Government of India as the "Hunterian System." My method of writing Andamanese was subsequently modified for scientific purposes by Mr. A. J. Ellis in 1882, and having so highly trained and competent a guide, one cannot do better than use here a modification of his system, adapted to the needs of a general publication. Portman, unfortunately, has, in his publications, gone his own way to the great puzzle of students.

In this view, there is no necessity to say anything of the consonants used, and as to the vowels, the following table will sufficiently exhibit them in the Bēa Language:—

The Vowels in Bēa.

ENGLISH.	BĒA.	ENGLISH.	BĒA.
a ... idea, cut	alaba	o ... indolent	boigoli
ā ... cur	bā, yāba	ō ... pole	jōb
ā ... casa	elākā	ō ¹⁷ ... konig (Ger.)	tō
ā ... father	dāke	ò ... pot	pōlike
ā ... fathora	jarawa	ô ... awful	tāgo
e ... bed	ēmej	u ... influence	būkura
ē ... fade	ākābēada	ū ... pool	pūdre
è ... pair	èr	ai ... bite	daïke
i ... lid	igbadigre	au ... house	chopaua
ī ... police	yādī	āu ... haus (Ger.)	chāu
... ..	...	òi ... boil	bōigoli

c. — Peculiarities of Speech.

Stress in Andamanese is placed on every long vowel, or on the first syllable of the root or stem. Peculiarities of pronunciation in the South Andaman Languages are as follow:—

Bēa.

Sibilants tend to become palatals, *s* to *ch*: *ō* and *ô* are interchangeable: final open *d* and *t* tend to *a* and *e*: *t* is an indistinct palato-dental.

Balawa.

t is palato-dental and hisped, cf. Irish pronunciation of English *t* and *d*. The *a* vowels tend to be drawn out: *a* to become *o*, and *d* to become *oā*. There is also an incipient *sandhi* in words ending in gutturals: e. g., *rāk*, pig; *rāg-dōamo*, pig's flesh.

Bojigyāb

ch is palato-dental and tends to *t*, and the *ch* of Bēa tends in Bojigyāb to become *s*; *t*, e., palatals tend to become sibilants.

Jūwai.

Short vowels are not clearly marked: *e* and *a* are interchangeable: final *e* and *ē* tend to *i*. Vanishing short vowels are common and are shown thus, *frōngap*: *o* is often drawled to *ō*: penultimate *e* is lengthened to *ē*, and stressed *ē* is drawled to *ēa*. There is *sandhi* of final and initial vowels in connected consecutive words. Dental, palatal and cerebral *t* all exist: palatals tend to dentals, *ch* to *t*: *p* tends to soften to *ph* and almost to *f*.

Kōl.

a interchanges with *ō*: *d* tends to *ch*, cf. old English pronunciation *gyarden* for *garden*: *e* tends to *ē*: final open vowels are uncertain.

¹⁷ Found in Ōnge only.

V. — THE NORTHERN AND OUTER GROUPS.

a. — Proofs of the identity of the Northern and Southern Groups of Languages.

Of the Five Languages of the Northern (Yērewa) Group, two, Kôrâ and Tâbô, are still quite unstudied, the knowledge of the existence of the Tribes speaking them being of less than two years' standing; and the Language of the Yēre Tribe is very little known. Portman has, however, preserved long lists, unfortunately to be treated with much caution, of Kede and Châriâr words, together with many sentences, and it will be sufficient here to give a series of roots and stems, showing where the Northern and Southern Languages meet and how closely related they are by roots: promising that the syntax and word-structure of the Northern Group is identical with that of the Southern Group, and that affixes, notably the radical prefixes, are used precisely in the same way in both Groups. It is in the names for common objects and things that languages show their relationship, and the Bojigngiji and Yērewa Groups form no exception to this rule.

Table of some Bojigngiji and Yērewa Roots, showing a common origin.

ENGLISH.	BĒA.	BOJIGNYĀS.	KEDE.	CHĀRIĀR.
pig	reg	re	ra	ra
turtle (hawkbill),	tāu	tare	tôrô	tôrô
clam	ohōwai	chōwai	chowai	choa
grub.	būta	peti	pata	pata
fish	yāt	taiye	tajen	tajeu
bow (N.)	ohōkio	chokio	chokie	chokwi
bow (S.)	karama	ko	ku	ku
wooden arrow	tirlech	tolô	tirleich	tirleit
wooden pig a.	pāligma	paligma	paligma	paligma
wooden a. head	ehām	cham	chôm	chom
harpoon string	hetma	kôri	betmô	luremô
bamboo bucket	gūb	bire	kup	kup
shell-dish	chīdi	kar	kar	kar
shell-cup (nautilus).	ôdo	kor	knr	kor
adze	wōlo	wole	wo	olo
baby-sling	chīp	chepe	chīpa	chība
oord-ornament	rā	ra	ro	īku
leaf-wrapper	kāpa	kaba	kôbo	kôbu
red-ochre	kôib	keyep	keip	keip
stone hammer	tailibana	me	mio	meô
stone anvil	rārap	rarap	rôrop	rôrop
canoe	rôko	ro	ro	rua
c. outrigger	chârigma	charikma	chorok	chorok

The same community of roots is to be seen in the names of the trees on the islands, establishing beyond doubt the close common origin of the Andaman Tribes of the Yērewa and Bojigngiji Groups, though it will, of course, be understood that in full form, with prefixes and suffixes, very nearly related words are in practice unintelligible to the ear. There are, equally of course, a great number of words, the roots of which, while common to each other in the Yērewa Group, differ entirely from those common to the Bojigngiji Group: thus—

Table of varying Bojigngiji and Yērewa Roots.

ENGLISH.	BĒA.	BOJIGNYĀS.	KEDE.	CHĀRIĀR.
ornamental net	rāb	rap	chirebale	chirbale
jungle-cat	baian	beyan	chau	chau
belt, round	bōd	bel	tôtô	tôtô
b. flat, broad	rōgun	rōgan	kuto	kudu

ENGLISH.	BÊA.	BONIGTÂN.	KEDR.	CHÂNÂN.
iron fish-arrow	tôlbod	pôt	rautul	rautul
larva in comb	tô	tô	jota	joto
honey	âja	koi	tumel	tumel
black honey	tôbul	tipal	maro	maro
cockles	ôla	talê	bun	bun

It is to be observed that in the above list, the compound stem in BÊA for iron fish-arrow, *tôlbod*, is made up apparently of the roots *pôt* and *tal* in the other languages quoted: while *rautul* seems to have become transferred from the pig, *ra*, to the fish, *tojeu*. A similar transfer has taken place between *tumel*, *timel*, the "black honey" of the North, and *tôbul*, *tipal*, the "honey" of the South. All the above observations tend to confirm the close connection between the Tribes and the Languages of both Groups.

b. — The Outer Group (Ōnge-Jārawa) examined.

In turning to the Ōnge-Jārawa Group, one finds that the hostility of the Jārawas, and the only recent friendliness of the Ōnges, combined with the inaccessibility of the island they inhabit, has caused the knowledge of their language to be but slight. However, we have the careful *Vocabulary* of Colebrooke made in 1790, and those made by Portman and M. Bonig¹⁸ just a century later. An examination of these affords sufficient results for the present purpose: viz., proof of the fundamental identity of the language of these people with that of the rest of the Andaman Tribes, and what is, perhaps, quite as interesting, proof that Colebrooke's informant really was a Jārawa.

c. — The limited knowledge of it.

A comparison of such of Portman's words as can be compared with Colebrooke's, when shown with roots and affixes separated, and reduced to one system of transcription, produces the following results; noting that in their actual lists, both enquirers fell into the natural error of taking the prefixed inflected "personal pronouns" to be essential parts of the words to which they were attached: —

A List of Ōnge-Jārawa Words.¹⁹

ENGLISH.	COLEBROOKE'S JĀRAWA.	PORTMAN'S ŌNGES.	BONIG'S ŌNGES.
arm	<i>pi-l</i>	oni- <i>bi-le</i>	oni- <i>bi-le</i>
arrow	<i>bato</i>	<i>bato</i>	<i>bato</i>
bamboo	<i>o-ta-li</i>	<i>o-da-le</i>	<i>o-da-le</i>
basket	<i>tere-nge</i>	<i>tô-le</i>	<i>tô-le</i>
bead	<i>tahi</i>	<i>taiyi</i> (stone)	<i>kwoi</i>
beat	ingo- <i>taiya</i> (b. a person)	<i>yokwo-be</i>	on- <i>yokwo-be</i>
belt	<i>oto-go-le</i>	<i>are-kwa-ge</i>	...
bite	m-o- <i>paka-be</i> (b. me)	oni- <i>baga-be</i> (b. a person)	ōni- <i>baga-be</i>
black	<i>chigin-go</i>	<i>be</i>	i- <i>kiu</i>
blood	<i>ko-che-nge</i>	<i>ga-che-nge</i>	<i>che-nge</i>
bene	ng-i- <i>to-nge</i> (your b.)	ōni- <i>da-ge</i>	...
bow	<i>ta-nge</i> (P wood), <i>ta-hi</i> (as shown in ng-i- <i>tahi</i>) (your bow).	<i>aai</i>	<i>aē</i>
breast	<i>ka</i>	<i>ga-ka-ge</i>	<i>ga-ga-ge</i>
canoe	<i>tāk-le</i>	<i>du-nge</i>	<i>da-nge</i>
chin	<i>pi-to-nge</i> (c. bone)	ibi- <i>ta-nge</i> (c. bone)	...
cold	<i>chōma</i>	on- <i>gītē-be</i> (to be c.)	...
cough	ingo- <i>ta-lie</i> (P <i>ta-be</i>) (to c.)	<i>ulu-be</i>	<i>udu-be</i>
drink	m- <i>inggo-be</i> (I d.)	<i>injo-be</i>	...
ear	<i>kwa-ge</i>	ik- <i>kwa-ge</i>	...
earth	<i>totanga-ge</i>	<i>tutano-nge</i>	...

¹⁸ See Appendix C.

¹⁹ Roots shown in italics. *

ENGLISH.	COLLEBROOKE'S JARAWA.	PORTMAN'S ÜNGES.	BONIG'S ÜNGES.
eat	ingo-lo-lia (? imp. lo-ba)	öni-lokwale-be	öni-kwawo-be
elbow	m-ahā-lajebē (my e.)	aha-lagebdi	...
eye	jebē	öni-jebdi	öni-jebdi
finger	m-ome (my f.)	ome	ono-boda-nge
fire	m-ona (my f.)	tu-ke	tu-ke
fish	ga-boki	cho-nge	chau-nge
hair	otti	ode	ode
hand	ng-oni (your h.)	ome	on-ome
	m-oni (my h.).	...	...
head	tebe	oni-tolagibdi (man's head)	ön-ota-be
honey	lo-ke	tanjai	tanja ²⁰
house	bede	bedai	...
iron (adze-head)	dahu	ddii	dau
jump	i-to-le (a j.)	akwa-tokwa-be (to j.)	...
knee	ingo-le.ke (man's k.)	o-la-ge	...
laugh	onke-me-be	onge-ma-be	...
nail	m-o-bejeda-nga (my n.)	m-o-bezu-nga (my n.)	...
neck	tohi	öni-ngito	...
net	batoli	chi-kwe	chi-kwe
nose	m-e-li (my n.)	oni-nyai-boi	...
paddle	m-ekal (my p.)	taai	tae
path	echo-li	iche-le	...
pig	stwi	kwi	...
pinch	ingi—gini—cha body-pinch—don't (don't pinch me).	oni-gini-be	gi-gine-be
plantain-tree	chole-li	yolā-le	chago-la, yaulo-la
pot	buchuhi	buchu	buchu
pull	toto-be (+ tigikwa)	toto-be (go)	...
rain	oye	gujo-ngo	beja
run	ng-aha-bela-be (you r.)	aha-bela-be	...
scratch	ing-bea-be	a-kwea-be	...
sing	goko-be	gogaba-be	...
sit	ng-ongtahi (s. you)	on-antolai-be	namtolō-be
sleep	ng-omoka (s. you)	omoka-be	...
sky	madamo	be-nge-nge (flattened out)	...
sneeze	o-ake-ke (a s.)	e-chi-be (to s.)	...
spitting	inga-hwa-nge	öna-kwa-nge	...
star	chilo-be (? shines)	chilome-be (moon: ? shines)	kōia-kōia
stone	wu-le	taiyi	kūdi
sun	ehe	eke	eke
swim	kwa-be	kwana-be	...
take up	ng-a-toha (you t. u.)	genge-be	i-do-be (t. away)
teeth	m-ahoi (my t.)	m-akwe (my t.)	...
tongue	ta-li	alan-da-nge	...
walk	bunijwa-be	bujiō-be	bujo-be
water	m-igwe (my w.)	i-nge	i-nge
weep	wana-be	wana-be	wana-be
wind	tomjame	totōte	totōte
wood (tree)	ta-nge	da-nge	tda-nge

²⁰ Bonig has lai for honeysomb.

In addition to this list of words offering comparisons, the following from Colebrooke can more or less clearly be made out on the same lines:—

Colebrooke's Jārawa Words.

ENGLISH.	JĀRAWA.	ENGLISH.	JĀRAWA.
(white) ant	do-nge	friend	padu
bat	mitwi-le	leg	chi-ge
belly	ng-a-poi (your b.)	man	ng-amo-lan (you are a man?)
bind	to-be, toto-be	mouth	m-ona (my m.)
bird	lehe	seed	kita-nge
bracelet	a-le	smoke	bali-ngi
charcoal	wahi	swallow	bi-b
crow	nahe	thigh	poi
flesh	wuhi	wash (self)	igna-doha-be

Portman is unfortunately always difficult to follow in his linguistic statements, as they are so uncertain. His vocabularies are apt to differ frequently from the statements in his lists of sentences, and where his vocabularies can be compared they are inconstant: but at p. 781, Vol. II., of his *History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, he gives a comparative list of Jārawa and Ōnge words from his own observations:—

Portman's Ōnge-Jārawa Words.

ENGLISH.	JĀRAWA.	ŌNGE.
arrow	bartoi	bartoi
axe	doi	don
bamboo	otale	ōdale
bow	asii	asi
bucket	uhu	ukui
crab	kagai	kagaia
drink	injowa	injobe
eye	injamma	unijeboi
fire	tuhawe	tuke
foot	monge	muge
hair	enoide	mōde
hand	mome	mome
iron	tanhi	doi (iron adze)
leaf	bebe	bebe
nail	gai	gai
navel	inkwa	onikwale
net	bortai	ohikwe
nose	inama	uningaiboi
road	ischele	ichele
run	ahabelabe	akwebelabe
sea	etale	detale (Passage Id, an islet in the sea)
sit down	atōn	unantokobe
sky	baingala	bengonge
sleep	omohan	omokabe,
string	etai	ebe
stone	nli	taiyi
tooth	anwai	makwe
water	enule	inge

In some of the above words, where Colebrooke differs from Portman, it will be found that Colebrooke's forms, when reduced to a common transcription, are nearest the Önge.

d. — Recovery of Colebrooke's Järawa Vocabulary of 1790.

By pulling the words in the first list to pieces, the identity in race of Colebrooke's native (Järawa) with Portman's natives (Önges) will be at once evident. Many roots and affixes are common, and the words are clearly built up precisely as are all other Andamanese words by radical prefixes to roots relating fundamentally to the body and its parts and by qualitative suffixes. In addition to this, the prefixes are joined to the "personal pronouns" by pre-inflexion in the manner peculiar to the Andamanese languages. And although we have nothing more on record of the Järawa tongue than Colebrooke's list, supplemented by Portman's, of any value, we have thus enough to establish the relation of Järawa and Önge as languages of the same Group, and the relation of both as languages of the same Family as the other Andamanese tongues.

In Järawa the *k* of Önge tends to interchange with *h*, and by inference the Järawas appear to use *ngg* for the Önge *ng* and to say *i-nggo* in place of *önge*.

Leaving the roots to explain themselves, the inflected forms of the "pronouns" show themselves, thus:—

Önge-Järawa "Pronouns."

ENGLISH.	JÄRAWA.	ÖNGE.
I, my	m' -	m' -
You, your	ng'-	ng'-

The qualitative suffixes appear to be as follow:—

Önge-Järawa Qualitative Suffixes.

for "nouns"	-li, -le	-le
for "verbal nouns"	-nge, -nga, -ge, -ke	-nge, -ng, -ge, ke
for "verbs"	-be	-be, me

The radical prefixes are given in a great variety of forms, which will probably disappear on closer knowledge of the languages.

Önge-Järawa Radical Prefixes.

JÄRAWA.	ÖNGE.
ingo-, ingi-, inga-, onke-, öng-, ö-	{ öni-, öna-, önu-, öno-, önan-, ina-, ine-, eng- eni-, önge.
uni	u-
o-, i-, öt-	ö-, ö-, a-, e-
i-	eje, ichin-, e-
pi-	ibi-, ebe-
i-	akwa-, akwe-, ako-, ik-, ig-, i-
aha-, a-	aha-, a-
omo-	omo-
oto-	are-
	alan-

Of these, as prefixes relating to mankind and its body, the following occur:—

ōni-, a general prefix of the body, and then,		
Class I.	... ōni-	head, lip, neck, nose, navel, hip, testicles, stomach
Class II.	... ik-, ig-, i-	cheek, ear
Class III.	... ibi-	chin
Class IV.	... o-	fist, knee, nail, throat
Class V.	... alan	teeth

That the relation between concrete words for the parts of the body and those for ideas belonging to them is shown by the prefixes, comes out neatly in *ik-kwa-ge*, ear : *ik-ābene*, deaf. So, too, the words *ichin-da-nge* and *i-to nge* given for "bone" probably refer to a bone of Class II.

e. — Grammar of Ōnge.

Mr Bonig made a slight attempt at this by providing a few sentences and phrases. It is only an attempt, but it shows that the principles of the Ōnge are those of Andamanese generally. Thus we have:—

ode, hair.	oduleda, sick.
on-ode, animal hair.	.....
miga m'ode, thy hair.	miga-m'oduleda, I am sick.
ngi m'ode, your hair.	ngi m'oduleda, you are sick.
otangka g'ode, { his } hair.	otangka g'oduleda, { he is } sick.
jeloto g'ode, our hair.	jeloto g'oduleda, we are sick.
gotalota g'ode, the hair of all of us.	gotalota g'oduleda, we are all sick.
yetadakwe g'ode, some one's ²¹ hair.	yetadakwe ²¹ g'oduleda, some one is sick.
otiedaka g'ode, their hair.	otiedaka g'oduleda, they are sick.

This would seem to give *m'* as to the prefix of 'my' and 'your,' *g'* as the prefix of all persons not the 'self.'

The few sentences are very obscure.

on-ibiti dode, what have you?
 ōn-ibiti dāi ilekwale-be, what are you saying?
 g'atī bama, what do you call this?
 wanawa otang, where is he?
 on-akuchōbe otang, call him.
 otangka akuchwa, you are called.
 g'oangkinkō-be, you go away.
 le chune, there it is.
 m'injaiche nehe, I don't understand.

f. — Proof of the Identity of Ōnge-Jārawa with the other Groups.

Among an untutored people, so long isolated even from the other Andamanese, one would hardly look for many roots now in common with them, but the following, which occur in such short lists as those available, sufficiently establish a common origin for the Family:—

Some Roots common to the Andaman Languages.

ENGLISH.	ŌNGE-JĀRAWA.	REMAINING LANGUAGES.
bat	witwi	wôt, wat, wot
cold	choma	chanki (Bōa)

²¹ The sense is that the person referred is absent.

ENGLISH.	ÖNGE-JÄRAWA.	REMAINING LANGUAGES.
red ochre	gyalap	bilap, upla
net	chi	chi
sneeze	che, chí	chiba (Bēa, Balawa)
"God"	Uluga : (<i>äluge</i> , thunder)	Puluga, Bilak (Bēa, <i>wul-nga</i> , storm)
turtle	chöbe	chokbe (Kede, Châriâr)
water	i, ig	ina (Bēa, Balawa)
bone	to	ta, toa (Bēa, Balawa)
wood	ta, da	ta, toa, to

Colebrooke showed all sorts of impossible things to his Järawa to name, and one interesting result is the following :—

ENGLISH.	JÄRAWA.	ÖNGE.
cotton-cloth }	pa'—nge — be	be — nge — be
paper }	flat — become — is	flat — become — is

Of course, no Järawa had ever seen before anything approaching to either object, and this man's one expression for both means "it is (has been) flattened," which is what the savage meant to convey, when asked anything so impossible as to name them.

In Appendix B will be found a further list of Önge words to aid in the study of this interesting language.

g. — Derivation of Mincopie.

We are now in a position to solve a great puzzle of ethnographers for a century and more : why were the Andamanese called Mincopie by Europeans? What word does this transcription represent? It can now be split up thus :—

M—ö——nge—be
I—man—kind—am
(I am an Önge)

Or, as the Järawas perhaps pronounce the expression, "M-inggo-be," or even "M-injo-be," I am an Inggo (Injo). The name given by the Önges to themselves is a "verbal noun," *i-nge*, man-being. So that when questioned as to himself by Colebrooke, his Järawa replied "M'inggabe," or something like it, which compound expression by mistranscription and misapprehension has become the well-known Mincopie of the general ethnological books in many languages for an Andamanese. The Önges call their own home, the Little Andaman, Gwabe-l'Önge. Järawa is a modern Bēa term, possibly radically identical with Yärawa, the Bēa name for the Northern Group of Tribes.

It is just possible that Colebrooke's Järawa misunderstood what was wanted altogether and simply said, "I am (will be, would be) drinking : *m-inggo-be*, I-drink-do."

I have now to record a great disappointment. The proof that the method herein adopted for recovering the Järawa Language was correct lay in the fact that the word *i-nge* for "water" was ascertained from a little Järawa boy captured during an expedition in February, 1902, and the identical word was quite independently unearthed from Colebrooke's and Portman's Vocabularies as Önge-Järawa for "water." The only other word clearly ascertained from the boy, *walu-ng* for "pig," has not been gathered independently as yet. This little boy was the last of the prisoners left, who were captured on that occasion, as the women and small children and girls were all returned and only two boys kept back for a while, in order to get their language, &c., from them. Of these, the elder died of fever, and on the very day that their language was fairly recovered, and we were in a position to set to work to learn quickly from him, the younger died very suddenly of pneumonia, without any warning illness.

APPENDIX A.

The Fire Legend in the Bojigiyah Group.

(The Bā Version has been already given.)

Balawa Version.

Dim-Dōra — la rila Keri-l'ong-tōwer — te Puluga l'i toago choapa l' — omo
(a Man) long-ago (a Place) — by God his platform fire bringing
— kate | ong it akat-pōra puguru — t l' — a — re | Bolub ha Tarkōr.
— was | he taking all—men burn — t di — d | (a Man) and (a Man)
ka Bilichau ongot oto — jurugmu — t — ia | ongot at — yōhat mo
and, (a Man) they in-the-sea-wen — t — did | they fish becom—
— nga | ongot oaro — hohai-ena — te Rokwa-l'ar-tonga-baroij — a oho — dal
— ing | they carry-taking — by (a Place) -village— in fire-mak—
— nga l' — a — re
— ing di — d

Portman's Rendering. — Dim-Dōra, a very long time ago, at Keri-l'ong-tōwer, was bringing fire from God's platform. He, taking the fire, burnt everybody with it. Bolub and Tarkōr and Bilichau fell into the sea and became fish. They took the fire to Rokwa-l'ar-tonga village and made fires there.

Bojigiyah Version.

Tōl-l'oko-tim — an Bilik l'ong — pat — ye | Luratut | l'ong at ab — lechi — nga |
(a Place) — in God sleep— did | (a Bird) | he fire bring— ing |
Luratut l'ong — di — ye | kota ong Bilik l'ab — biki — ye | kota Bilik l'ong — konyi
(a Bird) seiz — ed | then he God burn — t | then God awaken
— ye | Bilik | l'ong at k — ye | ong e Luratut l'oto — toi-chu — nga |
— ed | God | he fire seiz — ed | he then (a Bird) (with) fire hitt — ing |
kota hel ong e Tarchal l'ote — toi-chu — ye | Chalter l'ong — di — ye |
then again he then (a Man) (with) fire-hit — did | (a Bird) seiz — ed |
ong Lau-Cham — len da — nga | Wōta-Emi — en ota Lau-Cham | n'ong o — kōdah — nga.
he ancestors — to giv — ing | Wōta-Emi — in then ancestors | they fire-mak-ing.

Portman's Rendering. — God was sleeping in Tōl-l'oko-tima. Luratut went to bring fire. Luratut caught hold of the fire, then he burnt God. Then God woke up. God seized the fire. He hit Luratut with the fire. Then again he hit Tarchal with the fire. Chalter caught hold of it. He gave it to the ancestors. Then the ancestors made fire at Wōta-Emi.

Jūwai Version.

Kwo-ron-mih — a Nam Miti — la | Bilik l'ab — a — t | pōkar at — to top |
(a Place) — in Mr. Pigeon | God sleep — t | wood fire — with stealing |

* — *chike* at *laiche* *Lech* — *lin* a | *kotak* a *oko* — *kodak* — *chine* at — *lo*
 — was fire the-late (a Man) — to he | then he fire-make — did fire — with
Karat-tatak — *emi* — in
 (a Place) — at

Portman's Rendering.—Mr. Pigeon stole a firebrand at Kuro-t'on-mika, while God was sleeping. He gave the brand to the late Lech, who then made fires at Karat-tatak-emi.

Kôl Version.

Tôl-l'oko-tim — *en* *Bilik* — *la* *pat* — *ke* | *Luratut* — *la* *Oko-Emi* — *t* at *kek* — *an* |
 (a Place) — in God asleep — was | (a Bird) (a Place) — in fire too — k |
Kôlotat — *ke* | *lin* *l'* — *a* — *chol* — *an* *Min-tong-ta* — *kete* | *Min-tong-ta* — *kete* — *lak*
 (a Man) — was | by (he) — wen — *t* (a Place) — to | (a Place) — to — by
l' — *ir* — *bil* — *an* | *Kôlotat* *l'ir* — *pin* *l'ir* — *dôk* — *an* | *k'irim* — *kôdak* — *an* |
 (it) — out-wen — *t* | (a Man) charcoal break — did | fire-make-did |
n'a *n'otam* — *tepur* — *an* | at — *ke* *n'ote* — *tepur* — *an* | *Min-tong* *tôk-pôroich* —
 they alive — became | fire — by (they) — alive — became | (a Place) village —
 in *Jangil* | *n'a* *l'oko* — *kôdak* — *an* |
 in ancestors | they fire-make — did |

Portman's Rendering. — God was sleeping at Tôl-l'oko-tima. *Luratut* took away fire to Oko-Emi. *Kôlotat* went to *Min-tong-ta*, (taking fire with him from Oko-Emi). At *Min-tong-ta* the fire went out. *Kôlotat* broke up the charred firewood and made fire again, (by blowing up the embers). They (the people there) became alive. Owing to the fire they became alive. The ancestors thus got fire in *Min-tong-tôk* village.

APPENDIX B.

Önge Vocabularies.

The "Outer Group" of the Andamanese (**Önges and Järawas**) bears the closest resemblance in customs, &c., i. e., assuming them to bear any at all, to the **Semangs and Aetas**, of all the Andamanese Tribes, and hence there is much interest exhibited in their languages. In this Appendix, therefore, is gathered together as much of the Önge Vocabulary as can be with any degree of safety extracted from Portman's *Andamanese Manual*, the information in which is not, however, unfortunately as clear as is desirable.

Subsequently to the compilation of this article, **Mr. M. Bonig**, Assistant Harbour Master at Port Blair, made, at the present writer's request, several trips, in January 1903, to the Little Andaman, the home of the Önges. He brought back with him three Önges from **Kwätinyabôi Creek on the East Coast** of that island, named **Tâkôâte**, **Antidökâne**, and **Antidökâne**, with the object of learning their language. When these men were taken home again, four others, named **Idabôi**, **Gögamin**, **Agodêle** and **Nyâbôi**, of the **Palankwe Sept** were induced to go to Port Blair. Mr. Bonig found that they understood the words he learnt from the East Coast, but altered a good many, showing that **Portman's words** were collected in **Ekita Bay**, which belongs to the **Palankwe Sept**, and that differentiating dialects exist on the island.

In the first of the accompanying *Vocabularies*, wherever Portman's words have been verified by Mr. Bonig, the fact is shown in square brackets []. In the second are recorded the words as to which Mr. Bonig either entirely differed from Portman or which he collected in addition. In both the roots have been separated from the prefixes and suffixes.

I. — Portman's Vocabulary.

Bonig's variants in square brackets.

abundant	gene	cane-necklace	i-deda-le
abuse (to)	õnn-kweba-be	canoe	da-nge [ditto]
ache (to)	õni-dang-wule-be (? bones a.)	cast away (to)	yõbõbine-be
acid	a-ñõii	cheek	gig-boi (your c.)
adze [chisel]	dõii [dau] ²²	chin	ibi-da-nge
ant [small black]	chantibo-de [yan°]	clam	taga-le
apron (women's)	ga-kwinyoga-le	clap (to)	ako.hana bekwe-be
armlet [fibre]	iibi-kwe	clay (white [yellow] for smearing [the body])	we [õõ]
arrow (iron) [reed]	batoi [bato]	cloud	baije
arrow (wood)	tota-le	cocoonut	da-ge (? wood, tree)
arrow (fish)	tome	cold (to feel)	õngi-te-be
arrow (pig)	takõii	come (to)	inai-õba-be, õnu-kwange- me [õn-aiya°]
arrow-shaft	takete-le	copulate (to)	gõ-tõlõ-be
ashes	tongku-te [tong°]	cough	udu-ge [ditto]
awake (to)	kõga-be	crab [large edible]	kagaia [kaga]
bag (of netting)	kumumwi, tangu-le	creek	kuai
bale out (to)	gaiye-bõko-be	cyrena-shell (scraper)	totu-le
bamboo	õ-da-le [o-da-le]	dance	õn-ola-ge
banana	yolõ-le	dead (to be)	bechame-me
bark	gangwi	deaf	ik-aibene
barb (arrow)	tome	dish (wooden)	da-nge-, (wood) tõba-nge
basket	tõ-le [tõ-le]	drink (to)	injo-be
beard	õn-gu-bo-de	dugong	twowe
beat (to)	[õn-]yõkwõ be [yõkwo°]	ear	ik-kwa-ge
beetle [dung]	todanchu [°ran°]	earth	tutano
belt (round)	m-are-kwa-ge (my b.)	eat (to)	õn-i-lokwale-be
belt (broad, flat)	m-ino-kwe (my b.)	ebb tide	ga-de
binder	tu-kwe	embrace	ku-ge
bite (to)	õn-i-baga-be [ditto]	eye	õn-i-jeboi [ditto]
black	be	fall (to)	i-teka-be [gi-°]
blood	ga-che-nge [che-nge]	fastening (a)	gwi-kwe
blow (to) [out fire]	a-kwõbõ-be [ta-kuwõ°]	feather	gõ-de
boil (to)	tamboi-(be)	fern (sp.)	tomojai, lakakai
bone	ichin-da-nge	lever (to have)	ungi-te-be
bone (human)	õn-i-da-nge	fight (to)	õn-ukwe-be
bow	a-ai [a-ẽ]	finger	ome
break (to)	gi-kwa-be [gi-kwa°]	fire	tuke [ditto]
breast	ga-ka-ge [ga-ge]	fish	cho-ge [chau°]
breathe (to)	kwaiõ-be	fist	o-beke [õn-°]
broom	da-ge	flip (to)	õn-i-tõtõge-be
bucket (wood)	ukwi [uku]	flood tide	kobakwe-le
bucket (bamboo)	kubuda-nge	fly (a)	ngonoi [ngõno]
butterfly	bebe-le [ditto]		
call (to)	õn-gyõ-be, õn-ai-waba-be		
cane	tati [ditto]		

²² This reads like a corruption of the Indian and Burman *dā*, a universal instrument used as a knife, axe, adze, sword, &c., as the result of recent intercourse with strangers.

food (to take)	gi-da-be	murder (to)	ôlôlaji-be
foot	m-n-ge (my f.) [ôn-u ^o]	nail *	m-obeda-nga (my n.)
forbid (to)	go-bokwe-be	nautilus-shell (cup)	gaai
glad (to be)	a-kiokö-be	navel	ôn-i-kwa-le [ôn-o ^o]
go (to)	ôn-i-tôto-be (come)	neck	ôu-a-ngito
God	Ulu-ge	necklace	m-a-ngitoke (my n.)
good	i-wado	net	chi-kwe [ditto]
grass	tokwongöye	nose	ôn-i-nyaiboi
green	totanda-nge	orchid (sp.)	köyö
gun	ôn-ini-nye	ornament (of shav- ings)	kwibo-le
hair	m-ode (my h.) [ode]	outrigger	i-beda-ge
hand	m-ome (my h.) [ôn-ome]	paddle	taai [tai]
head-dress (cane)	ng-i-deda-le (your h. d.)	pandanus fruit	ba-le
heavy (to be)	ga-tukwô-be	path	iche-le
hip	ôn-i-boi	peel	gangwi
hiss	ng-ik-iki (you h.)	pig	kwi
hit (with arrow)	gai-be	pinch	ôn-i-gini-be [gi-gine ^o]
honey	tanjai [°ja]	prick	ôn-i-takwa-be
hook (for fish)	tome	pot (cooking)	bûchu (tô-le, its case) [ditto]
hop (to)	ichin-kwôle-be	quick, be !	lug ^o -kö !
hot (to be)	jonjome-be	rain	gujô-nge
how much ?	chiö ?	red ochre	alame
hum (to)	gojai	red wax	kwengane
hungry (to be)	ôn-gi-ai-me	resin	mone [ditto]
hut	bedai [ditto]	ringworm	jwichwi
I, my	mi	rope	kwôla-ge
Indian (an)	i-nene	rub (to)	eb-ele-be
iguana	giti	run (to)	[ôn] akwe-belu-be [akwa-beta ^o]
iron (knife)	lea	saline	ngie
jawbone (human)	ang-bo-de	saliva	ina-kwe-nge
ornament.		salt	inje
jump (to)	akwa-tokwa-be	sand	belai
kick (to)	ôn-i-tekwôme-be	scar	ôn-i-baze
kiss (to) (? smell)	nyônyô-be	scratch (to)	akwe-ô-be
knee	m-ola-ge (my k.)	sea	i-nge (water)
kneel	ôn-o-lakwôchô-be	shampoo (to)	ôn-i-ô-be
laugh (to)	ônge-ma-be	shark	kadu
leaf	be-be (to be flat)	sharp	gi-echare
lick (to)	gi-tome-be	sharpen (to)	totôkwe-be
lie down (to)	ng-ainyi-be (you l. d.)	shave	ôn-o-tale-be
lip	ôn-gume	shell	todandwi
lizard [sp.]	kô-ge [koichai]	shoot (arrow)	gai-be [ditto]
man	ôn-i-agi-le (married m.)	sing (to)	gô-gaba-be [nyô ^o]
mangrove	tun-da-nge (tun-tree)	sit (to)	ôn-nantôkô-be [nantoka ^o]
mangrove fruit	kwea	skin	gangwi (peel)
marry (to)	ôn-ya-be	sky	bengo-nge (what is flat)
mat (sleeping)	emai	sleep (to)	omo-ka-be
micturate	ô-chôlô-be		
moon	chilo-me [chilo-me]		
mousse	ala-nge		
much	liwa-nga		

small	baiai	thorn	tandankie
smoke	ön-o-taboi	throat	ö-ngio
snake	tomogwi	throw	waikwô-be
snake (sea)	tebu-le	thunder	ölu-ge ("God")
sneeze	ë-chi-be	tiptoe (to be on)	ön-u-jagaiö-be
sore (a)	ön-i-bai [ditto]	tongue	alan-da-nge
spill (to)	gi-bu-be	tooth	m-a-kwe (my t.)
spine	ön-o-noda-kwoi	torch	to-kwe [ti-kwe]
spitting	ön-a-kwa-nge [ön-akwi ^o]	tray (for food)	toba-ge
sprinkle (to)	ön-a-nadi-be	tumble (to)	i-teka-be
squeak (to)	gi-lako-be	turtle	nadela-nge [ditto], takwatoai
squeeze (to)	ön-eg-e-be	turtle eggs	kwagane
stand	doka-be	tusk (pig)	a-kwo
stomach	ön-a-nga-nge	umbrella (leaf)	o-modu
stone	taiyi	untie (to)	i-lebu-be
stool (to)	ön-i-yu-be	vomit (to)	ö-bulö-be
stretch (to)	on-a-kwombwoke-be	walk	bujio-be [bujo-be]
stretch (to s. oneself)	gi-gütö-be	water	i-nge [ditto]
strike (to)	kwöke-be	wax (white bees')	chileme
string (to)	e-be	weep (to)	wana-be
stroke (to)	on-a-oe-be	whetstone	tijio-be
sun	eke [ditto]	whisk (for flies)	tomo-ge
surf	balame	whistling	on-i-anga-le
swallow (a)	tugede-le	white	tonkute
sweep (to)	tote-be	wife	ön-i-au-le
swim (to)	kwane-be	wind	totöte [ditto]
take away (to)	ge-akingko-be	wound	ön-i-ba-le [i-bäi]
take hold (to)	ge-nge-be	yawn (to)	ön-a-langöto-be
tattoo (to)	ng-ulukwone-be (you t.)	yes	on-a-laije
tear (to)	i-dokwo-be		
testicle	on-i-kwö-ge [ditto]		

II. — Bonig's Vocabulary.

Portman's variants in square brackets.

adze (small, for canoes)	gan-kwe	burn	duleji-be
ant (large, red-tree)	lalu-lalu	burn (oneself)	ön-o-mama-me
arm	ön-ibi-le	buttock	ön-nena-böi
arise	dobinkate-be	call (to)	ön-a-kuchö-be [ön-gyö-be : ön-ai-waba-be]
arrive	gi-gu-be	carry	yegote-be
awake (to)	gi-tanji-be [löga-be]	catch (to)	gi-bogulä-be
bad	i-bi-te	chew	ön-i-lokwale-be
bath	ön-a-kwantamule	child	o-chile
bee	gu-ki	climb (to)	o-twake-be
bird	no-kai	close (to be)	gai-chebene-be
black	i-kiu [bä]	cloth	kwelabö
blind	nebobene	cohabit (to)	ga-ele-be [gö-tölö-be]
bottle	botaie	collect, heap up (to)	gi-mibu-be
breast, to support the (women)	ön-wetaka-be	cook (to)	gi-wolai-be
bring back	ga-tiko-be : che-be	coral	taie
brow	ejala	crab (large, edible)	kaga
bundle (palm-leaf)	na-nge		

creep (to)	ön-a-lakachyö-be	hurt (to)	ön-ega-be
cry (to)	wana-be	iron (or any metal)	take
cut (oneself)	akite-be	knife	chule [lea]
cut (iron)	ugatike-be	knife-handle	chule-yan-kwe
cut (with a knife)	gi-ji-be	leaf	tomoji
cut (with an adze)	gö-ete-be	lift (to)	ga-ntakwa-be
dance (a)	wanda-nge	light (lamp)	mone
day	ekuje	limp (to be)	ga-ji-be
deep	öma	little	ö-kiwea
dirty	ga-bitima	liver	gide
dog (generic term)	i-kita : wöme	lizard (flycatcher)	ketekete-le
dog (female)	ohinge-ge	lost (to be)	logukonji-be
dog (male)	takwado	man	gae-le [ön-agi-le, married m.]
dress (to)	töikute-be	month	ön-a-ngume
drift (to)	gi-buko-be	mosquito	kwina-nge
[dry	unkata ?]	mushroom	kwatikwa-ge
dull	ngi-kuno	night	o-tebebelan
eat (to)	ön-i-kwawo-be	orchid (sp.)	tomotui
egg	[ön-i-lokwale-be]	pack (a bundle, to)	gi-kwe-be
empty out (to) ²³	aie	pain	ön-a-ngitöwe
fern (sp.)	gi-bu-be	perspiration	ön-o-tage-le
fetch (to)	tikwanchute-le	pigeon (imperial)	uma-ge
fill	alemaji-be	pigeon (Nicobar)	tututu
few	wötangle-be	plantain	chagola ; yaulola
fin	giwe	present (to)	gi-bone-be
finger	gi-bole	rain	beja [gujö-nge]
finished ! (I have no more !)	ön-o-boda-nge [ome]	recover (lost article, to)	gi-tekwabeche-be
fire-brand	ön-a-ngele	recovery (from illness)	gi-gangula
firewood	gi-dakwe	red	i-jedo
flame (to flame up of fire)	name	return (come back, to)	ön-i-katako-be
flower	holoji-be	rub (to)	ön-kweta-be
forehead	totibuli	run away (to)	alemaké-be
forenoon	ojala	row (paddle, to)	ö-glanji-be
fry (to)	ekeome	scar	ge-ki-nge [ön-i-bare]
full (of the belly)	gi-ga-be	screwpine	mane
give (to)	i-bö-dia	see (to)	ga-teaba-be
go (to)	eböieka-be	shallow	i-kata
hammer	gö-angkinko-be	sharp	ngi-gi-lekuta [gi-eohare]
head	[ön-i-töte-be]	shave (to)	kwedale-be [ön-o-tale-be]
headache	kaula-le	shell	tenje [todandwi]
hide (to)	ön-ota-be	sick	o-duleda
hold (to)	ö-duleda	silent (to be)	kwemetamöi-be
hook (large, iron)	ön-a-kwe-be	skate (fish)	dugadode
honeycomb	ge-nge-be	skin	gati [gangwi, peel]
hot (to be)	adu	small	mintainene : giwe [baiai]
	lai	smear (the body, to)	ön-a-kwawe-be
	o-bentelenene-be	smoke (to)	nanto-be
	[jonjome-be]	speak (to)	gi-lekwalinka-be
		spear	gi-takwatowe

²³ But see "collect, heap up."

star	kôlakôia	tickle (to)	ôn-a-ngedagede-be
steer	gi-ngulü-be	to-morrow	ekajetu
sting (of a mosquito, to)	ôn-i-bqñkô-be	tongs (bamboo, to use)	wako-be
sting (of a bee, to)	ôn-a-e-be	tortoise-shell	o-dati
stone	kwôï [taiyi]	turn over (to)	jule-be
stop (to)	kwalakaji-be	understand !	ôn-îlokalema !
stout	ôn-i-deame	wash (to)	gi-kwantai-be
sunrise (to)	(ake) ²⁴ gi-bete-be	wax (black bees')	tibii
sunset (to)	(ake) ²⁴ gi-otukitibieji-be	white	ôikala
sweep (to)	gatie-be [tote-be]	whistle	gwana [ôn-i-anga-le]
take away (to)	i-do-be [ge-akingkô-be]	wood	tada-nga
tall	midokwalenene	yam	kalu
throw	toko-be [waikwô-be]	yellow	gi-kita
tick	nana-ge	yes	niai [ôn-a-laije]

APPENDIX C.

The Andamanese Tribal Names according to the Aka-Bêa Language.

Full.	Abbreviated.	Full.	Abbreviated.
Âkà-Châriâr-(da)	... Chariar	Âkà-Bojigyâb-(da)	... Bojigyab
Âkà-Kôrà-(da)	... Kora	Âkà-Balawa-(da)	... Balawa
Âkà-Tâbo-(da)	... Tabo	Âkà-Bêa-(da)	... Bea
Âkà-Yêre-(da) (also Âkà-Jâro-da)	Yere	Ônge	... Ônge
Ôko-Jûwai-(da)	... Juwai	Jârawa-(da)	... Jârawa
Âkà-Kôl-(da)	... Kol		

Below is given a table of the names given to themselves and each other by the five South Andaman Tribes or Bojigngiji Group, traditionally sprung from one tribe. It brings out the following facts:— in each language of the Group the prefixes and suffixes differ much and the roots remain practically the same throughout for the same sense. These facts strongly indicate one fundamental tongue for this group of languages.

Table of the names for themselves and each other used by the five South Andaman tribes or Bojigngiji group.

Sense.	Tribe.	Bea.	Balawa.	Bojigyab.	Juwai.	Kol.
Fresh-water ...	Bea ...	Âkà-Bêa-da	Akat-Bea	O-Bea-da	Oko-Beye- lekile.	O-Bea-che
Opposite-side ...	Balawa ...	Âkà-Bala- wa-da.	Akat-Bale	O-Pole-da	Oko-Pole- lekile.	O-Pole-che
Our language ...	Bojigyab ...	Âkà-Bojig- yâb-da.	Akat-Bo- jigyuab- nga.	O-Puchik- war-da.	Oko-Puchik- yar- lekile.	O-Puchik- war-che.
Patterns cut on bows ...	Juwai ...	Âkà-Jûwai- da.	Akat-Juwai	O-Juwai-da	Oko-Juwai- lekile.	O-Juwai- che.
Bitter or salt taste ...	Kol ..	Âkà-Kôl-da	Akat-Kol	O-Kol-da	Oko-Kol- lekile.	O-Kol-che

So too Yêre, Jeru or Jâro for the Âkà-Yêre Tribe means a (sort of) "canoe" in all the languages and Ônge means "a man" on its own language.

²⁴ eke means the sun.

MISCELLANEA.

SURVIVAL OF OLD ANGLO-INDIAN
COMMERCIAL TERMS.

BY SIE R. C. TEMPLE.

ANY one who has had occasion to struggle with such a book as Stevens' *New and Complete Guide to the East India Trade*, 1775, or with Anglo-Indian terms occurring in the old Company's *Factory Records* and similar documents will appreciate the value of settling precisely what is meant by Anglo-Indian commercial terms. There is a chance of doing this in certain instances by an examination of the Indian commercial newspapers of to-day, as many more of the old terms have survived in commerce than would at first appear possible to the outside public.

Here are a few taken from a Supplement to *Capital*, published in Calcutta in 1902.

Surviving Anglo-Indian Terms.

Coir. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1510.

"Coir fibre. Demand has somewhat improved."

Doll; dal. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1673.

"Dal or split peas. Demand for all kinds is slack Masuri dal and Khari Masuri Oridh or kolye dal gram dal greenpeas dal arhar dal khasri dal khasari or mutta."

Gingerly. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1726.

"Jinjeli, sesamum or tilseed oil. Prices continue very high owing to light supply."

Gunny. Oldest quotation in Yule, c. 1590.

"Australian Gunny Market, bags and bagging."

Gram. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1702.

"Gram supplies have overtaken deliveries."

Golah. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1785.

"Salt. The market continues steady and the sales during the week are as follows; ex ships ex golahs"

Madapollam (piece-goods). Oldest quotation in Yule, 1673: see Bowrey's *Countries round the Bay of Bengal* (1669—1679), p. 100, n. 1.

"Grey Madapollam."

Myrabolam. Oldest quotation in Yule, c. B. C. 840.

"Myrabollams There has been no life in the trade: for export to the Australian Colonies for some Bimlinuts."

Shellac. Oldest quotation in Yule (*s. v. Lac*), c. 1343.

"There is a fair enquiry for ready parcels Button lac, a small business is passing: garnet there is nothing to report There is very little movement 300 cases button arrived this week in free condition for the American market."

Tincal. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1525.

"The article is selling superior Cossipore is reaching."

Weights.

Maund. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1610.

[This very old word and its variants at the present day are well worth comparing with the old books.]

"The Indian Maund is 82½ lbs.: the Factory Maund is 74 lbs. 10 oz. 11 dwt.: the Bazar Maund is 82 lbs. 2 oz. 3 dwt.: 1 cwt., i. e. 112 lbs., equals Bazar 1 md. 14 seers 8½ chittacks."

Modern Terms.

Kerosine Oil. "Indian named brands Mango, Ram, Sumatra, Rangoon."

Rice. "Commercial terms for Bengal Rice: table, white Patna, Brushed Seeta, Seeta, gross Seeta, chunichalla, khud or B. T., cleaned gross, prime Patna, gross Patna."

Names for Boiled or Brown Rice: "Boiled Patna, ballam, nagra, moonghy, zaree, kazla, kuttuck."

Sugar. Names for Indian sugar: "Cane, Benares, Shomsara, Dummah, Vally Gaur, Bobarah, Akharah, Goburdanga and Jadurhat Dollo, Akrah."

Names for refined sugar: "Cossipore, Cossipore Grossery, Madras and Arcot granulated, China granulated, Penang, Mauritius."

Tea. Names for Indian tea: "Assam, Cachar, Sylhet, Darjeeling, Dooars, Terai."

HINDUISM IN THE HIMALAYAS.

BY H. A. ROSE, L.C.S.

(Concluded from Vol. XXVI. p. 48.)

IV.—The Legend of Mahāśū Dēotā.

Mahāśū, doubtless a corruption of **Maha-Siva**, is the god who gives his name to the **Mahāśū Hill** near **Simla**, and other places in the **Simla hills**. In the legend that follows he appears in quadruple form as four brothers, just as **Banā Sur** had four sons.³⁵

When **Krishna** disappeared at the end of the **Dwāpar Yūg**, the **Pāṇḍavas** followed him. On their road to **Balī-kāsharam** they crossed the **Tons**, and **Rājā Yudhishthīr**, struck with the beauty of the place, ordered **Biswā Karmā** to build a temple there. Here the **Pāṇḍavas**, with **Draupadi**, halted 9 days. They named the place **Hanol**, and thence journeyed by the **Gangotri** and **Jamnōtri** ravines, through **Kedār**, to **Badrī Nāth**, where they disappeared, and the **Kālī Yūg** began.

At its commencement demons wandered over the **Uttarā Khaṇḍa**, devouring the people and plundering towns and villages. The greatest of the demons was **Kirmar**, who had **Beshī**, **Sengī**, and a host of minor demons under him at **Maindārth**, on the **Tons**, whence they ravaged towns and villages, until the people sought refuge in cliffs, caves, and ravines. The demons devoured every one who came in their way. Once the seven sons of **Hūnā Brahman**, who practised penance in the **Deoban forest**, went to bathe in the **Tons river** and encountered **Kirmar**, who devoured them all.

As they did not return for some time, their mother set out in search for them, but when she reached the river without getting any clue to her sons, she sat down on its bank and began to weep bitterly. Meanwhile, **Kirmar**, passing by, was struck with her beauty and asked why she wept. **Kirtakā** turned to him and said her seven sons had gone to bathe in the river and had not returned home. Hearing this, **Kirmar** said, "I am fascinated by thy beauty. If thou wilt accede to my heart's desire, I will extinguish the fire of my heart and will be grateful to thee and try to help thee in this difficulty. I am a brave man, descended from **Rāwan**. I have won the kingdom of these hills through the strength of my own arm."

The chaste wife was terrified at these words and they increased her grief. In her distress she began to pray, saying, "O Lord, the giver of all boons, everything rests with thee."

Dohā (couplet).

Puttar dukh dukhīd bhāī.

Par-bal abald āj,

Sattī ko sat jāī hai :

Rākhō, Ishwar, lāī.

I was distressed at the loss of my sons.

To-day I am a woman in another's power,

A chaste woman whose chastity is like to be lost :

O God, keep my chastity !

After this she took her way home, and by the power of God the demon's sight was affected, so that **Kirtakā** became invisible to him as she passed. She then told the story to her husband, saying with clasped hands that **Durgā Dēvī** would be pleased with her devotion and destroy the demons, for she alone was endowed with the power of averting such evil. The demons had corrupted religion, outraged chastity, and taken men's lives.

On hearing this, her husband said they would go and worship **Haṭ-koṭī Ishwarī Mātā**. So **Hūnā** went to the goddess with his wife. He first offered her flowers, and then prayed to **Haṭeshwarī Durgā** with the eight hands. While he prayed he unsheathed a dagger

³⁵ Temple's *Legends of the Punjab*, III., pp. 364 et seqq.

and was about to cut off his own head with it, when the goddess revealed her spirit to him, caught his hand and said, "I am greatly pleased with thy devotion. Go to the mountains of Kashmir, pray to God, and all thy desires will be fulfilled. Shiv-ji will be pleased and will fulfil thy desires. Go there cheerfully and there will be no obstacle in thy way."

O obeying the order of the goddess, Hūnā went at once, and in a few days reached his destination. After his departure, he gave up eating grain and lived on vegetables. He also gave up clothes, using the bark of trees for his dress. He spent most of his time in worship, sometimes standing on one toe. When Shiv-ji was pleased with him, the spirit of the four-armed image addressed him, saying, "I am greatly pleased with thee: ask me any boon, which thou desirest."

On hearing these words from the god Śiva, Hūnā clasped his hands and said, "O Śiva thou hast power to kill the demons. Thou hast power to repel all enemies and to remove all difficulties. I pray and worship the Ganges, the saviour of the creatures of the three worlds, which looks most beautiful as it rests on thy head. There are no words to describe thy glory. The beauty of thy face, which is so brilliant with the serpents hanging round thy neck, beggars all description. I am highly indebted to the goddess of Hāt-koṭī, at whose feet I bow my head, and by whose favour I and my wife are so fortunate as to see thee in the Kali Yug."

*Uttar Khand mein rākshas basē, manukhoṅ kī kartē āhr;
Kul muluk barbād kiya, ābādī hogī ujār.
Tum hī Rudar, tum hī Bishnū Nand Gopāl.
Dukh hūā sur sāthuoṅ ko; māro rākshas tat-kāl.
Sāt puttār mujh dās ke nahāne gaye jab parbhāt:
Jab ghāt gayē nadi Tōns ke jinko Kirmar khāyo ek sāt.*

The demons who dwell in the Northern Region are preying upon the people. They have laid waste the country and the people have fled.

Thou only art Rudar (Śiva); thou alone art Bishnū Nand Gopāl.³⁶

The sages and devotees are in distress; kill the demons at once.

Early in the morning the seven sons of me thy slave went to bathe.

When they reached the banks of the River Tons, Kirmar ate them at once.

The god Śiva was pleased at these words and said, "O Rikhi, the people of the Kali Yug being devoid of religion have lost all strength. I admire thy sincere love and true faith, especially as thou didst not lose heart in worshipping me. Hence all thy desires shall be fulfilled and I have granted thee the boon asked for. Be not anxious, for all the devils will be killed in a few days."

Dohā (couplets).

*Bidd kiyo jab Bipra ko, diyē akshat, phūl, chirāg.
Śakti rūp pahle pargaṭ gaī, Maindārath ke bāg.
Ghar jāo Bipra āpne, rākhō mujh par tēk.
Shakti rūp ke āng se, ho-gayē deb anēk.
Pargaṭ āng sē debtē, rōm rōm sē bīr.
Istrī sahit bidd kiyo: 'rākhō man mēn dhīr.'*

When (the god) bade the Brāhman farewell he gave him rice, flowers, and a lamp. A Śakti (goddess) first appeared in the garden at Maindārath.

Go home, Brāhman, and place reliance on me.

Countless divinities arose from the body of the Śakti.

Gods appeared from her body, and heroes from her every hair.

She dismissed him with his wife saying: 'keep patience in thy heart.'

³⁶ Explained to mean 'the son of Nand, i. e., Kṛishṇa.

When the god gave Hūnā Rikhī leave to go, he gave him rice, a vessel containing flower and a lamp, and said, "O Rishi, go home and keep thy confidence in me. A Śakti (goddess) will first appear in the garden at Maindārath. Numerous demons will come out of her thimble, and every hair of her body will send forth a hero. Do not lose courage, but go home with thy wife. Keep the garland of flowers, the rice, and the lamp which I have given thee concealed beneath the *pīpal* tree which stands in the garden behind thy house, and perform the customary daily worship of all these. Light this lamp and offer me flowers and incense on the *amāvas* of Bhādoṇ and thereafter worship me with a sincere heart. Also perform a *jāgaran*³⁷ on that date for one day and night. By so doing, thou wilt, on the third day, observe a Śakti emerge from the ground with a fountain. Flames will then be visible all around. From her forehead and other limbs will spring gods, who will be named after the member from which they were born. The four gods, called the **Nāg Chauth** or **Mahāsu**, will appear on the 4th of the light half of Bhādoṇ. Those who appear on the following day, i. e., the 5th, will be called **Kiyālū** and **Banār**. Moreover, many distinguished above the rest by their courage will spring from the Śakti's hair. They will kill the demons and give great happiness to the people. They will fix their capital at Hanol, which was founded by the Pāṇḍavas."

When this boon was granted to Hūnā Rikhī, he walked round the god and paid him obeisance. After this he went his way homewards and the god disappeared.

After many days the Rikhī reached home with his wife, and acting on the god's directions carefully placed the lamp, flowers, and rice on the prescribed spot. On the *amāvas* of Bhādoṇ he worshipped and lighted the lamp. On the third day a fountain sprung up, wherein the Śakti appeared.

Chaupai.

*Bhūmī sē upnī Mātā Deo Lārī.
Thān Deo Mātā ko Kongo re Bārī.*

Mother Deo Lārī appeared from the earth.

The temple of Deo Mata (was named) the Bārī of Kongo.³⁸

*Tū hē yog, yugē, tū hē yog mātī.
Dē, Mātā, bachan dē paridē men lārī.*

Thou only art devotion and the law, thou art the mother of the age.

O Mother, give us thy promise to lead us on the (right) path.

*Māthē balē Mātī rē agnī rē geṭhē.
Bothā rājī Mahāsū hoī sūraj re bhekhē.*

On the Mother's head burnt a fire of faggots.

Mahāsū was born with lustre like the rays of the sun,

*Chhātī sē mātī Chakkar chāl,
Janamā Chālāḍā, Mātā re lārī.*

Placing her hand round her breast,

The Mother brought forth her son, Chālāḍā.

*Mātā Deo Lārī nē hāth kiē khaṛē.
Bāshuk Pabāsī dono hāth dō jhaṛē.*

Mother Deo Lārī raised both her hands.

Bāshuk³⁹ and Pabāsī sprang from her two hands.

³⁷ *Jāgaran* (from Sanskrit *jāgarana*) means keeping awake the whole night in devotion.

³⁸ By Mahāsū, because it was close to his own temple.

³⁹ Bāshuk is also called Chālāḍā, i. e., 'the goer,' the serpent.

Chauth men upne Mahāsū chār.

Panchmī hut tithi dē Deo Kyālū Bandr.

The four Mahāsūs were born on the fourth.⁴⁰

On the fifth were created the gods Kiyālū and Banār.⁴¹

Shēr Kālīā Kyālū hoē Bothē re wazir.

Romō hoē romō de nau lākh bīr.

Shēr Kālīā and Kiyālū became the ministers of Bothā.⁴²

Nine lākhs of heroes sprang from every hair.

Hāth jorē Hunā gayā pairē pē jāi:—

‘Sab manukh lē, Malkā, rākshasē khat.’

Hunā fell at her feet with clasped hands:—

‘All mankind has been devoured by the demons, O Mistress.’

Hāth bandē paw shir lāyā jānū:—

‘Maindārath Tālō dā Kirmar dāno.’

With clasped hands and feet he placed his head on her knees:—

‘Kirmar, the demon, (dwells) in the Maindārath Lake.’

Kāthlī hoī sainā Maindārath ke bāg.

Chār bhāī Mahāsū karāī re āg.

The armies were arrayed in the garden of Maindārath.

The four Mahāsū brothers were like the fire.⁴³

Hunē jaisē rīkhiē atī bintī lāi:—

Isī ke kāran chār Mahāsū āi.

Hunā the Rishi made a great prayer:—

‘The four Mahāsūs for this purpose have come.’

Sabhi jāī debtē nē bintī lāi:—

‘Kyā dewē āgyā Deo Lāī Māl?’

All the gods made a prayer (saying:—)

‘What are the orders of the goddess Deo Lāī Māl?’

Jab dē āgyā Śrī Dēvī Māl:—

‘Kumar Keshu rākshas ko tum dō ghā.’

Then Śrī Dēvī Māl gave orders:—

‘You must kill the demons Kirmar and Kēshī.’

Chambola.

Rājā Rikh-choliyā lāyo tero nāw.

Rājan ko rāj nāw tero nāw.

Thy name is King of Rikh-choliyā.

Thy name is king of kings.

Kungā kastūri, Rājā, guglā ko dhūp,

Chār Bhāī Mahāsū Narain ko rūp.

Rājan ko rāj nāw tero nāw.

With saffron, musk and fragrant resin and incense, Raja,

The four Mahāsū brothers are Narain incarnate.

Thy name is king of kings.

⁴⁰ Of the light half of Bhādon.

⁴¹ That is to say, two of the four Mahāsūs were created on the 4th and two on the 5th of the light half of Bhādon.

⁴² Mahāsū

⁴³ Of a cow-dung cake.

*Hāth shāṅkh, chakkar gal idāp ko hār,
Chār bhai Mahāsū Buddar avatār;
Bhekh-āhārī rājan ko rāj nāw tero nāw.*

With conch and quoit in their hands and serpents round their necks,
The four brothers Mahāsū are Buddar⁴⁴ incarnate,
In spite of all disguise, thy name is king of kings.

*Hāth shāṅkh, chakkar, gajjā, tīrskāl,
Nāch lāyo parī ro, bārkhā hoē phāl,
Bhekh-āhārī rājīd lāyo tero nāw.
Rājan ko rāj nāw tero nāw.*

Conch, quoit, mace and trident in hand,
Dance of fairies and rain of flowers,
In spite of all disguise kingly is thy name.
Thy name is king of kings.

*Uliyā ko nātī Rājā Bhimlā ko jāyo.
Kāshmirē chhoṛī Rājā Maindārath āyō.
Rājan ko rāj nāw tero nāw.*

Uliyā's grandson and Rājā Bhimlā's son has been born.
The Rājā left Kāshmir and came to Maindārath.
Thy name is king of kings.

Dohā (couplet).

*Thāro aūt koī nakhā jāne, līd param apār.
Bhagat hit kārne tum kaī bīdh setē ho avtār.*

None knoweth thy infinity, thy glory is infinite.
Thou dost take many shapes in order to do good.

*Bintī sun rīkhē kī, parsan huē atyant.
Hukam diyē saināpation ko 'māro asur turant.'*

Hearing the prayer, great was the joy of the saints.

They gave the order to the leaders 'slay the demons forthwith.'

*Āgyā pāt, Mahāsū kī muṅgar kīyē hāth. *
Mahān rath par Chāldā bāiṭhō nau lākh sainā sāt.*

* Receiving the orders, the Mahāsūs took bludgeons in their hands.
Chāldā sat in his great war chariot at the head of nine lakhs of men.

*Purtham yudh huē Maindārath meñ, sainā mārī apār.
Aisē Shiv Shankar bhāē jo santan prān adhār.*

Battle was first joined at Maindārath and armies were slain.
It was Shiv Shankar who thus came to save his disciples.

When the whole army of the *rākshasas* had been killed, Kīmar beat a retreat and came to Majhog, the abode of Singī the demon. There they collected their scattered forces, intending to give battle afresh.

Dohā (couplet).

*Jab Majhōy mān devat pahāñchē ān,
Singī māro jab dāt, huē yudh ghamañ.*

When the *déotās* reached Majhog,
They killed Singī the demon and a desperate battle was fought.

On hearing of the slaying of Singi Rākshas by Sher Kull, and that most of his men were slain, Kirmar fled to Kināri Khanlāl, a village on the river bank, but was pursued by the *devôts*. When he was about to hide in a ravine of Mount Khandā, he was overtaken by Chāldā Mahāsū, who rode on a throne of flowers borne by two soldiers.

Dohā (couplet in Pahārī).

*Khandāt jāne khē pāwā thā thāo,
Bār bhānē⁴⁵ thē Rājīē khāḍē ré lāo.*

He took refuge under a rock in the village of Khandāt,
Intending to smite with his sword his opponent.

When Śrī Chāldā⁴⁶ killed the demon, a large force of other gods reached him.

Dohā (couplet in Pahārī).

*Sāth larau deotē kharīē⁴⁷ khāḍē,
Ghāi huwē⁴⁸ rākshas lāi lāi bāḍē.*
All the gods attacked with their swords
And cut the demons to pieces.

After killing the demon Kirmar, all the gods throw flowers over Śrī Chāldā and paid homage to him.

Dohā (couplet).

*Ādi Kali Yug mēn Kirmar kiyo rāj.
Sant mahātma ko dukh diyo dait samāj.*

Kirmar ruled the world in the beginning of the Kali Yug.

The demon brotherhood caused great trouble to the saints and the men of God.

*Sab deran kē deb hai Mahāsū kartār.
Kirmar ādi mārke, dūr kiyo mahi-bhār.*

The lord Mahāsū is the god of all gods,

Killing the great Kirmar, he has lightened the burden of the World.

*Yah charitr Mahādev kā chit dē sunē jo koī,
Sadd rahai sulh sampalā aur mukti phal hoī,*
He who listens to this story of Mahādev with a sincere heart
Will always remain happy and attain the fruit of salvation.

After killing Kirmar, all the gods encamped in a field near Khandāi, and the place came to be called Dev-kā-khāḍal. It still forms the *jāgīr* of Dev Banār. The place in Khandāi, where Kirmar met his death, still retains the marks of his sword on a rock. Travellers and passers-by worship this stone by offering flowers, and also express gratitude to Mahāsū.

Next morning at daybreak Hūnā Rikhi came to Mahāsū with clasped hands and expressed joy at Kirmar's death. He further begged that the demon, Keshī, who had made Hanol his abode and was destroying its people should be killed, adding that the place was a delightful one, as it had a fine temple, that the rippling waves of the river by which it lay added beauty to its scenery, that it was a place of sanctity and would be better under his rule than under the demon's, and that it was therefore right that the demon should be killed.

Hearing this the god marched his army in that direction, and on the march they passed Salnā Pattī, a village in Rāwīgarh, near which lived another demon in a tank, receiving its water from the Pabar. When the flower-throne of Mahāsū reached this spot he saw a demon dancing in the tank and making a noise. Śrī Naṭārī Jī said to Mahāsū:—"This is a fearsome sight." When Mahāsū heard the Umā Shankari's words he knew by the might of his knowledge that this was the demon spoken of by the *rikhi*. He stopped his throne and

⁴⁵ From *bhān-nā*, to break, in Pahārī.

⁴⁷ *Lit.*, 'raising high.'

⁴⁶ *I. e.*, Mahāsū.

⁴⁸ *Ghāi huwē*, 'are killing.'

destroyed the demon on the spot by muttering some charms, which had such power that even to this day the river does not make any sound as it flows. Hence the place is called Nashudi.

Dôha.

*Bâjâ jarî-bharthâ deotê rê bîjâ,
Bothâ Râjâ Mahâsû Hanolê bîrâjâ.
Jarî-bharth, the music of the gods, was played,
When Bothâ, Râjâ and Mahâsû left for Hanol.'*

*Mahârâj Mahâsû Châldâ Pabâsi,
Hanolê khîrê bahutê mano dê hâsê.
Mahârâj Mahâsû, Châldâ and Pabâsi,
The gods laughed greatly in their hearts on seeing Hanol.*

*Chhotê chhotê bahutê deo;
Sri Bothâ Mahâsû deote rê deo.
There are many minor gods;
But Sri Bôthâ Mahâsû is the god of gods.*

When Sri Mahâsû reached Hanol with his army, he asked Hânâ Rikhi if it was the resort of Keshî the demon. The latter humbly replied that it was, but he added that the demon sometimes haunted the Masmor mountains, and had perhaps gone in that direction and that preparations for his destruction should be made at once. Upon this all the gods held a council and sent Sri Châldâ with Sher Kaliâ, Kôlû, and others to the mountains of Masmor to kill Keshî. Under these orders Sri Châldâ seated himself on a throne studded with pearls, and with the other warrior-gods set out in search of the demon. This song of praise was sung :—

*'Terî Hanolê, Râjêd, phulôn ki bârî,
Châ. Uhdî Mahâsû Mâtî Deo Lârî.
Râjan ko râj nâw tero nâw.
Bhesh-dhârî Râjâ jî.
Rânî, Râjâ nâwê parjâ nâwê.'
'Râjâ, thou hast a garden of flowers in thy Hanol,
The abode of the four Mahâsûs and their mother.
Thy name is king of kings.
In spite of all disguise thou art Lord,
The queen, the king and his subjects bow down to thee.'*

Potgi.

*Khañḍâiê dâkâ nâmi chôr,
Lê chalo pâlgî merî ubhî Masmôr.
Râjan ko râj nâw tero nâw.
Kâshmîrî Râjâ dewâ kethî? Bhîmlâ kî ôr.*

Thieves and famed robbers of Khañḍâi,
Bear ye my palanquin up to Masmor.
Thy name is king of kings.
Whither is the king of Kashmir gone? He is gone towards Bhimla.

*Kailâs Kashmir chhôrô râjasthân Maindârath âyâ.
Râjan ko râj nâw terô nâw.*

Thou hast left Kailâs and Kashmir and came to Maindârath.
Thy name is king of kings!

When Sri Châldâ's throne reached the hill with his bandsmen playing music, the demon Keshî witnessed his arrival, and thought him to be the same who had killed his lord Kirmar, and had come there for the same purpose. So he made ready for battle and said, "It is not

right to fly," Thinking thus, he took a huge mace and spear to attack the god. When about to shatter the god in pieces with his mace, the god's glory was manifested and the demon's hand hung motionless. Śrī Chāldā ordered Sher Kaliyā to kill the demon at once. This order was instantly obeyed. The people of the place were exceedingly glad at this good news, and there was much throwing of flowers over Mahāsū.

Verse.

Khushī horē ādamī pahārō rē sārē :—
'Kārē jek khaumpanī kūtō rē mērē.'

All the hill people rejoiced :—

'Accept as thy revenue the offerings made out of our (share of the) produce.'

'Kār deo khaumpanī pārē Hanolē lāē,
Sadd bārwi de barshē deo Bharānsī lē buldē.'

'We will work and send tribute in our turn to Hanol,
 And will bring the god for worship to Bharānsī every twelve years.'

'Sadd kahēn, Mahāsūwā, mulak tihārā,
Sāl deo samatō rā kūtō rā kārā.'

'O Mahāsū, we say this land is thine for ever.
 And we will give thee each year every kind of grain in due season.'

'Bhūt, kar, rākshas, parēt, chhal,
Kār deo khaumpanī sadd rahai parjā tumhārī.
Achhiddar dō aur karō rakeshā hamārī.'

'Protect us from the evil-spirits, demons, ogres and goblins,
 And we will give thee tribute and ever remain thy subjects.
 Give us prosperity and grant us protection.'

After killing the demon, Śrī Chāldā Mahāsū seated himself on his throne and came with his forces to Hanol in great state. He brought with him all the offerings in gold and silver, as well as a gold *kaddū* taken from the demons.

On reaching the place he recounted the death of Keshī to Bothā Mahāsū, saying : — "All the demons have been killed by thy favour, and all the troubles removed. Accept these offerings which I have brought and send them to thy treasury."

Hearing this, Bothā Mahāsū said : "O Śrī Chāldā, go with all these heroes to the places which I name and divide the country among them, so that they may rule there, and guard the people against all calamities. The people of these lands will worship thee as thy subjects and be dependent on thee. Every person will offer thee silver, gold, brass or copper on the attainment of his desires. Wherever thou mayst go, the inhabitants will worship thee, performing a *jāgrā* on the Nāg-chauth and Nāg-panchami days, which fall each year in Bhādoṇ. They will be amply rewarded for these annual fairs." And he added : "Thou shalt be worshipped like myself, and be highly esteemed throughout my kingdom, but thou wilt have to pay the *malikānā* dues for each place to the other gods. When a grand *jāgrā* is performed, thou wilt be invited to present offerings to me."

Bājē tāl mardang shākh bājē ghāṇṭē,
Sabhi Śrī Mahāsū jī ne deṭōṇ ko rāj dīno bāṇṭē.

The cymbal, the mardang and the conch were sounded and bells were rung.
 When Śrī Mahāsū divided his kingdom among his minor gods.

Rāj sabē deoton kō īs tarah bāṇṭē,
Rājdhānī Pabās dēnā Deban rā dandē.
 He divided his State to the gods thus,
 Giving the territory of Mount Deban to Pabāsī.

*Bāshuk ho Bāwār dīno poru, Bilo bolī Sāthī,
Pabāsī Bel dīno punwāsē jā Bel Pāsāh.*

To Bāshuk he gave the whole of the Bāwar territory with the part of Bilo on this side of Sāthī.
To Pabāsī he also gave the country of Shāthī which is on the bank of the Patwāl.⁴⁹

Kālū Kotlā hū dīno Kyālū Bandr.

Boṭhē Chāldā Mahāsū ro rāj howd sarab pahār.

To Kiālū and Banār he gave Kālū and Kotlā also.

And Bōṭha and Chāldā Mahāsū became rulers of the whole of the hill tract.

Boṭhā Chāldā Mahāsū sab deban re deo.

Pūjanē rā Mahāsū ro jānadē nā asau.

Bōṭha and Chāldā Mahāsū are the gods of all the gods.

The people do not know how to worship Mahāsū.

Sab richā denī Hunā Rikhi khe Vedo rī batī.

‘Isī bidhī kār mere debte rī pūjan kardī.’

The hymns of the Vedas⁵⁰ were dictated to Hunā Rikhi:

‘Perform my worship according to them.’

Sab guwē debte apne sathāno khe jāi.

Vedo rī richā denī pūjanē lāi.

All the gods went to their own capitals.

The Vedic hymns should be used in worship.

Shrī Mahāsū ke sātḥ sab debte gae dī,

Is Khaṇḍ Uttar meṁ dete māntī kardī.

All the gods who had come with Mahāsū.

Are worshipped in this Northern Region.

Notāre Pokho chhoṛā jo maṛśshwar Mahādeo.

Hanol meṁ Boṭhā Mahāsū jo sab deban ke deo.

Notāre⁵¹ and Pokhū remain, Mahadev the god of the burning places.

Bōṭhā Mahāsū is the god of gods in Hanol.

Chūrī meṁ Chūrēshwar wahī Mahāsū hai deo.

Desh chhoṛē deshoṛē Dūm ādī Bhindrā deo.

That same Mahāsū as Chūrīshwar is the god of the Chūr Peak.

Dūm, Bhindrā and others are in charge of the other parts of the plain country.

Narain, Ruddar, Dhaulū, Ghorḍū debte gaye Bashahro rī nālī.

Hāṭkoṭī meṁ Mātā Hāṭēshwarī aur pahār pahār meṁ Kālī.

The gods Narain, Ruddar, Dhaulū and Ghorḍū were sent towards the valley of Bashahr.

Mother Hāṭeshwarī was in Hāṭkoṭī and on every hill was Kālī.

Sabhūn kī pūjan Bhaī hū ‘jai jai’ kār.

Kirmar ādī mār ke ānand bhayo sansār.

All worship the Brothers and give them [the cry of] ‘victory.’

The world became very happy at the death of Kirmar and the other demons.

Dēsh huwā muluk, Shrī Chāldā, tumhārā.

Hanolo khē bhejnd kūtō rā kārā.

Srī Chāldā, all this country is thine.

Thy servants give thee tribute in Hanol.

Thus was a separate tract assigned to each, and they were sent each to his own territory. Hunā Rikhi was loaded with blessings in money. After this, Mahāsū disappeared and an image of him with four arms appeared of its own accord. It is worshipped to this day.

⁴⁹ This is the meaning as explained by the descendant of Kāverā. *Lit.*, the translation appears to be—To Pabāsī he gave Bel on the day of the full moon, and so it is (now) called Bel Pāsāh.

⁵⁰ That is, in regard to the worship of this god.

⁵¹ In Garhwāl.

Sab gayē dehtë āpnē āpnē asihān,
Jab Bojhā huē Shrī Mahāsū jī antar-dhyān.
 All the gods went to their own places,
 And then Bojha Sri Mahāsū disappeared.
Kyālū Bandr dīnā urdō,
Kūt rī sēt dā pākṛā ihdō.
 Kyālū and Banār flew away,
 And took possession of the fields of Kūt.⁵²

The following story is connected with these two places. The capital of the two gods is Pujarli, a village at the foot of the Burgā Hill, beyond the Pabar stream.

When all the gods had gone to their own places, all the land was regarded as the kingdom of Mahāsū, and his capital was Hanol. It is now believed that if any irregularity occurs in this territory, the gods in charge of it and the people are called upon to explain the reason. The people of this country believe Mahāsū to have such power that if a person who has lost anything worships the god with sincere heart, he will undoubtedly achieve his desire.

Dohā (couplet).

Līlā iski barnan sakke koī kaun?
Āhī deban ke dev hai, Mahāsū kahāwē jaun.
 Who can praise him?
 He is the chief god of all gods, and is called Mahāsū.
Jo jan dīn-ho-kar unko dhyāwē,
Wah ant samay man-bānchhit phal pāwē.
 He who remembers him with humble mind,
 Shall at last have all his desires fulfilled.
Aisē bhāṣē yah kuddar avatār,
Jin tārā sakal sansār.
 So (great) is the incarnation of Rudar,⁵³
 That all the world is delivered from transmigration.
Wahī Shīb Shaṅkar avatār,
Jinki māyā ne bāndhā sansār.
 He is Shiv Shankar incarnate,
 And the whole world is enthralled by his illusion.
Aisē haiñ wah Shīb Shaṅkar ānandā.
Jin-ke simran se kūtīṣ har phandā.
 Such is Shiv Shankar ever pleased.
 Who remembers him passes safely through the whole maze.⁵⁴
Jis-nē is-mēñ shāṅkē uñhāī,
Wah narak hī mēñ hai Shambhū nē pāī.
 He who has doubts as to these things
 Is doomed to hell by Shambhu.
Wah Shīb Shaṅkar antarjāmī,
Jin-kō dhyāwat sur nar gyānī.
 He is Shiv Shaṅkar, the heart-searcher,
 On whom meditate the heroes and the sages.

⁵² Kūt is a place in Rawāingarb, near the Burgā Mountains.

⁵³ Shiv.

⁵⁴ Or we may read *Har phandā* and translate: 'By remembrance of him (mankind) may be delivered from the maze of Har (Shiv).'

Yah Shambhu jagat sukh dāt,
Jin-kē pār kōi nahīn pāt,
 He is Shambhu and gives blessings to the world
 And no one can fathom his doings.

Bhava, Sharva, Rudra, Pashu-pati, Girisha, Mhesha, mahān,
Jin kē guṇātū-vād-ko gūwai Veda Purān.
 He is Bhāva, Sharva, Rudra, Pashu-pati, Girisha, Mahesha, the great one,
 Whose virtue is sung in the Vedās and Purāns.

Aisē bhaē wāh Mahāsū sukh-dāyē,
Jal thal mēn jo rahē samdāyē.
 Mahāsū comforts every man
 And his glory pervades both sea and land.

Kōi barṇan nā sakē unki prabhūdāi,
Brahmā, Vishṇu Sāradd aūt nahīn pāt.

We lack words to tell his greatness.

Brahmā, Vishṇu, and even Sāraddā could not know his reality.

Tin lok kē nāth hain aūt nahīn kachhu pāt,
Brahmā, Vishṇu, Sāradd, hār-gayē man-māhi.

He is the king of the three worlds and is infinite.

Even the gods Brahmā, Vishṇu and Sāraddā could not stand before him.

Hāth jor-kē Brahmā, Vishṇu, kharī Sāradd māi:—
‘Tin lok mēn jāte bhaē pār kīne nahīn pāt.’

Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Mother Sāraddā stood with clasped hands before him:—
 ‘We have been round the three worlds, but could find no end (to his glory).’

Hār māt-kar thakut bhaē pār nahīn jab pāt,
Hāth jor-kar thādē bhaē nāth-pad shīs nāt.

When they could find no end to his glory,
 They came before him with clasped hands and bowed heads.

Sis nawdī kē nāth pad kē kīnī bahut pukār:—
‘Tum deban kē deb hō kīdā param apār.’

They bowed their heads to the god and praised him aloud:—

‘Thou art the god of all gods and wonderous is thy glory.’

‘Hai chandra-shūya madandksh-shūl pānī kar jāid.
Tin lok kē harīd kartā deban deb Maheshd.’

‘Thy light is like that of the moon and thou art full of water like the ocean.
 Thou art Mahāsū, the creator and destroyer of the three worlds.’

Jahdā tahdā bhaē Mahāsū aūtār-dhyān,
Teb se unki astutī karat Hanōla Sthān.

From the time that Mahāsū disappeared,
 He began to be praised in the Hanol Temple.

Wah sahdā hai Uttar Khand māhi.
Nadī kindrē Tōns kē maṇḍir band takhī.

His place is in the Northern Region.

His temple is built on the bank of the river Tons.

When all the gods went to their own places, the other gods agreed to pay tribute to Hanol according to the directions of Mahāsū. They also agreed to pay *mālikand* dues on the birthday of Mahānādātā to the inhabitants.

A REPORT ON THE PANJAB HILL TRIBES.¹

From the Native point of view.

BY MIAN DURGA SINGH.

(Communicated by H. A. Rose.)

I. — Tribes.

1. A detailed account of the present tribes is given under paragraph 36 below. The original division was as follows : —

(1) Sub-divisions into castes according to the Hindu or Muhammadan Scriptures.

(2) Minor sub-divisions named after some great ancestor : e. g., there are two principal sections of the Brāhmins, viz., Shukal and Krishan. Similarly, the Rājputs are divided into the Sūraj and Chandar Bansī (Solar and Lunar) Dynasties.

The Brāhmins are divided according to their occupations, while Rājputs are divided according to their descent.

2. Formerly there were four main tribes among the Hindus, and the same number among the Muhammadans, but they have been multiplied by difference of occupation. Hindus were originally divided into Brāhmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sūdras, and Muhammadans into Shaikhs, Sayyids, Mughals and Pathāns. Nowadays these main sections are divided into many other sub-sections.

II. — Tribal Designations.

3. The fixed designations of the tribes are known among themselves as well as to outsiders.

4. (a) Modern researches have brought to light many facts which were unknown before or were misunderstood. Not only the fact that all the tribes came from the same stock has been proved, but also that they had a common language ; Central Asia and the neighbourhood of Kailās (Himālayas) being the common home of the Aryas. According to the belief of the Hindus, the Aryas were the followers of the *Vēdas*, and each and every action of theirs was guided by the *Vēdas*, as they believed them to be sacred and of divine origin. The *Purāṇas*, the *Vēdas*, and other historical books show that the Himālayan region was populated from ancient times, but the religion and race of the inhabitants of those days cannot be ascertained. However, an observation of ancient ruins proves that these people were idolaters and believers in the *Vēdas*. In support of this the following facts may be mentioned : — (1) Broken images are found in the mountain caves and old buildings. (2) The worshippers of the mountain gods follow the ritual of the *Vēdas*. They recite the Vedic hymns, and teach them to their children orally, as they have no sacred books. As the hill-language was not that of the *Vēdas*, these hymns have undergone changes, and have never been corrected by a literate man, yet on close examination they are found to be real Vedic hymns.

(b) The Brāhmins in winter go to the high peaks to worship the goddess Kālī and recite hymns from the *Atharva Vēda*. This shows that this country was populated at the time when

¹ [Evidently consisting of answers to a series of ethnological questions set as a guide. — Ed.]

the *Vēdas* ruled supreme in India. The people learnt them by heart, and the same practice is continued to this day. There is also mention of these treatises in the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*. It seems that there was not much caste distinction in those days. The only distinction among the Brāhmins, the Rājputs, and the Kanait was that they did not intermarry. Their food and customs were much the same. The few Kshatriyas and Brāhmins had come from the plains and settled here. The Kanait are said to be the aborigines of the hill-tracts, and were independent, brave, and given to marauding. They raided one another's villages. Small huts and caves served as their habitations. They slept much during the day and held agriculture in light esteem, while at night they committed dacoities. Every party in a village had its own head, known as the *movannā* (leader), who used to get his share of the plunder and a small tribute as his *haq-i-sardāri*. The whole mountainous country was divided in this way; the first quality of land being given to the gods as rulers, and the next to the *movannās*. The ruins of the houses of the *movannās* are to be found still. They are big castle-like buildings.

(c) As regards the agriculture of that time, the *khari* and *rabi* crops were cut at one time. The produce was scanty on account of excess of rain and snow. The people of the villages went armed for seed-sowing, owing to the fear of enemies. People, when going on business from one place to another, went armed in bodies of fifteen to twenty men. The women took part in agriculture and had much liberty. The Kshatriyas, who came up from the plains, were respected by the people on account of their skill in the arts of civilisation, and lands were granted to the Brāhmins, who accompanied the Kshatriyas as priests. The Kshatriyas, by their tact and skill, got the upperhand and, driving away or destroying the *movannās*, took possession of their property. Thus the Kshatriyas became the masters of the whole country.

(d) There is no reliable source of information as to the time when and the place whence the Kshatriyas first came. But the tradition is that, at the time of the wholesale massacre of the Kshatriyas by Balrāmji Balarāma, they left their country and settled in the hills. Many of them changed their caste and became Brāhmins, Baniās, etc. Some of their women were kept by the Brāhmins and their children became known as the Khatri. The men who had saved their lives by changing their caste were named Rājputs or Chhatris. This is proved by the fact that the *gēt* (sub-division of a caste) of the Chhatris of the hills is similar to that of the Brāhmins, and Brāhmins of the same brotherhood are found up to the present time and have social relations with them. In short, the Brāhmins came with the Kshatriyas as priests from various places in the south.

The Rājputs came from different localities, such as Bengal, Rājputānā, Central India, etc., etc.

The Vaisyas, consisting of Sūds, Baniās, etc., came from the plains, and are very few in number.

The Sūdras, such as the Kanait, who, as above said, are considered to be the aborigines of this part of the country, are said to have obtained their name by the following legend. When the Brāhmins and Rājputs came from different parts of India and settled in the hills and took possession of the *movannās*, they saw that the rites and customs of the villagers were not in accordance with the Scriptures; that there was only one caste; that religious ceremonies were not performed; that neither marriage nor funeral ceremonies were observed; and that all the ancient Hindu customs had been forgotten. So they called the high castes among the indigenous tribes by the name of Kanait, which really represents Kunit, i.e., those who violate the law. Gradually they were acknowledged as high castes, and spread over all the hilly tracts. The castes inferior to them are considered low castes.

5. All the tribes, except the Brāhmins, the Kshatriyas, and the Vaisyas consider themselves to be the aborigines of the hills, and call themselves Kūñ (ancient inhabitants).

III. — History of Migrations.

6. The following table will show when a tribe or its sub-division migrated to the hills and the history of such migration:—

Table of the Sections of the Hill Brāhmins.

No.	Original Caste.	Present Name of the Caste.	Real Home.
1	Brāhman	Gaur	Gaur (Bengal).
2	Do.	Sārsut... ..	The Deccan.
3	Do.	Bhardwāj	Do.
4	Do.	Kanōj... ..	Do.
5	Do.	Kān Kōbj	Do.
6	Do.	Balrāmī	Do.
7	Do.	Bhāt	Bengal.

The Brāhmins are generally divided into Shukal and Krishan.² The Shukal Brāhmins are considered the superior. They do not cultivate land with their own hands, and devote most of their time to worship and prayer, performing the rites of marriage or death according to the Hindu Scriptures. They take alms only when offered at marriages, but not those given at deaths. They do not take any alms given for the sake of the dead. The Krishan Brāhmins are those who accept the alms offered at the time of death, and those offered to propitiate evil stars, such as Rahu and Sani. The Shukal and Krishan Brāhmins do not intermarry, and the rest of their rites are not alike. A Krishan Brāhman can eat the food prepared by a Shukal Brāhman, but the Shukal Brāhman does not even drink water which has been touched by a Krishan Brāhman.

It is said that the Balrāmī Brāhmins were the first to come and settle in the hills. In reality the Balrāmī and Sārsut Brāhmins are one and the same. The Balrāmīs are so called, because those living near the temples founded by Balrāmī state that they were set there by Balrāmī himself. They also worship Balrāmī as their god, and are quite a distinct tribe nowadays. They consider themselves to be of the highest caste. They mix with the Sārsut and the Gaur Brāhmins.

The Gaur, Bhardwājis, the Kān Kōbjās and the Bhāts have social relations with one another. But they do not take into their brotherhood any man who has been excommunicated on religious grounds. They came to the hills in company with the Rājputs who migrated from Bengal. It is said that a part of Bengal was called Gaur, therefore the Brāhmins of that place were known by the name of Gaur, and to-day they are to be found in every part of India. The Gaur family of the Brāhmins came after the fall of the Rajas of Bengal.

The Sārsuts lived, in the beginning, on the banks of the Indus and the Saraswatī. They migrated from there and settled in the hills. The name Sārsut is derived from the Saraswatī.

Coming to the hills the Rājputs became the Thākurs, while the Rānas, the Rājas and Brāhmins became their priests. History tells us that Shahāb-ud-dīn Ghōrī conquered Delhi and appointed his slave Kutb-ud-dīn as Viceroy there. One of his officers, named Bakhtīār Khiljī, attacked Bengal and usurped the country from the Rājputs. At that time many Brāhmins and Rājas fled to Prāg, now called Allahabad, and thence went to different places.

² [This probably represents a division into Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas.— Ep.]

Table of the Sections of the Hill Rājputs.

No.	Original Caste.	Present Name of the Caste.	Real Home.	Time of Coming.
1	Kshatriyas or Rājputs.	Prantar or	} Ujjain ... ..	.....
2	Do. ...	Pawār... ..		
3	Do. ...	Obobān		
4	Do. ...	Solāngihī ... ..	... ..	.....
5	Do. ...	Prahar ... ..	... ..	.....
6	Do. ..	Gaur	Bengal	1267, Bikanir.
7	Do. ..	Gyāru... ..	Gya ... ..	.....
8	Do. ..	Katāl	Nāhān ... ..	.....
9	Do. ..	Vishāl	Ujjain ... ..	.....
10	Do. ..	Bhardwaj	Kauchananagar (Deccan).	.....
11	Do. ..	Mabhālī	} Mārwar, etc. Different districts.	.....
12	Do. ..	Lohākri		
13	Do. ...	Panghāni		
14	Do. ..	Trōndi		
15	Do. ...	Ghiāni		
16	Do. ..	Niral	} Mārwar ... ..	.....
17	Do. ..	Thākūr		
18	Do. ..	Rāna... ..	Delhi	800 years ago.
19	Do. ..	Pathāniā	Mālwa ... ..	.....
20	Do. ..	Padwāl	Descended from Paras Rām.	... ..
21	Do. ..	Kshatriya		

The name Kshatriya was applied to the crowned rulers of a country or territory. They were quarrelsome, given to robbery and well versed in the art of war. They were brave, courageous and kind. Their sons, other than the heir-apparent, were known as Rājputs, or the sons of rulers. Nowadays this word is applied to all the Kshatriyas. In fact, the Rājputs are next in rank to the Kshatriyas, but these words are used interchangeably. The Kshatriyas are divided into two main sections: (1) the Sūraj Bansi; (2) the Ohandar Bansi. Brahmā had two sons, Dachhā and Uttar, and these were the ancestors of these two tribes. Dachhā was the father of the Sun, from whom came the Sūraj Bansi; and Uttar was the father of the Moon, from whom the Ohandar Bansi descended. The capital of the Solar dynasty was Allahabad. Every Rājput, of whatever tribe, caste or sect, is ultimately descended from either the Solar or the Lunar dynasty, and the above table clearly shows the manner of their immigration.

It is said that the *shākurs* or *morannds*, who were previously settled in the hills, were also Rājputs, but their customs are quite different from those of the Rājputs. It is further said that when **Rāja Saki Singh**,² who flourished some 2352 years ago (= 450 B. C.), introduced Buddhism, it began to spread from this direction, so that this religion is still found in Kanāwar, Tibet, Lāhaul, etc. Much confusion has taken place among the Rājputs for this very reason. The history of no tribe is trustworthy, nor can its genealogy be correctly traced. It is said that at the time of the great war of the *Mahābhārata* the Rājputs were the rulers of the hill territories. There is mention of the ancestors of the Rājas of this region in the *Bhagavat Gītā* and the *Mahābhārata*.

The **Rāwats** and **Rāthis** also come under the heading Rājputs. These people plough and cultivate land with their own hands. Their rites at marriage or death are not according to the Scriptures.

Sartiras are persons born of a Rājput father and Kanait or some other low caste mother. The Rājputs do not intermarry with them, nor eat food prepared by them.

Table of the Sections of the Hill Vaisyas.

No.	Original Caste.	Present Name of the Caste.	Real Home.	Time of Coming.
1	Bôhrâ... ..	P o o n a, S a t â r a (Deccan).	.....
2	Baniâ	Plains ... ..	.....
3	Sûd	Do. ... ..	.....
4	Bhâbra	Do. ... ..	.....

They are not the original inhabitants of the hill region, but came from the plains and settled there. Therefore nothing certain can be known of their history or genealogy. But the history of the Kāngrā District shows that the **Bôhrâs** came, in the beginning, with the Rāja of Kāngrā from Poona and Satāra in the Deccan, and gradually spread to other places. In the Hill States they were put in charge of the store-houses and godowns.

It is said that Rāja Nirandar Chaudar died and left behind him a widow, who was with child. The widow, fearing lest she might suffer at the hands of her husband's heirs, went to her parents in the Deccan. While on the way she gave birth to Rāja Shēr Chand, and taking him with her reached her paternal home at Poona. When the boy, who was brought up by his grandfather, became of age and learnt that Kāngrā was his inheritance, he determined to conquer his kingdom. He took an army of his grandfather's subjects with him, attacked Kāngrā, subdued those who occupied the throne, and succeeded to his paternal kingdom. Diwān Rūp Lāl Bôhrâ, who was sent with the Rāja by his grandfather, was made the Minister. Then gradually some persons of the family of the Minister came and settled in Kāngrā. Some of them went to Rūpar. Then they went to other parts of the country for trade. These people knew Urdû, Hindî, and Nāgarî, and so they were respected everywhere and were honourably entertained.

The following is stated to be the origin of the **Sûds**: — A man of low caste owed some money to a Baniâ. They settled their account after some years. The principal amount was paid by the debtor, but he would not consent to pay the interest, and the Baniâ would not forego the interest. The debtor, instead of paying the interest, agreed to give his wife to the creditor. The children of this woman and the Baniâ became known as Sûd (interest). In the course of time the Sûds began to intermarry with the high castes. Now they are considered of high caste like the Baniâs, etc.

The **Baniâs** are generally divided into (1) the Aggarwâls and (2) the Sarāogis. The Sarāogis are Jains. The Aggarwâls are considered of high caste. They totally abstain from meat.

² [A recollection of Sakyamuni = Buddha. — Ed.]

Table of the Sections of the Hill Sûdras.

No.	Original Caste.	Present Name of the Caste.	Real Home.	Time of Coming.
1	High Sûdras	Kanait	Aborigines	.....
2	Do.	Goldsmith	.....	.....
3	Do.	Jat	.....	.....
4	Do.	Barber	.....	.....
5	Do.	Gardener	.....	.....
6	Do.	Milkman	.....	.....
7	Do.	Potter	.....	.....
8	Do.	Mason	.....	.....
1	Low Sûdras	Washerman	.....	.....
2	Do.	Die Sinker	.....	.....
3	Do.	Bâdî (carpenter)	.....	.....
4	Do.	Ironsmith	.....	.....
5	Do.	Thithâra or Harêra	.....	.....
6	Do.	Tûri, Dhâgi or Dhâdi.	.....	.....
7	Do.	Chanâl	.....	.....
8	Do.	Kôli (minstrel)	.....	.....
9	Do.	Shepherd or herdsman.	.....	.....
10	Do.	Sweeper	.....	.....
11	Do.	Shoemaker or cobbler.	.....	.....
12	Do.	Râwâr	.....	.....
13	Do.	Weaver	.....	.....

Something has already been mentioned about these tribes. The first eight sub-divisions were Râjpûts or Brâhmins, but they settled in such turbulent territories that they could not peaceably perform their religious ceremonies. Kanait gets their name from this cause, for, as already stated, the word Kanait means violator of the law. When the Brâhmins came and saw the ceremonies of Kanait, they gave the tribe the nickname, which has led to the formation of a distinct sect of Kanait. The other castes took their names from the profession they adopted.

We learn from old histories that the aborigines of India were Bhîls, Gônds, Minâs, Kôls and Joârs, who were found near Nâgpur. They did not know Sanskrit, and their language was quite different from it. Their religion, too, differed from that of the Hindus. When the people of other countries occupied their territory, they fled to the forests and hills. Enquiry shows that they had no caste distinctions. They did not believe in contamination by touch. They used meat and wine, while

superior Hindus abhor these things. They kept in their houses the dead body of a person for several days after death. They offered alms two or three days after death, and these constituted all their funeral ceremonies. They never cleaned their houses and were impure. Some of them worshipped a god, while others worshipped a goddess. Every village had temples. They were ignorant and unclean. They were idolaters, and none of their customs were in accordance with the Hindu Scriptures. On examination of old books, and on taking photographs of the inscriptions on stones and examining them, it is found that the characters used therein are neither like those of the Sanskrit nor of any other language; for example, the letters of the inscriptions on the image of a goddess at Hât, on the big stone at Datta Nagar, on the big stone at Sohanpur near Hât, and at Jhonjan Deora in Shāmgīn. These facts show that these people belonged to the pre-Sanskrit period. They became civilised gradually with the spread of Sanskrit.

Table of the Sections of the Hill Mendicants.

No.	Original Caste.	Present Name of the Caste.	Real Home.	Time of Coming.
1	Hindu Faqīrs ...	Bairāgi	Plains ... ..	.....
2	Mendicants ..	Sanyāsi ... ..	.....	.....
3	.....	Jōgi ... ..	.....	.....
4	.....	Udāsi ... ..	.....	.....

These people came up from the plains and established themselves in the hills as monks of the temples. They seem to have come specially from Kurukshêtra and Hardwâr. Some of the mendicants adopted family life, and others remained as they were and lived by begging their bread.

As for **Muhammadans** only Shekhs came up from Bâsi, Râpar, and Kharar. The reason of their migration is said to be this, that originally they were Hindus, but the king who ruled at that time converted them to Muhammadanism by force. Some members of a family remained Hindus, while others turned Muhammadans. The converts gave up their share of the property in favour of their brothers, and they themselves came and settled in the hill country. They lived by trade. Their settlement in the hills does not seem to be older than twenty-two or twenty-four generations.

IV. — Tribal Head-Quarters.

7. The tribes have no common head-quarters. Every tribe has its own head-quarters in its own village, which is called by the name *thâri* or *chauri*.

8. Some tribes declare themselves to be the aborigines. Some say that they came from the Deccan, Bengal, Ujjain, Gya, Nâhan, Sirmûr, Poona, Satâra, Mârwar, Delhi and Mâlwa, as has been fully shown in the above tables.

9. Because it is very long since the tribes came to the hills, they do not go on pilgrimage to their original homes. Every tribe or sect has appointed a place of pilgrimage in some village situated close to its own.

10. All tribes have in their respective villages cremation grounds, where they burn their dead. If a man of one tribe dies in the village of another, or near his own village, his corpse is brought to the village to which he belonged and is cremated at the place where his forefathers were cremated. In this way corpses are brought even from a distance of two or four days' journey. The crematoria of some tribes are near the banks of the Sutlej, Khud Giri or Payar.

V. — Genealogical Tables.

11. The genealogical tables of the Brāhman and the Kahatriya remain with the family priests, and generally they trace only so many generations as are necessary to be known for the performance of ceremonies on occasions of death or marriage. The genealogical tables of the great Rājas and Rānas are kept in the State offices. When the Purōhīts (priests) of Ganges (Hardwār), Kurukshetra, Bhōa and Gādāwari come into the hills, they prepare the genealogical tables of their disciples, and having written these tables down in their books, take them away.

Table showing the Names of the Conventional Ancestors of some of the Hill Tribes.

No.	Name of Tribe.	Names of Ancestors.
1	Brāhman or Bhāt	Bhardwāj, Gautam, Atri, Balrām, etc., famous <i>rishis</i> (saint)
2	Chhatrī or Rājput	Rām Chandar, Krishṇa, Puru, Birāt Raja, Bhīmchand Raja, Man Dhāta, Bikrama Jit and Bhoj, Raja Jagdeva, Sālbāhan and Raja Karan.
3	Khatrī	Sukh Datta, etc., famous Rājas.
4	Kayastha	Bhoj and Koria, etc., famous Rājas The people of this section are not found in the hills, therefore no mention of them has been made above.
5	Baniā, Sūd, Bōhra, etc. ..	No tradition about these worthy of mention.
6	Kanait	Born of the intermarriage of the Brāhman and the Rājput.
7	Jat	Unknown.
8	Goldsmith	Do.
9	Barber	Do.
10	Gardener, milkman, potter, and mason.	Do.
11	Bādi or carpenter	Bāwa Rām Singh Kūkā, who was a carpenter by caste.
12	Other low castes, i. e., Koli, Rahīr (shepherd), shoemaker and cobbler.	Kabir and Rām Dās, noted saints, are considered to be the forefathers of these.
13	Tūri, Dhaki, Dhādi	Baju Bāvra and Tān Sōn, famous musicians.
14	Bairāgi	Ramānand and Nīmānand, well-known saints.
15	Sanyāsī	Unknown.
16	Jōgi	Gōrakh Nāth, Machandar Nāth, Jālandhar Nāth, noted Jōgis.
17	Udāsī	Nānak, Rām Dās, Amar Dās, Gōbind Singh.

Nothing is known about the other tribes, nor is any story or tradition concerning them available.

13.* No tribe has got any genealogical table to enable one to trace the descent from the ancestors. The Rājas and Rānas have their genealogical tables, which I have not been able to get, and hence no account of them can be given.

* [The answer to Question 12 seems to have been omitted. — Ed.]

14. The Brāhmins, the Rājputs and the Baniās consider the Kanaits to be an offshoot of the higher castes. All the tribes, as explained above, except the Sūdras, consisting of Kanaits, came from the plains and settled in this part of the country.

15. Neither marriage nor death ceremonies among the Kanaits are performed according to the rules laid down by the Hindu Scriptures, but are according to the customs formerly prevailing in the country. Saints, Brāhmins, Rājputs and Baniās do not eat the food prepared by the Kanaits, who are not privileged to worship after the methods of the Hindu Scriptures.

VI. — Monuments.

16. Neither tomb nor monument belonging to any tribe is to be found. Each tribe has its own crematorium. A person belonging to one tribe cannot burn his dead in the crematorium of another. Likewise the high and low castes have separate *bdolis* and springs of water. The men of low castes cannot take water from the *bdolis* or springs belonging to those of high castes. The habitations of the population are also arranged according to the divisions of castes, i.e., Rājputs live in one part of the village, while Brāhmins occupy another part. The low castes live at some distance from the village, for the reason that the high castes may not come in contact with the smell and smoke of the kitchens of the low castes.

17. Something about the migration of these tribes can be ascertained from the names of some towns. No history of their migration can be traced by means of the inscriptions on stones.

VII. — Caste Marriages.

18—20. As regards marriage, there is, nowadays, no distinction of caste. However, people of the same caste can marry among themselves, but the high castes do not marry with the low castes. A detailed account of the marriages of all tribes is given below under paragraph 86.

VIII. — Totemism.

21. It is not the prevailing custom among the people not to eat the flesh of an animal, whose name is like that of any person. However, some persons do not eat fish and pork, for the reason that incarnations of the deity had taken the form of a fish and a pig. But this is held only by some people, and is not accepted by any tribe or sect as a whole.

22. No tribe of the hills has given up the use of any arm or instrument merely for the reason of its name being after the name of some ancestor of theirs, nor for any other reason.

23. The high castes — such as the Brāhmins, the Rājputs, and the Baniās — worship the *pīpal* and the banyan trees, and do not burn their wood. All these tribes have two forms of religion : (1) Vaishnavas or Dakshmarag ; (2) Saivas or Saktis or Vāmmārag. Those professing the first form of religion do not eat any of these articles : meat, onions, garlic, turnips, radishes, cones and mushrooms ; or drink wine. Those of the second section eat all these things, but not eggs, domestic fowls, crows, peacocks and other animals forbidden by the Scriptures.

IX. — Peculiarities of Tribal Names.

24. Different tribes have different names, and no two sections have like names. However, the names of sub-sections of Kanaits are like those of the Brāhmins or Kshatriyas, and the reason of this is that they are held to be an offshoot of the Brāhmins and the Kshatriyas.

25. Some of the low castes have named some of their sub-sections after the name of the high caste which they have been serving.

26. The first four sections of the Dashāls — i.e., Gōnds, Thēōgs, Mādhans, Darkōlis, etc. — were considered, for a long time after their migration to the hills, to be low castes, like the Kanaits. They did not put on the sacred thread, nor did they perform death ceremonies. Gradually they mixed with the Rājputs, and began to give their daughters in marriage to wealthy Rājputs. Afterwards the Rājputs also consented to marry their daughters to them,

The history of the migration of the Gairas and Jar Kanais is very much the same. In reality they were Brāhmins, and Brāhmins of their brotherhood are still to be found. But they gave up the Brahmanical functions and, adopting the marriage and death ceremonies of the Rājputs, have mixed with them. For example:— Kot Khāi, Kumharsain, Karāngla, Delta, Kanthi, Jūbal, Renvin Sairi, Trōch and Khash were full of the low castes of Kanaita, but now they have adopted the ceremonies of the superior Kanaita.

The Sarsut and the Gaur Brāhmins formerly did not intermarry, but now they do so.

X. — Public Assemblies.

27. There is no assembly of lawyers or rulers appointed by the people. Whenever any religious or secular dispute arises, all the people concerned come to the temple of their god, and hold a meeting there. The members of the *panchayat* (council) are the custodians and the worshippers of the deity's temple, and they summon, through the priest, all the followers of the god. Respectable and rich folk of every village come and give their decision in the matter under dispute. If the parties are satisfied with the decision of the *panchayat*, the matter ends there and then. Otherwise a party not agreeing with the decision is asked to refer the matter to a law court, and the *panchayat* serve as witnesses. This *panchayat* deals only with religious points and has no concern with legal matters.

28. The same assembly is called by the name of *Dām* or *Khumāli*.

29. The priests and custodians of the temple of the deity are generally the members of the council. The office of these members is hereditary. They belong to the priest and Kanait class and are inferior to the Brāhmins.

XI. — Deities.

30. Generally the hill people worship separate deities and are their disciples. In every *pargana* (group of villages) the people of some villages have a god of their own, and have his temple made in a village situated at convenient distances from the habitations of the followers of the god. Some five to seven families of priests live in this village. They enjoy a free lease of land, as remuneration for their services in the temple. Every one of the disciples of the god, at the time of harvest, gives 10 to 12 seers of grain to the priests. The priests, in addition to the service of the god, also perform, in accordance with the requirements of the time, other religious or secular business.

31. Overseers are appointed to look after the temple and the priests. This office is also hereditary. They are called *kārdars*, *mōhtās* or *wazīrs*. A portion of the income of the temple is given to them as their remuneration.

XII. — Constitution and Duties of Assemblies.

32. If any social, religious or secular quarrel arises, the complainant informs the priest about this. The priest, with the consent of the overseer, imparts verbal orders to all the people. He goes from village to village, and tells the people that in such and such a temple on such and such a day a *panchayat* (committee) will be held to decide such and such matters, that all the people should attend it, and that those who do not do so will be punished by the deity. If the business be a very urgent one, the words *dādhi*, *tōk* and *dal* are pronounced, on hearing which the people leave their engagements, however urgent they may be, and go to attend the council at once. Otherwise every one is fined one rupee. This fine, in a territory under British Government, is given in the temple fund, but in a Native State to the Rāja or Rāna of that place. The priest's method of proclamation is to call aloud to the man of the village, and ask them to present themselves at a certain place on a certain day. People necessarily obey this call, and present themselves at the place and on the date required.

33. The office of the chairman is a permanent one. Men of certain families are selected for this office, and the selection rests with the council.

34. The members, as mentioned above, are called *kardârs*, *wasirs* or *mêhtas*.

35. If the *hereditary chairman* be a minor, he is represented by a grown-up man belonging to his brotherhood. If a fit person is not to be found in the brotherhood, then the council appoints a guardian.

XIII. — Trade.

36. The chief articles of commerce are opium, potatoes, wool, borax, ~~fur~~, woollen cloth, stone, goats, and horses. A detailed account is given below.

Kôt Khâi is the greatest centre of the opium trade. People buy this article from the surrounding territories, and sell it, according to the laws, at Kôt Khâi. All the license-holding *Kanaits* go to the neighbourhood to buy opium. Any action against the law is discussed and decided among themselves. The buyers of opium are of two sorts: (1) The license-holders who, like great merchants, buy opium from their agents. These merchants send to their agents, in the month of Kârtik or Maghar, as much money as the agents ask for. The agents in return supply their masters, in the month of Hâr, with opium at four rupees per seer, no matter what the market rate of opium may be: (2) License-holders who buy opium directly. They buy it at the rate agreed upon by the parties. The same is the case with potatoes. The rest of the trade is with Tibet, and this trade cannot be carried on by a single person. There are three passes into Tibet: the first through Busâhir, the second through Garhwâl, and a third through Sultân-pûr in Kûlu. People go for trade in caravans of hundreds of armed men, for the passage is infested with robbers, and for this reason a small number of men cannot safely travel. The traders going by these three paths have, each, a distinct part of the country set apart for trade. One cannot trade in the territory belonging to the other. Any one doing so is arrested. Some men of each of these three territories are appointed as the members of the council in Tibet. Some four or five Tibetans, too, take part in it. All the cases of theft and civil and criminal suits are decided by it. Half the punishment is borne by the Tibetans and half by the members of the council belonging to the country of the culprit. Besides this, the parties to a case are required to feed the council. This food is named *charvâ*. The members have full authority, and they can decide even murder cases. The money realized from fines is appropriated by themselves. A nominal sum of one or two rupees is paid to the Râja. All commercial contracts are made by the merchants among themselves, and there is no particular rule about this. Different measures suited to different opportunities are adopted.

The merchants of Busâhir are divided into four groups: *Takpais*, *Gâvôs*, *Shawâls* and *Râjgrânvis*. They are named after the names of their *pargands* (districts). If a person belonging to one group joins or trades with another group, then the members of his group punish him as well as the group who admitted him without the consent of his party.

The rates of all commodities are fixed by an assembly of all the merchants, and tables of rates are prepared by them. Any one who charges a rate higher or lower than the common rate is considered guilty of disloyalty to the assembly. Commodities cannot be sold before a fixed time. The rate of every article is determined by the merchants and the producers of that article after some days' consideration.

XIV. — Artisans.

Badis or Carpenters. — They build houses and make ploughs and other implements of cultivation. The wages for building houses are not fixed, but depend upon the labourers and their employers. They make implements of cultivation and give them, every season, to the land-owners, free of charge. They get food from the land-owners. They also get some grain at the harvest time. This grain is named *shikôtd*.

Ironsmiths. — They also, like the carpenters, serve the land-owners.

Shoe-makers and Cobblers. — The hides of the dead kine, oxen or buffaloes are given to the cobblers, who make shoes for the land-owners of half the hide; the other half being kept by the shoe-maker as his remuneration. They also get some grain at harvest time.

Shepherds. — One or two of them live in every village. They graze the cattle of the villagers. They get from every house in the village one or two cakes daily, either in the morning or in the evening. They also make agricultural utensils of bamboo, which they give to the land-owners free of charge. They get some land rent-free from the common land of the village, and also some grain at harvest time.

Barbers. — They shave the land-owners for nothing. They get grain at the time of harvest. This also is termed *shikūtā*.

Goldsmiths. — They also serve the land-owners without charging any wages, and get as their remuneration some grain at harvest time.

Tāris. — They mostly beat a drum when a corpse is carried out to the cremation ground. They get some wages in proportion to the wealth of the dead. They are also given some grain at the time of harvest.

Jōgis. — They were originally mendicants, but now they have become householders. They burn their dead, and for every corpse get four annas in money, together with a plate of brass or *kānsi* (spelter) and a woollen or cotton cloth. They also get some grain at the time of harvest.

XV. — Marriage Customs. Table of Intermarriage Rules.

No	Caste	Principal Sub-divisions.	Sub-divisions that can intermarry.	Gōt (sub-section)	Sub-divisions that cannot intermarry.
1	Chhatrī or Rājput.	Suraj Bansi and Chandar Bansi.	Khattris, Kayasthas, Solanghis, Pnwārs, Chohāns, Parmaras, Gyārūs, Katwāls, Dishāls, Gaurs, Rāvats, Thākurs, Rāthis, Sartōrēs, Jamwāls, Sonlis.	Bhardwāj, Gautam, Chohān, Atri, Kashap, Kashayap, Samdeva.	Mahbali, Pangliani, Nirondi, Ghiaul, Naryāl, Sarāti, Ravāti, Johalti, Kotgurn, Kenu, Krānglu, Deltu, Kumbharsenu, Balsni, Thagoi, Ghondi, Sāngri, Badsāl, Takrāl, Atoel, Darkoto, Ribani.
2	Brāhman.	Shukal and Krishan.	Gaur, Sarsut ...	Atri, Bashist, Bhardwāj, Kashayap.	Kanauji, Bhat, Kan Kobj, Methul, Darāwar, Agni Hotri, Balrami, Mahtā Brāhman, Aohārj, Bhāt, Dakaut, Shalauri, Chauti, Papuch or Papuj, Nāmti, Pande, Pujari.
3	Kanait ..	...	Khāsh, Rahu, Karun, Khanāri, Chandel, Chohān, Dogri, Mehta, Dadarwāl, Behrwāl, Pabarwāl, Jād, Lama.	Badohi, Chohān, Kashayap.	The whole of the hilly tracts are full of Kanaites, who have many sub-divisions. Every village has two or three minor divisions of them, therefore a detail cannot be given.

37. All tribes and sects can marry among themselves. But the high castes — such as Kshatriyas, Brāhmins, Rājputs, Sūds, Bōhrās, Baniās, Kanaites, Goldsmiths, Barbers, Khāsh, Kārūn, Rāhus, Khanāra, Jāds, Lāmas — cannot marry with persons belonging to their sub-section. This is called here *khēl*. The *khēl* does not extend over more than twelve generations. *Sātak pātak* is also taken into consideration only up to seven generations. No *sātak pātak* exists among those families who have no connection with one another within seven generations. Families which are connected even by the twelfth generation do not intermarry, but those who have no such connection can do so.

The low castes, such as Kôlis, shepherds, etc., have different rules. They do not intermarry in families which are connected even in the fourth generation. They marry with their maternal uncles' daughters,

The high castes hold to the following rules :—

- (1) They do not intermarry with families connected with theirs even by the seventh generation.
- (2) They do not intermarry with families connected with that of their maternal grandfather even by the third or fourth generation.
- (3) They do not marry with girls of lower families than their own.
- (4) They do not marry daughters of the father's or grandfather's sisters.

38. A detail of the relations with whom intermarriage is prohibited has been given above.

39. In addition to the facts already mentioned, the following circumstances are considered unfavourable for marriage. The society is not bound to obey any fixed rules, but the following things about the girls are considered as defects at the time of the marriage: small neck, blue eyes, white or black spots on body, leprosy, syphilis, consumption, etc., which are chronic diseases; evil names, such as Nâgan, Jôgni, Kâni, etc.; being born of diseased parents; not having either known parents or own brothers.

XVI. — Marriage Rites and Rules.

40. Marriage must be celebrated according to the rules laid down by some religion. A man belonging to one form of religion cannot marry, either according to the Scriptures, or according to the customs of the country, a woman belonging to another.

41. Some tribes of different castes do indeed intermarry, but the high castes do not do so. As for example, goldsmiths and barbers marry the daughters of Kanaits, but they do not give their daughters in marriage to Kanaits. Kanaits marry the daughters of Khash and Karun, and also give their daughters in marriage to the latter. This custom does not prevail among other tribes.

42. Such marriages are not conducted according to the Hindu Scriptures, but they are customary marriages known as the karêwa.

43. The Râjpûts marry the daughters of people of castes lower than theirs. In the same way the men of high castes marry the daughters of men of low castes. The children born of such marriages are considered inferior to those born of religiously lawful marriages.

44. The high and low tribes are distinguished by caste. The men of high castes marry the daughters of men of low castes. The children thus born are considered inferior to others and are called sartôrê. The men of low castes cannot marry the daughters of men belonging to high castes.

45. When the bride comes to the house of the bridegroom, then, if the marriage is being celebrated in accordance with the Scriptures, the husband and wife play a gambling match. Afterwards cooked food is brought and laid before the pair. The husband feeds the wife, and out of the same plate the wife feeds the husband. The bride also pays some money to the Brâhman and to the sister of the bridegroom. If the husband already has another wife, then the new wife interviews the old one with great pomp and show. This interview is named 'shaking hands.' It is said that the old wife, together with some other women who are singing songs, comes from one side, and the new wife and her husband, together with some other women, come from the other side. The women of both parties sit at the place appointed for interview. At this place also a ceremony called *mukh dikâi* (showing the face) is performed by the women of both parties.

46. Every man marries, according to his capacity, as many wives as he pleases, as there is no limit of number in this respect.

47. If a man marries more than one wife, then, as long as no son is born, the first wife is considered the chief or head Rāni, but when a son is born the wife giving birth to the son is considered the chief Rāni. She rules supreme in all the household business. The servants consider her their only master, and the husband as well as other members of the family respect her.

48. Poor men keep all their wives in the same house; while rich men set apart separate rooms for every wife.

49. Licentious people keep girls, too. Among the high families it is necessary to employ maid-servants; for no man can enter the houses where the *pardā* system is observed, and therefore maid-servants have to perform all the household duties.

XVII. — Divorce and Remarriage.

50. Except the Brāhmins and the Rājputs, among whom the *karōwā* (irregular marriage) not prevails, the women of all other tribes, such as Sūds, Baniās and Bōhrās, can marry more than one man. The parents of the woman pay to her husband the expenses of the marriage and get her divorced. After this the woman can marry whomsoever she likes.

51. Men set up illegal connections with women, and thus directly choose wives. Generally women of loose character marry more than one husband. The well-conducted women stick to one only.

XVIII. — Polyandry.

52. It is a custom among the Sūdras, such as Kanaita, that the eldest of four or five brothers marries a wife according to the customs of the country. The wife thus married is told that all the brothers shall treat her as their common wife, and the wife also agrees to this and takes every one of them as her husband. Thus the woman is considered the common wife of all, provided the husbands are own brothers.

XIX. — Prostitution.

53. The women of high families have no freedom before marriage, and their parents look after them. It is a common saying that women have three guardians, i.e., parents in early age, husband in youth, and sons in old age. The women of low castes remain free before marriage.

54. Only Tūris, and no other tribe, offer their daughters for prostitution.

55. If any girl turns out of loose character before marriage, her parents do not accept any feast in return for their daughter. In the first place, girls cannot become immodest, and even if any one becomes so, she is checked from doing so as far as possible. The matter is kept quite secret, for it leads to the disrepute of the husband as well of the parents.

XX. — General Marriage Customs.

56. The girls are married only when they are above nine years of age.

57. Early marriage cannot be cancelled, whether either of the parties be of age or not. When the religious ceremony is once performed, it becomes, without any regard for sexual intercourse, irrevocable.

58. In high castes, husbands are chosen entirely by the parents of the girls. In low castes, like the Sūdras, the mother of the girl asks her opinion also in the matter of the choice of her husband. The parents of a girl send their barber or Brāhman in search of a husband for the girl, and these men propose betrothals. In other tribes, either the parents of the girl themselves or their relatives choose the husband for the girl.

59. Among the Brāhmins and the Rājputs generally, the barbers and the priests serve as mediums in marriages, for that is their profession. These men generally deceive the people. They take bribes from one party as their brokerage. But nowadays people do not invest them with full powers of betrothal, and make enquiries to satisfy themselves.

60. If the girl be a minor; then consent of the guardian and own brothers of the girl is necessary to make the contract valid and to ensure marriage. But if the parties be of age, then their consent alone is sufficient. Under either of the circumstances, the calling together of the

brotherhood and making them witnesses, as it were, is very essential. The object of the distribution of red thread and sweetmeat at the time of the confirmation of the marriage contract is only to make witnesses of those persons who get the red thread and the sweetmeat.

61. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to make a choice of the other. They cannot even see each other before their marriage. However, among the Śūdras, like Kanais, etc., there is no such restriction, and they can make a choice before marriage.

62. (a) If the bridegroom be of a caste higher than that of the bride's parents, then they pay to him *bhatta* (money to make up the deficiency of the caste), and the sum of this money is determined by the parties. Also money must be paid in cases when an inferior man wants to marry his daughter to a superior man, e.g., if a Rāṇa wants to marry his daughter to the son of the Rāja.

(b) The bridegroom buys the bride in the way indicated above; but it has now become a custom that, if the girl's father be a poor man, he sells his daughter. Generally this custom prevails among the Kanais, but now it is gaining ground among the Rājputs and Brāhmins also.

63. There are no rules to fix this price. If the bridegroom likes to take *bhatta*, it will be fixed according to the capacity of the bride's parents. If the parents of the girls want to pay the *bhatta*, it will be in proportion to the rank of the bridegroom's parents. Among the Kanais, Kōlis and shepherds, the girls of Kanais are valued at Rs. 60, and those of Kōlis or shepherds at Rs. 40. This price is termed *dhōri*.

64. The price of neither sort can be appropriated by the bride or the bridegroom, but their parents spend this money in marriage expenses.

65. If a formal marriage is once performed it cannot be cancelled. However, among the Muhammadans, marriages can be set aside.

66. The marriage cannot be set aside if either party lose any organ. But customary marriages can be cancelled at the option of the parties. Muhammadans can cancel their marriages.

67. No woman can be set at liberty to re-marry only on account of any of her omissions or commissions. The man does not cohabit with his regularly married wife if she proves to be of loose character, but has to maintain her throughout her life. She can either remain in her husband's house or go to her parents. The Muhammadans divorce a woman of bad character.

68. The system of divorce does not prevail among the Hindus. Muhammadans can divorce their wives on certain conditions, such as impotency of the husband or suspicious character of the wife.

69. The Muhammadans use the *talāka-i-bāin* (irreversible divorce). The husband can divorce the wife without any fault on her part. This divorce becomes valid, when it is proved that the parties quarrelled at least thrice. It is necessary that the divorce be repeated every month. The husband has the power, either directly, or indirectly, to revoke the divorce. If *talāka-i-bāin* be pronounced thrice, the parties so separated cannot re-marry without the woman going through the formality of marrying another man and being divorced from him. But if the divorce be pronounced only once or twice, this condition is not necessary for re-marriage. If the husband at the time of his death divorces his wife and dies before the expiration of his *iddat* (period of probation of 4 months and 10 days, to see if the woman is *enante*), the wife is entitled to her husband's inheritance. It is natural for a woman to wait so long before her second marriage. Also, if the husband abstains from sexual intercourse for 4 months with the wife, this fact is also considered as an irrevocable divorce.

70. There are two kinds of marriages among the Hindus — the legal and the illegal. A formally married wife cannot be divorced, nor can she re-marry. The customary wife is free. She can leave one husband and marry another. It is a popular saying that the women of the hills never become widows — i.e., if one husband dies they marry another. Among Muhammadans, all women re-marry.

XVI. — Inheritance. *

71. In the hills the right of children is considered *per stirpes* and not *per capita*. The rights of children born of a formal marriage are superior to those of the children born of a customary marriage. The children whose father and mother are of different castes are called *parhaya*.

Their rights are inferior to those of the children born of customary marriages. They are given money and immovable property, just sufficient to support them. The children born of criminal connections between a man and a woman are called *khata* or *khatu*, and they live as servants of the family, or are given one or two fields and movable property worth twenty or thirty rupees.

72. If a man has got two sons by a formal wife, two sons by a customary wife, two sons by a customary wife belonging to a low family, and two sons by a wife of another caste or religion, then the sons of the formal wife have the main right to their paternal inheritance, but they give some portion of it to other sons of their father — i.e., one-half of the property left by the father will be retained by the legitimate sons, while the other half will be given to the rest of his sons. The shares of the latter are determined by the members of the brotherhood. The greater portion of the father's property is given to the legitimate sons, and the others are given maintenance as the village council directs, for there is no special law about this. At some places the legitimate children get two-thirds of the whole property of their father, while the natural sons get only one-third.

73. The legitimate sons follow their father's religion or faith. The natural sons are termed *sartōri*, and now they have become a separate caste. But gradually this caste is being turned into the caste of its forefathers, for it organises relations with the pure caste.

74. There is a great difference between legitimate and illegitimate sons (i.e., sons by wives formally and customarily married). They cannot intermarry, nor do the former eat food prepared by the latter. Among the Kanait there is no restriction as to eating and drinking. Such restrictions are observed only among the Rājpūts, the Brāhmins, the Sāds, the Bōhrās and Baniās.

75. After seven or, at the most, twelve generations, one family loses sight of the fact of being descended from the same forefathers as another family.

76. The paternal caste can be lowered only by contracting some irreligious or illegal connections. By no other means can this be effected.

XXII. — Tribal Details.

77. It has been already stated that the Brāhmins are divided into two main sub-divisions, i.e., Gaur and Sārsut, and from these the minor sub-divisions — such as Kanaujī, Bhāt, Kan Kobja, Méthāl, Dārāwār, Agni Hotri, Balrāmi Mahābrāhman, Acharāj, Dakaut, Shalāvari, Chauti, Papūj or Papuch, Nāmti, Pāndē and Pujāri (priests) — have descended.

The following sub-divisions claim their descent from Rājpūts, the Brāhmins and the Baniās: — Kanait, Rāhu, Kārūn, Khāsh, Khānāri, Chandēl, Chohān, Dōgrā, Mehtā, Dadarwāl, Pabarwāl, Jād, Lāma, Goldsmith, Barber, Potter, Baragi, Sanyāsī, Udāst and Jōgi.

The following state that their ancestors were Rājpūts and Brāhmins: — Kōits, Shepherds, Washermen, Dye-sinkars, Tūris, Carpenters, Ironsmiths, Bharēās, Cobblers, Shoemakers, Sweepers.

78. The ancient Brāhmins lived near the Indus and the Sarāswatī and the surrounding territories. The Gaurs and the Sārsuts were their descendants who first came to the hills. As this happened in very remote and ancient times, so they forgot their origin and became known by the name of the place where they went and settled. Those who took their abode in Kānā became known as the Kanaujīs, and those at Cawnpore were called Kan Kobja. Hence it is that those Brāhmins who are now found in the hills are held to be descendants of the two main Brāhman divisions.

The Rājpūts, Brāhmins and Sāds say that the Kanait are the most numerous of all the tribes. All men belonging to any religion, who adopted the *karāwā* (customary marriage) and gave up the religious and national customs, were known as Kanait. They were sub-divided according to the professions which they adopted. For instance, one who undertook to make gold ornaments was called goldsmith, and so on.

The tradition about the Kōits is that a Kanait father had two sons by two wives. The sons quarrelled as to who had the superior right. At last it was decided that the one who should plough the field earliest in the morning should get the superior right. So, next morning, one of the brothers

went to plough the field, while the other began to plough the lowest floor of his house, but the place was too narrow to be ploughed. At last, being annoyed, he cut off one of the feet of his bullock. His brother, seeing this, turned him out of his home, for acting against religion. The Kôlts, the shepherds, the shoemakers, the weavers and the boatmen are his descendants.

XXIII. — Widow Marriage.

80.⁵ The widows of all tribes, except those of the Brāhmans, Rājputs, Sûds, Banias and Bohras, can re-marry. This custom prevails even among Rājputs, who do not follow the rules which are observed by the high castes.

81. Widow marriage is not allowed by the Scriptures, for the marriage ceremonies can be performed but once. As the proverb goes: the lion produces a whelp by a single intercourse with the lioness, so the true man acts upon what he says. The banana tree, if once planted, always yields fruit; a woman, once married, cannot be re-married: and rich men do not give up their prejudices.

82. The younger brother can marry the widow of the elder brother, but not *vice versa*, except among Kanaits.

83. The widows of low castes can re-marry either a man of their own caste or one of another caste.

XXIV. — Inheritance after re-marriage of widows.

84. If a widow re-marries, her children by the first husband are to be supported by the husband's brother, whether the children be male or female.

85. If the widow marries a man of a caste different from hers, her husband's property is inherited in the following way:—

(a) The widow is entitled to no share of her husband's property if she re-marries.

(b) The children by the first husband are entitled to inherit the property of their father and their shares are determined by custom.

(c) The husband's brother cannot inherit any portion of the property of the deceased. He is entitled only to his father's property.

86. If the widow marries her husband's brother, then the following rules about inheritance are observed:—

(a) The widow cannot claim the property of her first husband.

(b) A person by marrying his brother's widow becomes disentitled to his brother's property.

(c) The children by the first husband inherit the property of their father, and their shares are determined by custom.

(d) The children by the second husband have no right to claim the property of the first husband. They inherit their father's property.

87. The sons of a widow by her husband's brother are not called the sons of her first husband, but those of the second. The children born in the lifetime of the first husband, or within ten months of his death, are considered his sons.

XXV. — Household Customs.

Pregnancy and Childbirth.

88. No ceremonies are performed during pregnancy.

89. The woman assumes one of two postures at child-birth:—

(a) She kneels on the ground. The midwife remains behind her, and, fixing her knees in the back of the lying-in woman, holds both of her shoulders by her hands.

(b) The woman prostrates herself on the ground. The midwife keeps to her left side. Other women take hold of the head, hands and legs of the lying-in woman.

90. The midwife serves in the room of the lying-in woman. After child-birth, persons who are rich, or belong to high families, employ nurses. The wife of a poor man is attended by his parents only.

⁵ [No answer was apparently given to Question 79. — Ed.]

91. Different ceremonies are performed at the birth of a child. Poor men prepare good food and distribute it among the Brāhmans and people of their own brotherhood. On the third day after the birth of the child the family celebrate the first feast. The priest comes and prepares the horoscope of the child. Sugar and sweetmeat is distributed among friends. Singing and dancing parties are given and guns are fired. The second feast comes after seven days, the third after nine, and the fourth after eleven days. The lying-in woman is kept, at the time of child-birth, in the lowest story of the house. After the fourth feast the woman takes the child in her lap. Music is played and songs are sung, and thus the mother, together with some other women, in the first place, worships the sun, and then the gate of the house. Afterwards the household god is worshipped, and some alms are paid to the Brāhmans. Among all the women present, presents and sweetmeats are distributed. People of the surrounding territories come with their guns and fire them. They are given some money or sugar. They present some green grass to the father of the child as a good omen. They call this grass *dīb* (turf). The four feasts are celebrated only at the birth of a son, and this ceremony is named *gauntrālā*. After eleven days, when the last *gauntrālā* has been performed, the mother can go and live in the upper flats of the house. *Havan* (sacrifice) is also performed. At the birth of a girl no ceremony, except that of good food, is performed, nor is there any special rule about this. As long as the last *gauntrālā* is not performed, nobody either eats food or drinks water from the house of the person where the child was born, except his relatives and people of low castes. This period is termed *sūlak* (impure state). The Brāhmans are purified after ten days; the Kshatriyas after twelve days; Baniās, Bôhrā and Sūds after fifteen days, and other castes after one month.

92. If the father be a poor man, then he stops his business for three days, because his relatives, friends and men of the brotherhood come to congratulate him. He has to present to them, according to his capacity, some money, sugar or cloth. In wealthy families, feasts and distribution of alms extend over all the eleven days. All the poor men, Brāhmans, mendicants, priests and barbers get alms and rewards. Green turf is presented and presents are given. Dances and other entertainments take place. At the birth of a girl the father stops his business for one day, or at the most three days. Generally on such occasions only food is distributed, and alms and rewards are not given.

93. There is no reason, except the one mentioned above, for stopping business.

94. No special rule or ceremony is necessary to be observed at the birth of twins.

XXVI. — Adoption.

95. There is no particular rule for adoption. Generally the custom in the hills is that the adopter calls to his house the boy whom he wants to adopt and paints his forehead with *sandal* paste. A contract is made according to the conditions agreed upon. Then they go to the temple of the god and break the *dingī* (a piece of wood, to signify truth of purpose) there, and make a solemn vow before the god that if they do not carry out the contract, then the god may punish them. Some remuneration is given to the priest and overseer of the temple, and this is called *bishtī*. Then the boy becomes bound to serve his adopter as his father. The adopter gives every authority to the boy as his son. One rupee is offered to the god.

96. Until the contract has been reduced to writing, or the *dingī* has been broken at the temple of the god, the adoption is considered invalid.

97. The validity of the adoption depends upon the performance of this ceremony alone.

98. No custom, other than those given above, prevails in the hill tracts. There is no restriction of age for adoption. However, it is necessary that the adoptee be of the same blood as the adopter.

XXVII. — Puberty.

99. A ceremony is performed to mark the beginning of puberty, which is termed *dasāthan*. Alms are distributed and Brāhmans are fed. In the hills this custom is observed by very few people, except the high caste Kshatriyas.

100. The period of puberty is marked among the Hindus by wearing the sacred thread, and among the Muhammadans by circumcision. Both these ceremonies are performed at a time when the boy has gained enough wisdom and sense to distinguish between right and wrong, and good and bad.

XXVIII. — Betrothal.

101. Betrothals are of two kinds:—

(a) **Barni** is that which is according to the Hindu Scriptures. The parents of the boy and those of the girl propose the betrothal, and the priest appoints a day for carrying it out. On this date the boy's father sends the priest and barber with some ornaments and clothes, which the girl puts on. Some money is given to the barber, the priest, the nurse and the Brāhman as their reward. A feast like the one given at the time of marriage is given, and a music band attends. The servants of both parties get rewards. Then the girl's parents send clothes and ornaments for the boy.

(b) **Sagai or sōta**. In this case a few ornaments or, if these be not available, one or more rupees are sent by the father of the boy to the girl through the priest or some elation. In order that the betrothal be considered permanent, the man carrying the ornaments takes his food in the house of the girl's parents. No other ceremony is celebrated, nor any rewards are given. Nothing is sent by the girl for the boy.

102. In the **Baoni Ceremony**, in order to ensure betrothal, the wearing of ornaments and clothes and painting the forehead with *sandal* paste and distribution of rewards are necessary. In the **Sagai Ceremony**, the taking of food by the messenger and handing over of money or ornaments to the girl's parents is essential.

103. However, the continuance of betrothal depends upon the option of parties.

104. Betrothal can be made after or before the parties are five years of age.

105. The consent of parents is essential for betrothal. If the woman be of age, then her parents also are consulted. If the father be dead, the permission of the elder brother or the guardian is taken. If there be no guardian, then the own brothers and near relatives are the persons whose consent is necessary.

106. If the betrothal is cancelled, one party pays the expenses incurred by the other. A list is prepared of all the articles exchanged at betrothal.

XXIX. — Marriage.

107. Marriages are of three kinds:—

(a) **Bēd-lagan**. — The bridegroom, wearing a bridal chap^{and}. ^{entitled} ^{gives} ^{two or four feasts according} ^{to their capacity.} ^{The *bhānwar* (marriage service) is recited.} ^{After the *bēd-lagan* (matrimonial ceremony) the party is dismissed.} ^{The bridegroom comes back to his house and gives a feast, and the marriage festivities continue for some days.} ^{Prizes are given to his own menials, as well as to those of the bride.} ^{The bride pays some money to the men who accompanied the bridegroom to the house of the former and *vice versa*.} ^{The rewards and prizes are given according to the capacity of the parties, and there is no fixed rule for this.} ^{The recital of the *bhānwar* is essential in such marriages.}

(b) **Jhājra or Gadar**. — One or two men representing the bridegroom go to the house of the bride, where one person from ^{the} ^{family in} ^{the village is present.} ^{They are given either a dinner or a supper by the bridegroom.} ^{A priest, the barber, the musician and other menials of the village are given four annas each, or at the ^{most} ^{one rupee each, as their remuneration.} ^{The bride is brought to the bridegroom's house.} ^{Ganēsh is worshipped, and this is essential.}}

(c) **Bardani**. — The bridegroom sends a woman to fetch the bride. One or two women come with the bride also. Ganēsh is ^{not} worshipped nor any prizes given.

108. In the case of the **Bēd-lagan** the recital of *bhānwar* is necessary, in the case of the **Jhājra** the worship of Ganēsh, and in the case of the **Gadar** nothing.

109. There is no custom of **seizing the bride forcibly**. Two or three days after the carriage, if the wife be of age, the ceremony of union known as the *pusman sammit karam* (the union of man and woman) is performed. The priest appoints an auspicious date for this purpose. On that date one common bedding is laid for the pair. The husband, according to his capacity, gives some

money or ornaments to the wife on this first intercourse, which is called the *adru khuldī* (remuneration for untying the girdle). The women distribute some sweets among themselves.

If a man forcibly seizes a woman and brings her to his house, this is called *hār* (abduction) and is considered an illegal marriage.

110. No such custom as the marriage of the bride with a god prevails.

XXX. — Death.

111. The dead of all the tribes are cremated, except those of the Muhammadans, the Bairāgi, the Udāsīs, the Sanyāsīs and the Jōgīs, whose dead are buried.

112. The Muhammadans place their dead, at the time of burial, in a lying position; the Bairāgi, etc., in a sitting posture.

113. The Hindu corpse is kept in a coffin, having its upper side open, and fine cloths are put upon it. A funeral pile of wood is prepared, and the coffin containing the corpse is placed upon it, and then it is set on fire. When all the corpse is reduced to ashes, these ashes are either thrown into the *khdā* (a deep valley), or are sent over to Hardwār to be washed away by the Ganges.

114. Different tribes have different ways of disposing of their dead :—

(a) The Muhammadans wash the corpse before it is buried. Then it is taken to the burial ground on a *chārpāī* (couch) or in a box. Then a grave is dug. Their priest chants some words according to their faith, and the corpse is laid into the grave and the pit is filled with earth. Some men put in some salt also, in order to hasten the dissolution of the corpse. A stone is placed on the mouth of the grave, and it is covered by a sheet of white cloth. A *fakir* (mendicant) lives there to take care of the grave, and after some days the sheet, the *chārpāī* and some money are given to him.

(b) The corpse of a Brāhman, Rājput, Bania, Sūd or Bōhrā is well washed. Then it is enveloped in a shroud of gauze or muslin and is placed in a painted coffin open at one end. Shawls and other silken cloths cover the dead body. The coffin is then placed in the court of the house and music is played. Thousands of people gather together, as if to a fair. They come in white robes to mourn for the dead. Musicians walk before the coffin, and all the relatives and other men, who come together for mourning, follow the coffin to the cremation ground, where the Jōgi prepares a pile of wood two or three cubits wide and four or five cubits long. There, a cow with a calf is given to the Jōgi or to the Mahābrāhman. Then the corpse is placed upon the pile, and funeral cakes, together with some alms, are offered in the name of the dead. Then one of the relatives strikes the head of the corpse with a stick, and this is called *kapāl kīrya*.

The Achārāj (man officiating at the funeral ceremonies) is paid some money. Then the pile is lighted. All the musicians and Achārīs present are paid some money. Grain, fruits and pieces of money are thrown over the corpse throughout the passage from the home to the crematory. All these expenses are fixed according to the capacity of the dead.

(c) Among other tribes, the corpse is washed. The musicians are sent for, who play on instruments for one or two days. In some places the corpse is kept at home for two to three days. Then the coffin is taken out with the band playing before it. All the men who have come for mourning accompany the coffin to the cremation ground. They throw as much grain, fruits and pieces of money as they can afford over the corpse on their way from home to the cremation ground. Then having placed the corpse on the funeral pile, they take off all the costly coverings and burn, with the corpse, the ordinary ones. The musicians are paid their wages. The *kapāl kīrya* is not performed. Funeral cakes are not offered as in the case (b). The ashes are thrown into the valley. The well-to-do people carry the bones to Hardwār.

115. There are three different methods of propitiating the dead :—

(a) If the deceased died a natural death, the Brāhmins, Rājputs, Baniās, Sūds and Bōhrās put a lamp in the room where the deceased breathed his last, and keep it burning throughout day and night for ten days, taking care for it to burn continually. An earthen pitcher full of water is placed at the door with a hole in the bottom, from which water trickles. Every evening the son, or other

relative of the deceased, offers the funeral cake. The priest sits near the lamp and reads a *kathā* (a text) from the *Naskit* and *Garuṣ Purāṇas*. After ten days the lamp and the pitcher are thrown into the valley, and the reading of a *kathā* is also stopped. Then *spindī karam* (a ceremony to unite the dead with his ancestors) is performed, and after that the *vikkad sharādih* is performed. The Achâraj is given ornaments, clothes and food. All the Brâhmans present are given some alms and cows, and horses are also given to them. After a fortnight or more a goat is killed, and all the relations are called together and fed with meat and rice. The father of the wife of deceased person's son supplies all the requisite material at this time, and gives clothing to his daughter and son-in-law. All present are fed for two or three days by the family of the deceased. After this a *shrādih* (offering of funeral cakes to the dead) is performed every month. After six months a great sacrifice is performed, and cows, ornaments and clothes are given to the Brâhmans in the name of the dead. In the same way annual and quadrennial sacrifices are performed; after which only an annual *shrādih* is observed. The bones of the dead are sent to Hardwâr. Rice balls are offered at Bhoā and Kurukshêtra, too.

(b) There is no particular custom to be observed at the death of a childless man. All the ceremonies of *shrādih* and the sacrifices mentioned above are performed in this case, too, with the ordinary expenses.

(c) In the case of a violent death, it is necessary to offer funeral cakes in the name of the dead at Hardwâr, Bhoā and Kurukshêtra. Some persons perform the Nârâini Balī Shrādih — i.e., funeral cakes are offered for forty days instead of ten.

(d) Among the other tribes, having or not having of children by the deceased is of no importance. Much stress is laid upon music. Poor men call in a small band, while rich men employ a large band of musicians. Funeral cakes are offered on the third day after death. The ten *karmas* (ceremonies) are not performed. The goat is either not killed, or the heir of the deceased kills the goat any time after three days, and the mourning ceremonies then come to an end. Funeral cakes are offered at Hardwâr, but this has been introduced only very lately. Monthly *shrādhs* are not performed, but *shrādhs* are performed after six months, one year and four years. Ornaments and clothing are given to the Brâhmans. The son of the sister of the deceased is given some alms and ornaments, instead of the Achâraj (the man officiating in funeral ceremonies).

(e) Among Muhammadans, after forty days a feast is given to all the brotherhood. No other ceremony is performed.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE FRENCH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIÉTÉ D'ANGKOR.

By the Franco-Siamese treaty of 23rd March 1907, we learn that France has acquired the provinces of Battambang, Siemreap and Sisophon. These new provinces include the most magnificent group of architectural monuments in Asia, which are now added to those previously possessed by France in Cambodia and Annam. Among the numerous edifices that bear witness to the splendour of the ancient Indo-Chinese civilization are the wonderful temples of Angkor, — rivalling the greatest architectural marvels of the world.

As repository of these treasures France has not been slow in recognising the duty of carefully

preserving them, and, indeed, after existing for a millennium exposed to the ravages of time, a tropical climate and its vegetation, they are in need of careful conservation. French archæologists will avoid the evils of restorations but, though local revenues cannot assume the full burden of the expenditure required for so large an undertaking, they are resolved that it shall not be said that Angkor long suffered from French national indifference. They have therefore formed the 'Société d'Angkor' for the preservation of the remains. It consists of over fifty founders — French archæologists, professors, scholars and others interested in Indo-China and the preservation from destruction of the relics of its glorious past.

THE AGE OF THE TAMIL JIVAKACHINTAMANI.

BY T. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI (TANJORE).

THE religious works of the Jinas made their appearance first in Sanskrit, and then, assuming the garb of the Indian vernaculars, spread through the country. The Tamil *Jivakachintamani* is probably one of such. Having been adapted into Tamil, it is looked upon even during the present day as a standard Tamil classic. The works that deal with the story of Jivaka are four in number, viz. — (1) the *Gadyachintamani* by Vāḍibhasiṃha, (2) the *Kṣhatrachūdmani* by the same author, (3) the *Jivandharachampū* by Harichandra. These three are in Sanskrit. Another work is said to have been composed by Harichandra and called the *Jivandharandṭaka*, which is believed to treat of the life of Jivaka. No manuscript of it has been traced so far, and I therefore doubt if it ever existed. Consequently, it may at present be assumed that the fourth extant work dealing with the life of Jivaka is (4) the Tamil *Jivakachintamani*. We shall now proceed to examine if this poem is an original work, or if it is merely an adaptation of some earlier epic.

Mahamahōpādhyāya Pandit Saminatha Aiyar, in his edition of a portion of the *Jivakachintamani*, published in 1899, observes : “The Sanskrit works *Kṣhatrachūdmani* and *Gadyachintamani* by Vāḍibhasiṃha, and *Jivandharachampū* and *Jivandharandṭaka* by Harichandra deal with the story of Jivaka. This story is related in the *Mahāpurāṇa*, which contains the stories of the sixty-three *Siddhāpuruṣas*. The bilingual *Srīpurāṇa*, which gives an account of the twenty-four *tīrthamkaras*, also refers to the life of Jivaka in the story of Srī-Vardhamāna. On comparing the first three poems with the *Jivakachintamani*, I was struck with the resemblances between the two, and thought that in each of the former could be found several passages containing the sentiments and ideas expressed in some of the verses of the latter. I naturally began to suspect if the Sanskrit poems had been composed on the model of the *Jivakachintamani*. But on closer examination it was found that this supposition was untenable, because all the Sanskrit names introduced into the *Gadyachintamani*, *Kṣhatrachūdmani*, and *Harichandrachampū* are found in the Tamil work. Many corrupt Sanskrit and Prākṛit words and many coincidences of thought and sentiment were at the same time traceable. I, accordingly, concluded that the *Jivakachintamani* was not an original work like the Tamil *Silappadigāram*. The former bears a closer resemblance to the *Gadyachintamani* than to the other two Sanskrit poems, while the story as found in the *Jivakachintamani* is different from the account given in the *Srīpurāṇa*” It is thus clear that Mahamahōpādhyāya Pandit Saminatha Aiyar is of opinion that the Tamil *Jivakachintamani* is not an original work, but that it is, greatly indebted to the Sanskrit *Gadyachintamani*. A few of the parallel passages are extracted below and serve to illustrate my remark.

- (1) “Uṇḍ-eṇav-uṇaiyir-kētpār-uyir-uru pāvam-ellān
gand=ini-ttelligav-eṇru kāṭṭuvāḷ pōlav=āgi
viṇ-ḍoḍa nivanda kōyil vinṇavar-magaḷiṇ=cheṇṇāḷ
veṇ=ḍalai payiṇra kāṭṭuḷ viḷaṅ-iḷai tamiyaḷ=āṇāḷ.”

Jivakachintamani, Nāmagal-ilambagam.

“जीवानां पापवैचिर्षी श्रुतवन्तः श्रुतो पुरा ।
पदमेतुमुनेतीव श्रीकल्पाभूतकिचना ॥”

Kṣhatrachūdmani, 1st lambaka—85.

The idea in the above two quotations is the same :— “ That lady who might be compared to the goddess Lakshmi became lonely and helpless as if she meant to show to the world which had only heard it explained from books that sin cannot be exhausted but by the inevitable working out of its evil results.”

- (2) “ Solliya nanmai=illā=chchunangan=i-vvudambu nīngi-
y=ell-ol=ttēvaṇ=āgi=ppirakkumōv=enna vēndā
koll-ulaiy-agatt=iṭṭ=ūdi=kkūr-irum piradaṇ=gutta
v=ellaiyil ēem-bonn=āgiy=eri-niram perrad=anrē.”

Jivakachintāmaṇi, Guṇamālaiyār-ilambagam.

“ यक्षेत्रोऽजनि यक्षोऽयमहो मन्त्रस्य शक्तिः ।
कालायसं हि कल्याणं कल्पते रसयोगतः ॥ ”

Kṣhatrachūdāmaṇi, 4th lambaka, ślō. 4.

Here again the idea is the same :— “ By the power of *mantra*, this dog became the king of Yakshas. Is not iron changed into gold by amalgam in the process of alchemy ? This is even so.”

- (3) “ Veṇ=ṇira=ttugil-iṇangan vīṇandu māṣ=āgi nīṇṇa
v=on-nirav=udiran=dannaiy=udiratt-āl=olikkal=āmē
paṇ-nira=kkilaviyār tam-basaiyinaṇ=piranda pāvaṇ-
gan-nira-mulaiyinaṇ taṇ=galviyār=kalikkal=āmē.”

Jivakachintāmaṇi, Kēmasariyār-ilambagam.

“ मन्थानुबन्धी संसारस्तेनैव न परिक्षयी ।
रक्तेन वृषितं वस्त्रं न हि रक्तेन शुष्यति ॥ ”

Kṣhatrachūdāmaṇi, lamba 6, ślō. 10.

Once again the same idea is given :— “ The misery of this worldly life which grows up by attachment can never be cut off by attachment again. A cloth stained with blood can never be cleansed by blood.”

It will be seen from the above extracts that the expressions vary only as much as might be expected from the difference of idiom between Sanskrit and Tamil. The ideas are exactly the same. What is compressed in two lines of verse in Sanskrit is expanded into four lines of Tamil. There is no other difference. Similar passages may also be quoted from the *Gadyachintāmaṇi*.

The Sanskrit poems which treat of the story of Jivaka are based on the Jaina purāṇas. And this fact is attested to by the authors of the former. For instance, Vāḍibhasiṃha says in the preamble to his *Gadyachintāmaṇi* :—

निःसारभूतमपि बन्धनतन्तुजातं
मूर्ध्ना जनो वहति हि प्रसवानुपज्जगम्
जीवधरप्रभवपुण्यपुराणयोगा-
द्वाक्यं ममाप्युभयलोकहितप्रदायि ॥

“ The string by its association with flowers is accepted by the head. Even so then shall my humble words showing the joys of this world and the world hereafter be acceptable by their association with the holy *purāṇa* which recites the life of Jivaka.”

As the subject-matter is the same in the *Kshattrashūdamani*, there was no need for the author, Vāḍibhasintha, to refer pointedly to the fact of the poem being based on the *purāṇas*. In the Tamil *Jivakachintāmani* the author, Tiruttakkadēvar, says:—

*Muṇṇirappiranda pavalattōḍu āngumuttu-
m-aṇṇir-uvarukkuṁ-eṇiṇ ydr=avai nikkugirpā-
r-aṇṇirāv-eṇ ier=paḷuddiyinūṇ=golḷavanṇē
poṇṇiravallā=pporūḷ viṇ pugudum=eṇḍār.*

The commentator Nachchiṇārkkīṇiyar explains the words *poṇṇiravallā=pporūḷ*, 'ideas that do not partake of falsehood,' as follows: "The majority of those that think they can obtain liberation through the true words of the *purāṇa* will certainly never despise the poet's words, however distasteful and insipid they may be, as they are only the medium by which the ideas of the *purāṇa* are conveyed. This the poet was convinced of and hence his boldness in writing thus." It is then clear that, at the time of the commentator Nachchiṇārkkīṇiyar, Tiruttakkadēvar was believed to have based his *Jivakachintāmani* on the Jaina *purāṇas*. As Tiruttakkadēvar does not refer either to the *Gadyachintāmani* or to the *Kshattrashūdamani*, it remains doubtful if they were really anterior to the *Jivakachintāmani*. At any rate there seems to be no doubt that the latter was written after the *purāṇas*. And according to Jaina tradition, the original story of Jivaka is found in the *Mahāpurāṇa*, while the bilingual *Sripurāṇa* is admittedly of later date.

We have now to ascertain the date of the *Mahāpurāṇa*. The author who began the composition of the work is Jinasēnāchārya, disciple of Vīrasēnāchārya. The former wrote the *Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa* in Saka-Saṃvat 705 (= A. D. 783) and became the preceptor, it is said, of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I., whose accession took place in A. D. 813. The *Pārśvadbhyudaya* was written during the same reign by the same author at the request of a co-disciple, named Vinasēnāchārya, for a poetical work celebrating Pārśvanātha-Tīrthaṃkara. In composing this work Jinasēnāchārya chose to honour the Sanskrit poet and dramatist Kalidāsa in an ingenious way. He wove each line of verse of the poem *Mēghasaṃdēśa* into his own *ślōkas*. The last line of each of the latter is identical with that of one of the verses of the former. Not even a line of the *Mēghasaṃdēśa* has been omitted. Neither has he at the same time sacrificed his own thoughts or his subject in thus trying to honour the lines of Kalidāsa's poem. Jinasēnāchārya, who began the *Mahāpurāṇa*, did not live to complete it. The work was taken up by his disciple Guṇabhadra-chārya and finished. The portion of the *Mahāpurāṇa* which was composed by the former is called the *Pūrvapurāṇa*, while the composition of the latter is known as the *Uttarapurāṇa*, and contains the story of Jivaka. It may therefore be supposed that the Sanskrit poems mentioned above, as well as the Tamil *Jivakachintāmani*, are based on the *Mahāpurāṇa*, composed by Jinasēnāchārya and his disciple Guṇabhadra-chārya. The date of the *Mahāpurāṇa* would then be the upper limit of that of the *Jivakachintāmani*. Luckily, we have no difficulty in fixing the former, because the subjoined *prastāvi* of the *Uttarapurāṇa* tells us that it was written during the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Akālavarsha and in the Saka year 820, corresponding to A. D. 897. The very day on which the work was finished may be fixed with the help of the astronomical details furnished in the following passage:—

“ भक्तलवर्षभूपाले पालयस्वखिलमिलान् ।
तस्मिन्निव्यस्तनिःसोषरिषि वीप्रयशोऽनुवि ॥
पद्मालयमुकुलकुलप्रविकासकसम्पत्पततमहसि ।
श्रीमति लीकारिस्थे प्रभवस्तप्रयितशशुसंतमसे ॥
श्रेष्ठपताके श्रेष्ठभवाशुजे श्रेष्ठकेतनतनुये ।
श्रेष्ठेन्द्रधर्मवृद्धिदिवागिनि विप्रुषीप्रवशसि ॥
कनकासरेवमखिलं शुद्धादि निरूप्यते सुखं सुखिरम् ।
तस्मिन्ना निजनामकृते कृतं प्रजापति पुरोवधिके ॥

शकनृपकालाभ्यन्तरविशस्यभिकादृष्टतमिताब्दान्ते ।
 मङ्गलमहार्थकारिणि पिङ्गलनामानि समस्तजनसुखदे ॥
 श्रीपद्मन्यां बुधाश्रायुजि दिवसकरे मन्त्रिवारे बुधाश्री
 पूर्वोयां सिंहलमे धनुवि धरणिजे बुधिकाको तुलायाम् ।
 सर्वे शुके कुलीरे गवि च सुरगुरौ निष्ठितं भव्यवर्धैः
 प्राप्तेऽयं सर्वसारं जगति विजयते पुण्यमेतत्पुराणम् ॥ "

Before proceeding to fix the lower limit of the date of the Tamil *Jivakachintāmaṇi*, I take advantage of this opportunity to refer to another Tamil work composed by a Jaina preceptor. This is the versified Tamil lexicon *Sūlāmaṇinigaṇḍu*, compiled by Maṇḍalapuruṣa, the disciple of Guṇabhadra. In the body of the lexicon, Maṇḍalapuruṣa gives a clue as to his date when he mentions Kīruṭṭiṇārāya (Kṛishṇārāya) as having made unbounded gifts (*koḍai-maḍam*). By Kīruṭṭiṇārāya the Vijayanagara king Kṛishṇārāya cannot be meant, because Maṇḍalapuruṣa claims Guṇabhadra for his preceptor. By the Tamil expression *koḍai-maḍam* the author evidently refers to the *biruda* Akālavarsha of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Kṛishṇa II. It thus appears that both Guṇabhadra and his disciple Maṇḍalapuruṣa were protégés of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Akālavarsha-Kṛishṇa II, whose dates range from A. D. 888 to 911-12. The Tamil lexicon *Sūlāmaṇinigaṇḍu* was therefore compiled roughly in the third quarter of the 9th century A. D.

Returning to the lower limit of the date of the *Jivakachintāmaṇi* we find that the Saiva teacher Umāpatiśivāchārya, who flourished at the beginning of the 14th century, refers to the work in his *Tiruttōṇḍarpurāṇavaralāru*. In describing the circumstances which led to the composition of the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam* by the Chōḷa minister Sēkkiḷār, Umāpati tells us that the Chōḷa king Anapāya, the patron of Sēkkiḷār, was devoting his time to the study of the *Jivakachintāmaṇi*. Sēkkiḷār exhorted his patron to study the lives of the Saiva devotees and not waste his time over the *Jivakachintāmaṇi*, which was based on fiction, and by the study of which no merit would accrue to him. Subsequently, Sēkkiḷār composed the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam* at the instance of the Chōḷa king. This Anapāya-Chōḷa is otherwise known as Rājendra-Chōḷadēva *alias* Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I. or Śūmgaṇḍavīrtta-Chōḷa. Archaeological experts say that his time was between 1070 to 1118 A. D. here is no mention of *Jivakachintāmaṇi* in any work prior to the time of the *Periyapurāṇam*. As I have already pointed out, that the former must have come into existence only after the 9th century, it may be concluded that Tiruttakkadēvar's *Jivakachintāmaṇi* was composed during the period ranging from the beginning of the 10th to the second half of the 11th century A. D.

¹ It is not clear on what grounds Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri identifies Anapāya with Kulōttuṅga I. But as he is not the first to make this identification, it is necessary to state the case as it actually stands. So far as it is known at present there is only one inscription which mentions the Chōḷa king Anapāya. It is engraved on one of the walls of the Tyāgarāja temple at Tiruvārūr in the Tanjore district, and is dated during the reign of a Kulōttuṅga, who, to judge from the alphabet employed in the inscription, cannot be Kulōttuṅga I. Even on purely literary grounds the identification of Anapāya with Kulōttuṅga I. seems to be untenable. The author of the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam*, who was a protégé of the Chōḷa king Anapāya, must have lived a pretty long time after Nambi-Āṇḍār Nambi, who arranged the Saiva Tamil scriptures (*Tirumurai*). The *Tiruvīśaiṭṭāpā*, which forms a part of these scriptures, has a hymn on the Gaṅgaikōṇḍachōḷēśvara temple, built evidently by the Chōḷa king Gaṅgaikōṇḍa-Chōḷa or Rājendra-Chōḷa I., the maternal grandfather of Kulōttuṅga I. It is thus apparent that Nambi-Āṇḍār Nambi must have lived sometime after Rājendra-Chōḷa I. If Anapāya had been the grandson of Rājendra-Chōḷa I., it is not easy to believe that the work accomplished by Nambi could have been forgotten so soon, especially as the circumstances under which he discovered the sacred scriptures were almost miraculous. King Anapāya was altogether ignorant of Nambi and his work, and had practically lapsed into the Jaina creed. The interval between Rājendra-Chōḷa I. and Kulōttuṅga I. is hardly 50 years, and the meritorious work of Nambi, accomplished during the earlier portion of this interval under such exceptional conditions, could not have been completely forgotten towards the close of the interval. It seems to me therefore that the identification of Anapāya with Kulōttuṅga I. is untenable on epigraphical as well as literary grounds. — V. V.

A REPORT ON THE PANJAB HILL TRIBES.

From the Native point of view.

BY MIAN DURGA SINGH.

*(Communicated by H. A. Rose.)**(Continued from p. 284.)*

XXXI. — Purification Ceremonies.

The Brahmins are purified in ten days, the Kshatriyas in twelve days, the Vaiśyas, *i. e.*, Baniās, Sūds and Bôhrās, in fifteen days, and all other tribes in one month. People neither eat nor drink in the house in which some one has died, during the period of impurity. But when the heirs of the deceased eat either meat or asafetida, they are considered purified, even if it be done within the period of impurity and then people do not object to eating food prepared by them.

* The Kshatriyas and Baniās, etc., get their heads shaved at the death of a relation. But this is not a general custom : for to shave the head it is necessary that the written permission of the Râja or the Rânâ be obtained beforehand.

116. The *shrâdhs* are of two kinds : —

(a) Those performed in the name of the deceased. A detailed account of such *shrâdhs* has been already given.

(b) Those which are performed in the *pitri paksh* (the dark half of the lunar month) in the month of *Bhâdon* (about September). In this month all tribes, except the menials, perform *shrâdhs*. Some persons perform *shrâdhs* during the whole of the fortnight. Others perform only one *shrâdh*, in the name of all their dead, on the *amâvas* day (the last day of the lunar month). Every kind of food is cooked for the *shrâdhs*; fruits are put upon the table. The Brâhmins are called on the eve of the *shrâdh* to feast at a certain person's house, all arriving in the morning. The owner of the house calls the family priest and offers funeral cakes. Sacrifice is also performed. After this he washes the feet of all the Brâhmins, offers them *sandal* and flowers, and feeds them. In the end, money is given to the Brâhmins and they are dismissed. The family priest gets more than all the others.

117. The Brâhman works as the priest in funeral ceremonies and also chants the hymns.

118. All the tribes in the hills have Brâhmins to officiate in their funeral ceremonies. The nephew also receives some gifts.

119. The method of purification has been stated above. It is done by killing a goat and eating asafetida.

120-121. Either in the case of death or birth, it is after the prescribed periods that purification is regained. During that period, provided the heirs of the deceased do not use meat or asafetida, the impurity continues.

122. On the day appointed for eating asafetida or killing the goat, all the relations and the Brâhmins are called together, and all of them are required to eat asafetida, while Brâhmins are also fed. The Brâhman chants some hymns over a mixture of milk, Ganges water, and cow's urine (called the *panch gavyâ*) and makes the heirs of the deceased take some of this mixture, and thus purification is effected.

XXXII. — Religion.

Sects.

123. The Hindus are divided into three sects, Saivas, Vaishnavas, and Sâktaks, worshippers of Sakti, the Female Principle.

The Saiva worship Siva. They are the disciples of the Sanyâsi or Udâsi mendicants. Some of them use meat and wine, while others do not.

The Vaishnavas are the followers of the Bairâgts. Generally they do not use meat and wine. The majority of the Brâhmanas belong to this sect.

The Sâktaks have as their teachers the Jôgis, the Sanyâsis, and the Udâsis. They worship all sorts of deities. The use of meat and wine at the time of worship is considered good. They sacrifice goats to the goddess Kâlî. There is a separate god to every village or every four or five villages. Some of this sect go to Jawâla Mukhi to worship in the temple there.

Only Shêkhs are found among the Muhammadan sects. They believe in the Lakh Dâtâ Saint (the giver of millions). They do not follow any of the rules of the Hindu religion, but act according to their own laws.

124. The existing religion has been the religion of the people of this country from ancient times, and the three sects have always observed the rules of their own order.

125. It has been already stated that in ancient times the people followed the Vedic religion, until it was supplanted by Buddhism. After the decline of Buddhism the former religion revived and is still flourishing.

126. Ordinarily, Hindus follow one of the three forms of belief above mentioned. Some people here and there follow the dictates of their conscience and believe in other gods and teachers. But these are very few.

127. Some persons worship tombs and *pîrs* (saints) also.

The Gods of the Hill Tracts.

No.	The Name of God.	The Name of the Village or Seat of God.	Territory.	Notes.
1	Dêvi or Durgâ..	Kiyâri...	Kôt Khât and Kôtgurû.	I êvi is worshipped throughout the hills.
2	Chatur Mukh...	Mailôn ..	Kôtgurû ..	All the people believe in the god of Kôtgurû. He is also worshipped in Kanehti and Rêk and in all the small villages.
3	Dum	Danthlâ ...	Do. ...	Worshipped only by the natives of Danthlâ.
4	Dum	Pumlâhi ...	Do. ...	The god of this one village only.
5	Dum	Shamâthlâ ...	Do. ..	Do. do.
6	Dum	Dalân	Do. ...	Do. do.
7	Marichh ...	Kêpu	Do. ..	Worshipped in Kêpu, Gharâl, and Nanjâ.
8	Dêva Kîrti ...	Kîrti	Do. ...	Worshipped in Kîrti, Bhanânâ, and Shâwat.
9	Bhôtêshar ...	Bhôtli	Do. ..	Worshipped in Bhôtli, Bagâhar, and by the agriculturists of Mâhorî.
10	Baindrâ ...	Dêvri	Kôt Khât ...	The god of the Majghôr and Thakariâghôr territories.

No.	The Name of God.	The Name of the Village or Seat of God.	Territory.	Notes.
11	Chambī	Brēôn ...	Kôt Khâi	The god of the agriculturists of Brēôn and Auri.
12	Dum ..	Nehrâ ...	Do. ...	The god of this one village only.
13	Mahâ Dēva ...	Pūrag ...	Do. ..	The god of half Chhê Bisi.
14	Nâg ...	Chathlâ ...	Do. ...	The god of Chathlâ and Pungrish.
✓ 15	Kālī Tūnâ ...	Rakh Chambī Kūpar.	.....	Worshipped throughout Kot Khâi.
16	Sharavan Nâg.	Shōshan ...	Kôt Khâi ...	Worshipped in Gajdhâr in the Kôt Khâi Tahsil and in Shēlâ in Darkôtî.
17	Baindrâ Tāni...	Khâri and Pī-qarâ.	Do. ...	Worshipped only in these two villages.
• 18	Nandharâri ...	Pujârî ...	Do. ...	The patron of Chêwar, Gajdhâr, Chehr, Shalêwar, Darkôtî State and half Ohhê Bisi.
19	Mahâ Dēva ..	Dalsâr ...	Do. ...	The god of Dalsâr only.
20	Nandan ...	Devri ...	Kanehtî State..	God of all Kanehtî, except Sadôch.
/ 21	Dēvî Âd Shaktî	Kachêr ...	Kumhârsên State.	The goddess of the whole territory, but there are other minor village gods.
22	Mahâ Dēva ..	Kôtî Madhâtî...	Do. ..	Worshipped in all Kumhârsên, but there are other minor gods of villages.
23	Magnêshar ...	Kôt ...	Do. ..	The god of the Sêl territory.
24	Dum ...	Sarmalâ ...	Do. ...	The god of the Obâdêsh territory.
25	Nâg ...	Ghûndâ ...	Do. ...	The god of Ghûndâ and Chadyânâ in the Kôt Khâi Tahsil.
26	Baindrâ ...	Dim ...	Do. ...	The god of one village only.
- 27	Dum ...	Himri ..	Do. ...	The god of the Chagûon territory.
• 28	Nâg ...	Bâgi ...	Do. ...	The god of the Chajôli territory.
/ 29	Bhîma Kâlî ...	Sarâban ...	Busâhir State..	The goddess of the territory of Busâhir. There are other minor gods under her.
30	Mahâsû ...	Shêkal ..	Do. ...	The god of agriculturists of Shêkal only.
31	Pabâsi ...	Chapâri ..	Do. ...	The god of the agriculturists of Balâr in the Râwin State, Chapâri and Lohârkôtî.
32	Pabâsi ...	Gavâs ...	Do. ..	The god of the rest of the State.
33	Panch Nâg ...	Janglêkâ, Dêvât, Tangnû, Pê-khâ, and Gô-sakvâri.	Do. ...	Has a temple in each of these five villages.

No.	The Name of God.	The Name of the Village or Seat of God.	Territory.	Notes.
34	Chasrâlû	Gôsakvârî ...	Busâhir State ...	The god of two or three villages only.
35	Godârû Pûbâsî.	or Daswânî ...	Do. ..	The god of the Daswânî territory.
36	Godârû Pûbâsî.	or Khaniârâ ...	Do. ...	The god of Khaniârâ territory.
37	Dêva Sheldêsh.	Shêldêsh ...	Do. ...	The god of the Larôt and Shêldêsh.
38	Nâg ...	Khâbal ...	Do. ...	The god of the Khâbal territory.
39	Pûbâsî ...	Rôhal ...	Do. ...	The god of Rôhal.
40	Nârâin ...	Jâbal ...	Do. ...	The god of the Jôgahâ territory.
41	Mahâ Dêva ...	Pôjâlî ...	Do. ...	The rural god of Pôjâlî and Bêtîânî.
42	Dêva ...	Jakhrôtî ...	Do. ...	The god of Jakhrôtî.
43	Khantû ...	Dêvi Dhâr and Ranôl.	Do. ...	The god of the Sârî of Râjgarh territory.
44	Bakrâlû ...	Dalgôn and Rôphû.	Do. ...	The god of the Spêl territory.
45	Baindrâ ...	Bachhônchî ..	Do. ...	The god of half the Mandalgâh territory.
46	Mêshar ...	Pôjârî ...	Do. ...	The god of the other half of Mandalgâh.
47	Nâg ...	Pôjârî...	Do. ...	} The gods of the Nâvar territory.
48	Lôdar ...	Pôjârî...	Do. ..	
49	Nârâinû ...	Nârâin ...	Do. ...	
50	Dhólû ...	Karâsâ ...	Do. ...	The god of Ghôrî Karâsâ in the Nâvar territory.
51	Shâlû ...	Mêlthî ...	Do. ...	The god of the Nâvar territory.
52	Nâgêshar ...	Jharag ...	Do. ...	The god of the Pandrâ Sau territory.
53	Dêvi Durgâ ...	Shil...	Do. ...	Worshipped by the agriculturists of Shil.
54	Mahâsû ...	Mandhól ...	Do. ...	Worshipped by the natives of Mandól.
55	Dêvi Durgâ Hât	Hât Kôti ...	Busâhir, Jûbal and Râwin States.	Worshipped in the Pandrâ Sau, Nâvar Jûbal and Râwin territories.
56	Kharânû ...	Kharâhan ...	Busâhir State...	The god of the Rêk and Sâmât territories.
57	Palthân ...	Shôli...	Do. ...	The god of the Mastgarh and Alat territories.
58	Khanâsî ...	Barkal ...	Do. ...	The rural god of the Barkal territories.
59	Khanâsî ...	Mahbûli ...	Do. ...	The god of the Sêô territory.

No	The Name of God.	The Name of the Village or Seat of God.	Territory.	Notes.
60	Kalédâ ..	Kalédâ ...	Busâhir State...	The god of the villages of Kalédâ and Phôlâ.
61	Chatar Khand.	Brândî ..	Do. ...	} The gods of the Kanchhîn territory.
62	Mauglêshar ...	Dwârâ ...	Do. ...	
63	Lachhmî Nârâin	Kumsû ...	Do. ...	The gods of the Shalâtâ territory.
64	Khantû ...	Majhâlî ...	Do. ...	} The gods of the Barshôl territory.
65	Dêva Kôkhi ...	Darkâlî ...	Do. ...	
66	Lachhmî Nârâin	Pât ...	Do. ...	} The gods of Bârî Ghôriwâlâ and Kâshâ.
67	Dêvijijî ..	Munnash ..	Do. ...	
68	Kanglêshar ...	Dêôthî ...	Do. ..	The god of the Hôchhi territory, and Majhâlî and Chaksâ villages.
69	Nâg ...	Kim ...	Do. ...	The god of Kim village.
70	Ohharî Gudrî ..	Karêrî ..	Do. ..	The god of one village only.
71	Jakh ...	Rachôlî ...	Do. ...	The god of four or five villages.
72	Gasô Dêv ...	Gasô... ..	Do. ...	The god of one village only.
78	Bashêrû ...	Bashêrâ ...	Do. ..	The god of Tin Kôthî, but universally worshipped.
74	Nârâin ..	Kimû ...	Do. ...	The god of the Ohhê Bisî territory.
75	Lachmi Nârâin	Manjhêôlî ...	Do. ...	The god of the Nau Bisî territory.
76	Jhangrû ...	Manjgâon ...	Do. ...	The god of the Panjgâon territory.
77	Nâg ...	Navârû ...	Do. ...	The god of the Pat Sô territory.
78	Nâg ...	Bari... ..	Do. ...	The god of the Bari territory.
79	Dêvi ...	Tarândâ ...	Do. ...	The god of the farmers of the Tarândâ territory.
80	Mahêshwar ...	Sôngrâ ...	Do. ...	The gods of the farmers of the Sôngrâ territory.
81	Okhâ ...	Nachâr ...	Do. ...	The goddess of the Nachâr territory.
82	Durgâ ...	Kambâ ...	Do. ...	The goddess of the Rôpi Kamba territory.
83	Mahâ Rudr ...	Kiâo ...	Do. ...	The god of the Khiônitchâ territory.
84	Nâg ..	Barandâ ...	Do. ...	The god of the Jagôrî territory.
85	Jal ...	Sarpârâ ...	Do. ...	The god of the Kâo Bil territory.
86	Nâg ...	Barûâ ..	Do. ...	The god of the Kilbâ territory.
87	Mahêshwar ...	Bhabbâ ...	Do. ...	The god of the Bhabbâ territory.
88	Mahêshwar ...	Chagâon ...	Do. ...	The god of the Chagâon territory.

No.	The Name of God.	The Name of the Village or Seat of God.	Territory.	Notes.
89	Badri Nāth ..	Kāmru ..	Busāhir State...	The god of the Tukpā territory.
90	Chandikā ...	Kôthi... ..	Do. ...	The god of the farmers of Shôa.
91	Thākur Dwārā..	Naising ..	Do. ...	The god of the farmers of Naising village only.
92	Raghū Nāthji ..	Sarāhan ...	Do. ...	} Worshipped throughout the country.
93	Narsinghji ..	Rāmpur ...	Do. ...	
94	Balrāmji ...	Larsa, Dansa, Shingla, Shaneri.	Do. ...	Worshipped in four villages only.
95	Bālramji ..	Nirat ...	Do. ...	Worshipped in Niratnagar only.
96	Bālramji ..	Nandla and Torsa.	Do. ..	Worshipped in Nandlā, Tōrsā, Chetōni, Gômān, Dagōli.
97	The tombs of Mansāgir and Dhānigir.	Ghōrnā ...	Balsan State ..	} Worshipped by the people of all the territory ; there are separate rural gods in every village also.
98	Dēvi Mansā ...	Ghōrnā ...	Do. ...	
99	Kadhāsan ..	Dēōthi ...	Do. ..	The god of the farmers of the Dhārti, Duēl and Nōti <i>pargand</i> .
100	Rāi Rē Mōlē..	Kadhāran ..	Do. ..	The god of the Kadhāran, Shilgri and Dhār territories.
101	Chēōli ..	Shēlā ..	Do. ...	} The gods of the Shēltā territory.
102	Chitrā ...	Chāndni ...	Do. ...	
103	Nāg ...	Pal ...	Do. ...	The gods of the Shalgāon territory.
104	Mahēshwār ...	Mahāsū ...	Do. ...	Worshipped in Majhētī and Draunk <i>pargands</i> .
105	Kadāsan ...	Tāli ...	Do. ..	The god of the Parli Phātī territory.
106	Bagēshar ...	Bagēshar ...	Do. ...	Worshipped in Shākh, Kātār, and Bagēshar of Balsan, and in the adjacent Nāhan villages.
107	Nāg ...	Kathōri ...	Do. ...	The god of Kathōri village only.
108	Gōn ...	Bakrārī ...	Do. ...	The god of the Kalāsi territory.
109	Nainōn ...	Dēvti ...	Do. ...	The god of the Parāli territory.
110	Banār ...	Shaiāchlī ..	Kēonthal State..	The god of all Rāwin territory.
111	Mahāsū ...	Hanōl ...	Do. ...	Do. do.
112	Nigāhū ...	Jāli ...	Do. ...	The rural god of Aglā Pônār.
113	Banēshar ...	Chōhāg ...	Pônār, Kēonthal State.	The rural god of Pichhlā Pônār.
114	Paddōi ...	Parōl ..	Sāngiri State ...	The god of the Sāngri, Kumbhāsen and Bhājji States.
115	Nāg ..	Shēdri ...	Do. ...	The god of the Bhājji, Sāngri, Busahir, and Kūlā.

No.	The Name of God.	The Name of the Village or Seat of God.	Territory.	NOTES.
116	Bânô	Banâr	.....	Worshipped in the Banâr territory only.
117	Marichh	Sawân	.....	Worshipped in the Sawân territory only..
118	Grêhan	Dêôtî	Ghông State	The god of the Shilâ territory.
119	Shilgur	Ghund	Do.	The god of the Prâlâ territory.
120	Thâkur Dwârâ.	Ghund	Do.	The god of farmers.
121	Bânthiâ	Chikhur	Thêôg	Do. do.
122	Bânthiâ	Janôg	Do.	Do. do.
123*	Jimprû	Padrôg	Do.	Do. do.
124	Mahâsû	Gajyârî	Do.	Do. do.
125	Banâr	Sharâchli	Jûbal State	The god of the Barâr territory in the Jubal State, and of the Rânâ of Jubal.
126	Mahâsû	Hanôl	Do.	The god of all the Jûbal State.
127	Shrigul or Bijat	Sarâhan	Do.	The god of the Bis Sô territory.
128	Râthî kâ Banâr.	Barhâl	Do.	The god of the Barhâl village only.
129	Santôpiâ	Dhâr	Do.	The god of Dhâr village only.
130	Shârî	Shârî	Do.	The god of four villages.
131	Dêvî	Jûbal	Do.	The goddess of the Barâr territory, and of the Rânâ.
132	Dêvî	Hatkoti	Râwin, Jûbal, and Busâhir States.	The goddess of the territories round Jûbal.
133	Rihatnâ.	Thalôg	Jûbal State	The god of the Jakhôlî territory.
134	Gônû	Bôdhûâ	Do.	Do. do.
135	Dêvî Jogrâsan.	Pôjarlî	Do.	The rural god of the Pêônthrâ territory.
136	Kanêrâ	Pôjarlî	Do.	The rural god of the Shak territory.
137	Dêvî Dunudi	Dhabâs	Do.	The rural god of the Hamal territory.
138	Dum	Bhôt	Do.	The rural god of the Jakhôlî territory.
139	Mahâsû	Pôriyâ	Tharôch State...	The gods of all the territories of Tarôch and Sangiri.
140	Mahêshwar	Mashrân	Do.	Do. do.
141	Mahâsû	Hanôl	Do.	Do. do.
142	Thân	Sawân	Sangiri State...	Do. do.
143	Tawânsî	Barâgâon	.....	Worshipped in Maghidhâr territory.

XXXIII. — Origins of the Gods.

129. (1) A Sanyāsi mendicant, named *Ilāchigir*, came to Bāsan and Thēḍg States. The Chiefs of both the States became his disciples, for he knew *jōg* (spiritual science) very well. After his death, a tomb was raised over his ashes, and this tomb is now worshipped. The real seat of the saint is Thōr in Sirmūr State, and the Chiefs and subjects of both the States pay visits to this place also.

(2) The gods of the hills are of two kinds: — Female, i. e., *Dēvis* (goddesses); male, i. e., *Dēvatās* (gods). The image of a goddess is always complete. In the case of a god, his head or bust only is represented.

(3) The accounts of their origin and attributes vary. The gods are generally of one type, though they bear different names. The modes of worship are the same, and their images alike. Some goddesses are represented with four arms, some with two, some with eight, twelve, or even sixteen. Some are made to sit upon a dead body; some are shown as riding a lion. There are many other images in a temple, besides those of the god and the goddess, bearing different names, such as *Shibji*, *Shambhūji*, *Gan'ish*, *Indar*, *Rājan*, etc.

XXXIV. — Forms of Worship.

(4) The priests worship the gods twice a day. In the morning the priest provides some *sandal*, rice, purified butter for the lamp, flowers, *dhūp* (scent), and some sweets or fruits for the god. First of all, the god is washed with fresh water, and then his image is wiped with a clean cloth; *sandal* is pasted upon the forehead and some rice also. A garland of flowers is thrown round his neck. A lamp is lighted, drums are beaten, and bells are rung. The priest offers incense and chants hymns. Then sweets or fruits are placed before the image. After this all the worshippers offer their presents. The priest paints their foreheads with *sandal*, and prays to the god to fulfil their desires. Then the *chēlā* (disciple) of the god goes into a trance and foretells success or failure to the pilgrim, offers him rice, and gives him directions in answer to his questions. In the evening only the lamp is lighted, incense and food being offered; after which the god or goddess retires. This is called *ārti*.

(5) All kinds of presents are offered. Some men present gold and silver ornaments, clothes, money, grain, fruits, and purified butter, etc. A goat is killed. One loin of the goat is given to the person offering it; the remainder is distributed among the priests. Two or four annas in cash are given to the priest for each goat. In the temple of the goddess, presents are offered in the months of Chēt and Asōj. In addition to this, one can offer presents, if one likes, on a Tuesday, the day of the full moon, and the fourteenth, eighth or ninth day of the moon. Presents can be offered to a god at any time; but to do so on the first day of the month, or in Baisākh, Bhāḍōn or Māgh, is considered best.

(6) The presents offered to a god or goddess are collected in the treasury and are spent in charity. The men in charge of the temple, such as the priest, the monk and the musician, are paid small sums by the pilgrims, the least sum being six pies. The pilgrims can pay them as much as they like.

XXXV. — Ghosts and Spirits.

129. *Bhūts* (ghosts), *paris* (fairies), *chadrās* and *manhrās* are believed in by children and women.

130. Stones are not worshipped in any way, except that people make images of stone and hang them round their necks.

131-132. No.⁶

133. Nil.⁶

134. The *Vām Mārgis*, who worship the genital organs, are not to be found in this territory.

⁶ [Obviously answers to questions. — Ed.]

XXXVI. — Initiation Ceremonies.

135. (a) To admit a person to any religious order, the brotherhood of the village assembles in the temple of its god. After discussing the question, they send for the man who is to be admitted. A Brāhman is called to that place by permission of the Chief. He chants some hymns on the *pañcā gāvyā* (a mixture of milk, honey, cow's urine, water of the Ganges, and clarified butter) and makes the candidate for admission drink it. A feast is given to all the brotherhood, and the excommunicated can join in the feast. Then he goes to the god and presents offerings. This is allowed to reclaim those who have been excommunicated by the brotherhood owing to some mistake. Apostates who voluntarily give up the Hindu religion and become converts to any other religion cannot be reclaimed.

(b) Generally it is necessary to wear the sacred thread in order to join the Hindu religion. But the Sūdras, as already mentioned, do not wear it. They are considered members of the religion if they obey the ordinary rules, even if they do not wear the sacred thread.

XXXVII. — High Class Hindu Sects.

136. High class Hindus are divided into two sections — (1) *Saivas*, who worship the god Siva; (2) *Sāktas*, who worship Siva, the goddess, and other gods. Those belonging to the first sect regard the sacrifice of goats and drinking of wine as sins. Those belonging to the second consider both to be virtuous. Enquiry shows that the latter abound in the hills, while the former are very few, not more than two per thousand.

XXXVIII. — Brāhman Sects.

137. Brāhmanas are divided into two kinds: — (a) Pandits or Pādhas, i. e., *Shukal*; and (b) *Achāraj*, Bhāt or Dakaut, i. e., *Kishan*.

The *Shukal* Brāhmanas accept the alms offered on happy occasions — such as the birth of a child, a marriage, or some other festival. They also chant hymns, or officiate in the worship of gods at such times. Every tribe has a separate Brāhman of this kind.

The *Achāraj* receives alms offered at funeral ceremonies. On these occasions the reading of the *kathā* and the chanting of hymns is done by the *Shukal* Brāhman, i. e., the priest. The alms are given to the *Achāraj*.

The Bhāts are given alms only at marriages. They are inferior to the Brāhmanas, but superior to the *Achāraj*.

Alms offered to propitiate evil stars, such as Rāhu, Kētu, Sani, are given to the Pandās or Dakauts. They also receive *tulā dān* (alms in the form of grain, metals, etc., equal in weight to the weight of the man offering them). The hymns are recited by the *Shukal* Brāhman. Only the alms are given to the Dakauts.

The Brāhmanas of all the tribes, except those of the Cobblers, Kōlts, Shepherds, Musicians and Sweepers, do all the work mentioned above and take alms.

The *Shukal* Brāhmanas do not eat food prepared by the *Kishan* Brāhmanas.

XXXIX. — Priests.

139. Only Brāhmanas act as priests.

140. No priest is to be found who performs ceremonies not pertaining to any particular god.

141. Every tribe has its own priests. None but Brāhmanas can serve as priests.

142. Each family has a priest.

143. The priest knows all the business that he has to perform in the house of his disciple. He is not bound to keep *brāhmacharya* (celibacy) to the prescribed age, nor is he under any restrictions as regards profession. It is necessary for him to know the rules for giving or receiving alms at the times of death, marriage, birth, or any other festival.

* [No answer was apparently given to Question 137 — Ed.]

XL. — Places of Worship.

144. In some places there are separate buildings set apart for worship, while in others there are not.

145. The temples have their doors either to the north or east or on all sides.

146. A temple is either a *shivāḍā* or a *thākūr-dwārā* or a *dēvi-dwāḍā*.

147. A *shivāḍā* contains the images of Shibjī, Rāma, Ganēsh, Hanumān and Bhairōn. A *thākūr-dwārā* those of Shivājī, Rāma, Lakshman, Krishnā, Balrām, Gōpālājī, and Hanumān. A *dēvi-dwāḍā* the images of Dēvi, Kālī, Lōṅkrā, and a lion.

148. The god of the temple is worshipped thrice every day, in the morning, noon and evening, but in some places this worship is performed only twice. Offerings are made. The Brāhman is fed at particular festivals and *hawan* (sacrifice) is performed.

149. Some ceremonies are performed openly, and some secretly. The latter are called *narōl pñjā*, and are performed on the occasion of particular festivals only and not every day.

XLI. — Sacrifices.

150. (1) Goats and sheep are sacrificed to all the gods.

(2) Goats are sacrificed in the name of the Dēvi or Kālī.

(3) Sheep are sacrificed in the name of Bhairōn, Lōṅkrā, and Narsingh.

(4) Buffaloes are sacrificed to the younger Lōṅkrā.

(5) Fowls, pigs, fish, and lizards are offered to the lesser Kālī.

151. Generally the family priest officiates at the time of the sacrifice, but one can sacrifice without the aid of the priest as well. The sacrifice is offered to the god who is the patron of the offerer.

152. The sacrifice is performed at the temple.

153. If the sacrifice be of a goat or sheep, one loin is given to the person who offered it, and the remainder is distributed among the monks, gods, and the priests. Sometimes the sacrificial animal is buried. In some places the head and liver of the sacrificed goat are kept by the priests and monks, and the remainder is given back to the offerer.

The sacrifice of the other animals are offered by the Kōlis, Cobblers or Shepherds.

154. Sometimes, instead of a living creature, an imitation of it in flour or silver are offered, or the living beast, without being sacrificed, is let loose in the temple of the god. The animal remains in the forest, and the custodians of the temple look after it. When fat it is sold, and the money thus realised is added to the god's treasure. If the image offered be of silver, it is stored in the treasury. If of flour, it is cooked in oil or clarified butter, and is eaten by the priests.

155. The worshippers do not offer any part of their body as sacrifice.

XLII. — Human Sacrifice.

156. It is said that in ancient times men, women, and children were offered as sacrifice to the Dēvi or Kālī. Men were sacrificed to Lōṅkrā also.

157. It is said that men had their heads cut off as offerings to Jawālā Mukhī, Kālī, Bhīma Kālī and Bhairōn Bīr, etc., and put into the sacrificial fire. Many men cut out their tongues and offered them to the goddess.

A sacrifice of the nature of human sacrifice is, however, still performed in the hills every forty or fifty years, and is called *Bhundā*. A man of the *Bēḍā Tribe* of Kūlū and Garhwāl is sent for. From ancient times such men have been kept as priests in the places where this sacrifice is performed. They are treated like the ordinary priests, and are given an

annual pension out of the temple fund. When the time of the sacrifice has been fixed, the Bêdâ is sent for three months before the date. He comes with his family and gathers hemp, with which a big rope, four or five hundred yards long, is prepared. All the men accompanying the Bêdâ are sumptuously fed, and one of them who willingly offers himself is chosen for the sacrifice. He is given plenty of wine, meat, milk, etc. The sacrificial fire is kept burning for three months in the temple of the god. On the appointed day, saints, Brâhmans, and gods of the neighbourhood are sent for, and all are provided with food.

The Bêdâ is brought to the temple in the morning and placed near the sacrificial fire. He is then worshipped and sacrificed, like a goat, in the name of the god. A rope that is prepared by the man himself is tied to two poles, and then the man is thrown over this rope. Some die, while others escape alive. In the latter case he is given eighty-four rupees in cash, garments and ornaments from the god's treasury. He has authority to ask for anything he likes from the pilgrims, who are bound to give it to him. This is a very critical time, and much care is taken in British territories. It is however held that the man's death or otherwise is under divine control. Some places where the rope is bound to poles are flat, while others are valleys between two rocks.

158. The men to be sacrificed, like the priests, are certain men fixed upon and are sacrificed in turn. A quarrel, as among the priests, arises if one offers himself in the place of another.

159. Open human sacrifice is now quite obsolete.

List of Bhundâ Sacrificial Spots.

No.	Name of God.	The Place of Sacrifice.	Territory.	NOTES.
1	Bashêrû ...	Bashêrâ ...	Busâhir State.	A good place, but very distant.
2	Kanglêshwar ..	Dêvthi ...	Do. ...	An ordinary place.
3	Lachmî Nârâin.	Manjhêôlî ..	Do. ...	Do.
4	Dêvtand Balrâm	Shinglâ ..	Do. ...	Do.
5	Do. ...	Shanêri ...	Do. ...	Do.
6	Do. ...	Larsâ ...	Do. ...	Do.
7	Do. ...	Dansâ... ..	Do. ...	Do.
8	Datâtrâ a n d Balrâm.	Nagar ...	Do. ...	Do.
9	Sûraj a n d Balrâm.	Nirat ...	Do. ...	Do.
10	Kharâû ...	Kharâhan ...	Do. ...	A difficult place, steep on both sides.
11	Palthân ...	Shôlî ...	Do. ...	Do. do. do.
12	Bakrâlû ...	Dalgâôn ...	Do. ...	Do. do. do.
13	Bhîma Kâlî ...	Sarâhan ...	Do. ...	Do. do. do.
14	Thârl ...	Brâhl ...	Jâbal State ...	Do. do. do.
15	Dêvi ...	Nirmand ...	Kâlû ...	Do. do. do.

XLIII. — Table of Festivals.

No.	Name.	Month (English).	Month (Indian).	Notes.
1	Lohri ...	Middle of January.	Pôh and the 1st day of Mâgh.	Food prepared and alms given to the Brâhman.
2	Khattâlâ Ekâ-dashî.	End of January	Mâgh ...	Fasts are observed and sesame is offered as alms.
3	Basant Panchamî.	Early in February.	Phâgun ...	Dances are performed. The New-year is celebrated.
4	Shiv Râtrî ...	February or March.	Phâgun ...	A fast is observed in the name of Siva : food is prepared, and a goat sacrificed.
5	New-year's Day	March ...	1st of Chêt ...	The Brâhman foretell the events of the year to the Kshatriyas, and receive some money as a gift.
6	Hôlî ...	March... ..	Phâgun ...	People throw coloured water on one another. Dances are performed, shows are held, and feasts given.
7	Chêtâr Chaudas.	April	Chêt	A proper day for making offerings to gods. The <i>thâkur dōdrâs</i> are the scenes of great festivities.
8	Nôrâtrê ...	March or April	Chêt	Fasts are observed in honour of the Dêvî (goddess), and goats and wine are offered to her.
9	Baisâkhî ...	April	1st of Baisâkh.	Gift are given to Brâhman. Fairs are held for a fortnight.
10	Nirjâlâ Ekâ-dashî.	May	Jêt	People observe a fast. Sherbet is given gratis to the people to drink.
11	Dêb Sani Ekâ-dashî.	June or July ...	Hâr	Alms are given and fasts observed.
12	Biâs Pûjâ ...	June or July ...	Hâr	Do. do. do.
13	Narsingh Chaudas.	March ..	Chêt	Presents are offered in the <i>thâkur dōdrâs</i> . Image of Narsing is displayed.
14	Râm Naumî ...	March ..	Chêt	Do. and the Râm Lîlâ is performed.
15	Sâoni	15th July ...	1st Sâwan ...	People eat food. Garlands of flowers are put round the necks of the cattle.
16	Rakhrî ...	August ..	Sâwan or Bhâdôn.	The Brâhman make arm-rings of thread and tie them to peoples' wrists, and get money as a reward.
17	Janam Ashtamî	August ...	End of Sâwan or beginning of Bhâdôn.	People fast, and feed the Brâhman next day.

No.	Name.	Month (English).	Month (Indian).	NOTES.
18	Kishun Gharī Māvas.	August	End of Sāwan or beginning of Bhādōn.	Farmers worship their land on the second day after <i>amāvas</i> (last day of the lunar month) and sacrifice a goat.
19	Nāg Panchamī.	August or Sep- tember.	Do.	People worship their gods and offer sacrifices to them.
20	Anant Chaudas	September	Beginning Asōj.	Anant is worshipped, and gifts are given to the Brāhmans.
21	Pitra Pakh Amāvas.	September	Asōj	Brāhmans are given gifts in the name of the dead forefathers.
22	Nôrâtrê	October	Asōj	The goddess is worshipped, sacrifices are offered, and masquerade shows are held.
23	Dasêhrâ	October	Asōj	The end of the <i>Nôrâtās</i> . At the Dasêhrâ festival gifts are awarded to the poor.
24	Chrêwal	August	1st of Bhādōn.	Gods of clay are made and worshipped. Lights are shown to the gods every evening.
25	Sâêr	September	1st of Asōj	The barbers show mirrors to rich men, who give them rewards.
26	Dîwālî	October	Kâtik	Every village and every house is illuminated. Rich food is cooked and distributed amongst relatives.
27	Karnvâlî	October	Kâtik	} Celebrated in <i>thâkur dîwârās</i> only.
28	Gôpâ Ashtamī.	October	Kâtik	
29	Panch Bhishmī Ekādashī.	November	Māghar	} Fasts are observed, and gifts are given to the Brāhmans.
30	Panch Bhishmī Puranmâshī.	November	Māghar	
31	Sankrânt	December	1st Pôh	Goats are sacrificed throughout the country. Goats reared during the summer are sacrificed at this time.
32	Sataya Nârâin.	December	Pôh	The people fast on every <i>puranmâshī</i> (full moon) and give alms to the Brāhmans.
33	Somâvatī Amā- vas.	December	Pôh	This festival returns after long intervals. Fasts are observed, and charity bestowed on the Brāhmans.
34	Pandrâ	December	Pôh	} Fasts are observed in the name of Siva, and there is also feasting.
35	Khepûin	January	Mâgh	

XLIV. — Some Details of the Festivals.

161.* A brief account of every festival has been given in the table above. Some details are now given.

(1) **Lôhrî khichrî** (a kind of food) is prepared and is distributed among relatives. The people play with balls in every village or in the temple of the god. The saints and Brâhmanas are given rice, pulse, and money. Some people perform oblations in their homes. The priests worship the doors of their customers.

(2) **Basant Panchami**. — This festival is celebrated in the court of the Chief only. The *tûris* (musicians) sing and play upon instruments and get rewards. The people sprinkle coloured water over one another. Some men and women wear yellow scarves, but it is not a general custom.

(3) **Shiv Râtri**. — Fasting is observed during the day. In the night an image of Siva is made of clay. A coloured square is prepared, and the god is placed in the middle of it. Cakes are placed on all sides round the square. The god is worshipped throughout the night. Songs are sung, and music played. A goat is sacrificed. In the morning the god is thrown into water. The cakes are given to a Brâhman, and distributed amongst the brotherhood.

(4) **New-year's Day**. — On the first of Chêt, *tûris* (musicians) sing songs and play on instruments, and receive gifts. The Brâhmanas foretell the events of the year and get rewards. The *tûris* go from village to village and entertain people throughout the month of Chêt.

(5) **Hôli** is celebrated in the Chief's court only. Coloured water is sprinkled and songs are sung. All the men taking part in the Hôli are entertained with a feast.

(6) **Nôrâtrê**. — The goddess is worshipped and sacrifices are offered to her.

(7) **Baisâkhi**. — On the 1st day of the month the priest worships the gates of his customers, who give him, according to their capacity, grain and money. During the whole of the month sacrifices are offered to the god on different dates. The people practise archery at a fair.

(8) **Sankrânt Sawani** (first day of the month Sâwan). — Wreaths of flowers are thrown round the necks of quadrupeds. Rich foods are prepared and distributed among the family and relations and guests. Fairs are held throughout the month in the temples of gods. All the people of the neighbourhood gather at the fairs, and dance and sing during the day. In the evening they go to feast at home or at their relatives' houses.

(9) **Nâg Panchami**. — In some places fairs are held at the temples of gods. The people keep awake the whole night, and hill songs are sung and instruments are played upon. In the morning all the people present are fed. The fair at this time is called Jâgrâ or Bhadrônjû.

(10) **Nôrâtrê**. — The goddess is worshipped. Masquerades are held in the night. Music is played, and in some places is called *batrî* or *karâlî*. The next day is the Dasêhrâ. A man impersonating Râmachandar drives in a chariot and conquers Lankâ.

(11) **Shêri or Sâêr**. — Each man makes an image of clay, puts flowers on it, and places it before his house. Rich food is prepared on the first day of the month. In the evening illuminations are made all around the image, and it is worshipped.

(12) **Diwâlî**. — Every person illuminates his house. Food is prepared and distributed among relatives. The people amuse themselves with gambling. A heap of wood is kept burning all night, and all the villagers gather round it and abuse the natives of adjoining villages, who in return abuse them. The people remain awake during the night and sing the songs of Diwâlî, like the *kathâ* (recitation). A song is fixed for this festival.

* [No answer was apparently given to Question 160.—]

Men and women of every tribe attend the fairs at this time, except women who observe the *pardé* system. Persons of all ages are among the spectators.

162. The dates for all the festivals are fixed, except the *Somāvatī Amāvas* and *Satyā Nārāin*.

163. No festival is celebrated to commemorate any season.

164. Food is given to the Brāhmans in the name of the dead on the date corresponding to the death of the deceased, and this is termed *tithi shrādh*. This is done by a few persons and is not a general custom.

165. All the Hindu festivals are celebrated by the people generally. However, some of the festivals pertaining to *thākur dūdās*, as mentioned in the above table, are celebrated by some persons, while others do not observe them.

166. The Hindus do not observe the festivals of the Sarāogis.

167. There is no festival where boys and girls desirous of marriage meet and select their consorts.

168. Among certain classes the festival of *Karvā Chauth* is considered to be for the wife and husband only.

169. Wine is used in the fairs held on *Baisākhi*, *Sāñi*, and *Hōli* festivals.

XLV. — Objects of Worship.

170. There are no ghosts or spirits who are considered to have any connection with sticks. However, the sticks, lances, and bugles of a god are honoured like the god himself.

171. The silver sticks, lances, bugles, and bells of a god are thought sacred. It is also believed that these things possess supernatural powers.

172. Wood and stone are worshipped, for they are considered to be the abodes of gods.

XLVI. — Animism, Spirit Worship.

173. The people believe in spirits living in rivers, hills, trees, ruins, and in clean and unclean places.

(a) *Yama* (god of death) is supposed to live in rivers.

(b) *Bāolis*, brooks and springs are supposed to be the abodes of *jal paris* (water nymphs) and *mātris*.

(c) *Kālī* is supposed to live in hills.

(d) Spirits of all kinds are supposed to live on trees.

(e) *Banshir* spirits live in ruins of old buildings, or valleys or mountains.

(f) Vicious spirits live in dirty places, and virtuous spirits or gods in clean and pure localities.

174. A detailed account of the worship of ghosts is given below. If a person is laid up with some disease and does not improve with medicine, a Brāhman is called and is asked to exorcise the disease. He indicates the kind of ghost, if any, with which the man is possessed. The following are the signs of possession by ghosts:—

(1) The patient seems comparatively comfortable during the day, but as the night advances, his restlessness increases. He gains composure with the passing of night and coming of day.

(2) The pulse of the patient beats like that of a healthy person. Now he becomes faint and again comes to his senses. Sometimes he speaks, while at others weeps and cries.

(3) The more medicine is administered, the more the disease increases. Sometimes he is cured without the use of medicine. The patient feels nausea, depression, and palpitation of the heart.

When these signs and the opinion of the Brāhman concur, the guardians of the patient make the following arrangements for the propitiation of the ghost:—

(a) The **water nymphs or Mātrīs** are supposed to have female forms. They are of two kinds:—Virtuous or superior, and vicious or inferior. Means for propitiating virtuous nymphs are these: Fruits and flowers are offered to them, a small palanquin is made of bamboo and covered with cloths of five colours, the Brāhman makes a cake, recites some hymns, and places the palanquin before the patient, and puts the fruits and flowers in it. The patient is made to worship a lamp and the palanquin, after which it is placed at a crossing. To propitiate an evil or vicious nymph, a goat, or a sheep, or a pig or a hen is offered as sacrifice. The remaining methods of adoration are like those mentioned above.

(b) Propitiation of the **god of death** is performed thus:—Some beasts, as hens, pigs, or sheep are brought. A cake of seven kinds of grain is cooked. Five or six lamps are lighted and placed upon this cake, together with some pieces of stone. All this is placed before the patient. The Brāhman chants a hymn on every stone and puts it upon the cake. The stones are either 5, or 7 or 11 in number, always representing odd numbers. When this is done all these things, together with the beasts, are taken to the cremation-grounds, where the Brāhman sacrifices the animals and takes them away.

(c) **Kālī** is worshipped with the sacrifice of a goat, flowers, fruits, wheaten bread, and lamps, in the same way as a Mātrī.

(d) **Ghosts and nahshirās** are propitiated by sacrifices of goats in some places, and by dust or gravel in others. In the same manner evil ghosts are propitiated by the sacrifice of a boar, or hen, or dust only.

175. Dāgs or demons are the ghosts connected with fields. It is a well-known fact that an estimate is made of the produce of the fields. If the crops of a certain season yield produce less than the estimated one, the difference is thought to be appropriated by the *dāg*.

176. Most men perform the Kunjhāin pūjā instead of sacrifices.

177. Kunjhāin is ordinarily offered to Kālī, a *parī* (fairy), or a *mātrī*. A certain portion of the forest or hill is set aside for this purpose. Even if the forest is cut down, yet the portion consecrated to the god is preserved for his worship. None of the trees in this portion is cut, nor are any leaves or boughs broken.

178. Monkeys, elephants, cows, oxen, and snakes are worshipped as gods.

(1) A **monkey** or an ape is considered as a representation of Hanūmān. Large cakes, grain, and gram are offered to them.

(2) An **elephant** is taken as a representation of the god Ganēsh, and is worshipped on such festivals as Ganēsh Chauth, etc.

(3) **Cows** are of two kinds, *viz.*, *kām dhēnū* and *kapild*, and both of them are adored as gods. Cows having a tongue or a hoof on their backs are also worshipped.

(4) An **ox** or *nād* is worshipped instead of Siva.

(5) **Snakes** are worshipped as the *nāg dēvīd* (snake-god).

XLVII. — Ancestor Worship.

179. Prayers and sacrifices are offered to the spirits in the name of the dead.

180. No ceremony deserves mention.

181. No sacred animal, nor any plant, nor any other thing, is worshipped in the name of any ancestor.

182. The heirs of the deceased offer alms in the name of the dead while performing *kiryā* *karm* or *shrādh* (funeral ceremonies) under the impression that all this goes to the spirit of the dead.

183. The things placed with a corpse are disposed of in the following manner:—

(1) All that is put in the mouth of the dead, as *panch ratan* (five gems), is burnt with it.

(2) The ornaments are, in the case of poor men, taken back, and in the case of rich men, sent to Hardwār, or given to the Achāraj (man officiating at funeral ceremonies).

(3) Clothes of small value are burnt with the corpse or buried with it. Costly clothes are taken back by poor people, but sent to Hardwār or given to the Achāraj by rich men.

(4) Edible things are generally given to the Achāraj.

184. Living persons fear the spirits of the dead.

185. If the soul of a dead person is seen in a dream by any one, and it troubles him, the deceased is considered to be the cause of this. A Brāhman is asked to offer prayers for the salvation of the dead. A charm is written and tied to the neck or arm of the person dreaming about the dead.

186. The spirit of the deceased is considered to haunt his house for eleven days after death. The following matters are taken into consideration as regards other haunts:—

(1) The spirit that has become united to the universal spirit does not return.

(2) The spirit which, on account of his sins, has not obtained salvation, always haunts here and there, finds rest nowhere, and is not pleased with any place. So spirits of the second sort haunt all places, like graveyards and cemeteries. Their forms are very fearful and they have no flesh on their bodies. They are said to be of fabulous sizes.

187. The forms of ghosts lead us to the conclusion that they were great sinners in their lives, or died a sudden death—such as by poison, or by falling down, or by suicide—and have not obtained salvation. There are different interpretations of these facts; but it is of no use to give their details, for it is impossible to find out the truth in this way.

188. The Brāhmans expel ghosts by charms and magic. The person possessed by a ghost is made to inhale the smoke produced by burning wheat, chillies, the flesh of a tiger, and pork. If the ghost is not dispelled by these means, then the method mentioned in para. 174 is applied.

189. The kinds of ghosts have been given in para. 174.

190. Fifteen days are consecrated to the deceased ancestors in Bhādōn or Asōj. This period is called *pitrī paksh* (ancestor's fortnight), and at this time Brāhmans are fed and given alms in the name of ancestors. This is called *shrādh*.

191. It is necessary to perform the *shrādh* of a man at Gya, and that of a woman at Gôdāvari. For instance, if the parents of a person die, then he will perform the *shrādh* of his father at Gya and that of his mother at Gôdāvari.*

* [Or, at some place recognised as a substitute, — Ed.]

XLVIII. — Animal Worship.

192. No tribe nor any subdivision of a tribe is named after the name of an animal, a tree, or an arm or instrument.

193. The Hindus honour such objects, for they take them to be sacred according to their Scriptures. They abstain from killing, cutting, burning, or eating any male or female cattle, elephant, monkey, snakes, crows, *garur* (a large heron), peacocks, cat, or dog, or any *pipal* tree, or banian tree.

194. Hanûmân is represented as a monkey; Ganêsh is represented as an elephant. The images of the animals mentioned above are kept by the people for worship. Besides these the people make images of all gods and adore them.

195. Every custom is handed down from ancient times. There is no special tradition about this. Idol worshippers have a strong faith in images.

XLIX. — Tree Worship.

196. Women particularly worship the *pîpal* and banian trees. They also worship the *tulsî* (a shrub); and the sensitive plant.

197. The *pîpal* is worshipped on the occasion of a marriage or any other like happy occasion. Also the *tulsî* plant is worshipped. Girls can be named after the *tulsî*, but there is no such rule for the names of boys.

Superstitions.

L. — Omens from Animals.

198. A detail of ill-omens is given below : —

(1) If a cow, buffalo, goat, or sheep give birth to a young one during the period extending from the 26th of Baisâkh to 8th Jêth, this young one, with its mother, is given away to the Brâhman, or it is sold. To keep it is considered unlucky.

(2) The same rule applies to cattle bringing forth their young in Bhâdôn or Mâgh.

(3) Cattle producing young in Jêth under the influence of the star Mûl are subject to the same rule.

(4) The animal that howls at night, or seems grumbling like an unhealthy individual, is either given away in charity or is sold.

(5) If small spots appear on the skin of a buffalo, it is sold.

(6) Cows or goats yielding blood instead of milk are sold.

(7) Cows or goats that drink their own milk are sold.

(8) An animal that kills or devours its own young is sold.

LI. — Omens from Domestic Utensils.

(1) It is forbidden to eat out of a broken vessel of white brass.

(2) The vessels of clay or white brass are used by the members of one class only. They become polluted if used by members of another caste.

(3) A vessel is considered unclean unless it is cleaned with dust and water.

(4) The cooking vessels are liable to impurity more quickly than the utensils for water.

(5) The people do not allow the members of a caste, different from theirs, to use their copper and white brass metals. Other vessels are free from such restrictions.

LII. — Omens from Houses.

(1) The place where a crow caws at night and a jackal howls at day, becomes unfit for habitation. This is considered to be the forecast of somebody dying there.

(2) The sitting of an owl, a pheasant, or a vulture on the roof of a house is considered ominous. If this happens, a goat is sacrificed at once.

(3) The crawling of a snake in the upper floor of the house is considered to portend evil. If one appears, it is expelled by pulling down the roof and net through the door. Something is also given in charity.

(4) Cracking sounds in the roof or furniture of a house are unlucky.

(5) If in a house the sound of a stranger, or of a member of the family, is heard, and after enquiry it is found that there was no such man there, but the sound was only an unnatural one, the house is thought to be unfortunate.

(6) The appearance of moisture in the walls of a house without any rain, is thought ominous.

(7) The following are ill-omens for a house : — The subjection of the inmates to constant whimsical thoughts, excessive sleep, poverty, constant dreams, expenses greater than income, perpetual illness.

(8) The going out of a fire suddenly at the time of cooking food.

(9) Decrease in charity, prayers and worship, and increase in sin, portend misfortune.

LIII. — Omens from the Roads.

To lay a road along one's habitation is prohibited.

LIV. — Omens from Movements of the Body.

(1) The trembling of any limb, in a healthy state of the person, is of evil import.

(2) Unusual silence or too much talk, sickly heart and whimsical thoughts, foreshadow coming evil. Also evil dreams; sneezing of a person in front or on the left; a succession of calamities; spitting; a snake, a lizard, a jackal or an ass touching the body; the perching of a crow on the head or the fall of a crow's droppings on the body; the appearance of drops of blood on a cloth when the cause cannot be found out; biting by a dog or cat; burning by fire; cloth being damaged by mice.

LV. — Lucky and Unlucky Stars.

199. Every one has two *rāshis* (stars of fate), i. e., birth *rāshī* and name *rāshī*. If an evil star comes near this *rāshī* at a distance of 4, 8 or 12 stages, the man under its influence has to propitiate it, and considers himself unlucky.

The images or likenesses of stars are not buried.

LVI. — Omens from the Rivers.

200. If the following omens occur to a man crossing a river, he will stop for an hour and then cross it : — Sneezing, tumbling, confronting an ass or a snake going to the right, confronting a bareheaded man or a man bringing wood, a bridegroom going to a marriage, one being asked as to where he is going, appearing to the left or in front of a partridge, a crow, a pheasant, a deer, a jackal or a heron, a widow.

If one comes across some of these omens successively in crossing a river or a road, he returns and does not proceed.

LVII. — Sumptuary Customs.

201. *Kolis*, cobblers, weavers, washermen, barbers, *tārīs* (musicians), ironsmiths, *bharbārs*, and shepherds do not wear gold and gems, nor do they wear shawls, *chugās*, *sarbandū* (dresses), *gulbadan* and *kimkhāb* (silk cloth). In addition to these tribes, the Kanais do not wear gold arm-rings, *barāgar*, *sarshābhā*, *amirash* and diamonds (ornaments), and cloths of *kimkhāb*. But nowadays this custom is being disregarded.

No tribes, except Brāhmins, Rājputs and Baniās can take their food in silver vessels.

There is no custom as regards planting and eating of herbs or plants.

LVIII. — Naming Customs.

202. Some plants have names like those of some of the tribes, but there is no tradition about them worth mentioning.

203. Children ordinarily have two names: birth name and ordinary name. The former is used in performing religious ceremonies, and no one except the priest knows this name. The latter is used in ordinary business and is known to all. An opprobrious name is given to a boy whose elder brother died before his birth, e. g., *Gandū*, *Badū*, etc., in order that he may live. Holes are made in his nose and ears like the women.

204. The above applies both to boys and girls.

205. In ordinary matters, parents swear by their children and *vice versa*. They touch their bodies. In legal matters, a man is made to swear by the god that he believes in. The man who takes an oath in the temple of a god, touches the image of the god, or throws a stone towards the temple, or picks up the money or disputed objects before the god. Some oaths are performed by touching a cow or lifting upon one's head the water of the Ganges.

206. The truth or falsity of a man who takes an ordeal is determined in this way — that if he suffers any loss or injury, then he is considered false; and if he prospers, then he is true. In ancient times cases were tried by making the culprit dive in water, by putting the hand in hot oil, or by giving poison to a goat.

The party who was willing to take an oath was taken to a tank or a *khad* (valley) full of water and was made to dive. If he was true, then he came back to the surface and won the case; otherwise he was considered false and, being pronounced guilty, suffered punishment.

Ten or fifteen seers of oil were boiled in an iron cauldron, and when it was foaming a copper piece was dropped in it. The man ready to take oath was then asked to pick up this piece. If his hand was burnt, he was considered false, and lost the case. If, on the other hand, he received no injury, he won the suit.

A flat piece of iron was made red hot, and the tongue of the swearing person was branded with it. The burning of the tongue showed the falsity of the swearer, while its safety proved him true in his cause.

The parties to a dispute used to bring two goats alike in all respects. The goats were given equal quantities of poison. The party whose goat was affected with poison before the other's was considered to be in the right and won the case.

All these three customs are now out of use in British territories.

207. All quarrels are decided by the oaths stated above.

LX. — Magic and Charms.

208. Magic is practised by magicians only, and there are no witches.

209. This practice is no concern of the priest, nor has he any enmity with the magicians. In some places even the priests act as magicians; and in others, other men do so. In short, any one who learns this science can become a magician.

210. The magician's business is to foretell by means of figures. He always remains at home. He goes to the house of a person who calls him, and there he either makes a charm or dispels one. Generally, the people look upon him with respect.

211. The man who remains dirty and unclean, and does not worship gods, but devotes his whole attention to the worship of evil spirits, and does not take a bath, is taken to be as a magician.

212. The people generally believe that the attendance of a magician means either the calling of ghosts to disclose some secret or to make a person receive some gain or injury.

LXI. — Possession and Exorcism.

213. It is believed that people become possessed of ghosts. In order to cure a possessed person, he is made to inhale the smoke of chillies. If the ghost does not leave him, a Brāhman or a magician is called in, who, according to his own science, makes charms as mentioned above.

214. Possession by a ghost is considered evil. Spirits are generally under the control of low persons, such as Kôls, cobblers, shepherds, ironsmiths, etc., as well as under that of Brāhmans. A ghost imposed by a low person is thought to be unholy, while that by a person of high caste is holy.

LXII. — Dreams.

215. Dreams dreamt in good health and on a clear night can portend good or evil, can tell about the past, and foretell the future.

216. A learned Brāhman is called to interpret a dream, and is told all about it. If the dream seems, according to the rules of the books, evil, the Brāhman makes the man who dreamt it give some charity, but there is no need of charity in the case of a good dream.

217. If a dead person is seen in a dream, and conversation is held with him, then the dream is considered to be one relating to the communication with spirits. Other dreams are good or bad omens.

LXIII. — Spirit Propitiation.

218. To propitiate spirits, Brāhmans are made to recite *panchak shānti* hymns (hymns to propitiate), and alms are given. Brāhmans or magicians make charms and tie them to the necks of the possessed persons.

LXIV. — The Evil Eye.

219. People believe in the effects of the evil eye and are much afraid of it. They consider it worse than magic.

220. Some men have so much power in their eyes, that if anything be eaten in their sight, it is soon vomited. No particular reason given for this is worth mentioning.

221. The effects of the evil eye are done away with by charms, or by performing the business out of the sight of the man suspected to possess it. A portion of something brought from without is put in the house fire. The effect of the evil eye upon an animal is neutralized by throwing some dust over it.

LXV. — Charms.

222. Magicians perform charms upon a person by means of things belonging to that person, or by things that were a portion of his body : —

- (1) Nails or hair cut from his body, or the dust over which he has trodden.
- (2) Driving a nail in a tree bearing the same name as the person intended to be injured, will wound that person.
- (3) Warming the water of a spring of the same name as the victim on a fire, will make him to suffer from heat.
- (4) Making an image of a person and wounding it with a nail in his name.
- (5) Making an image of a person and either burying or burning it.
- (6) Putting the flesh of a corpse, or some pepper or mustard, in the name of the victim, on a sacrificial fire.

All these things are done in order that their effect may fall upon the victim.

223. Special care is taken to destroy nails or hair when cut. Every man has two names, and the reason of this is that the magicians may not know the birth name.

LXVI. — Fortune-telling.

224. A magician or a *jôîshî* (astrologer) foretells and foresees future events.

225. The following are the methods of prophesying and foreseeing : —

- (1) The astrologer has three dice. He throws them and, making estimates by means of the letters of the alphabet, interprets good or evil results.
- (2) The disciple or *ddd*, who is well known as a magician, concentrates his attention for a few minutes, and answers any questions put to him as to the good or bad end of the enquirer.
- (3) Some oil is poured on a plate of white brass, and a lighted lamp is placed on this plate at night. The medium fixes his eyes, for a few minutes, upon this lamp, after which he goes into a trance, and in this state he foretells future events.
- (4) Questions are put to the medium in the evening, and he answers them the next morning. It is supposed that he receives information at night from some god.
- (5) Sometimes the medium takes some oil or *ghî* (purified butter) in his hands and rubs them for a few minutes, and then answers questions. Some interpret answers by making the questioner name any fruit or flower.

Answers to most of the questions about the past or present are correct, but to those about future are very seldom correct. Magicians and charmers belong to the Brâhman, Jôgi, shoemaker, Kôli, minstrel, smith, and Bâdi classes.

LXVII. — Illness is Spirit-caused.

226. Illness is generally attributed to ghosts.

227. If a man is suffering from a disease which cannot be diagnosed by physicians, or if it increases with the use of medicine, or if it abates in the day and increases in the night, then it is thought to be a case of possession, and is referred to a Brâhman or disciple (*ddd*). He throws dice or goes into a trance, and thus tells what sort of spirit is possessing the patient. The patient is treated in the manner suggested by the medium. Generally the medium cures him by adoration and other such means.

Social Restrictions.

LXVIII. — Abstention from Foods.

228. The Hindus abstain from taking the meat of a cow, an ox, a buffalo (male and female), a dog, a cat, an ass, a horse, a mule, a camel, a crow, a jackal, a heron, a peacock, a mouse, a serpent, a lizard, a tortoise, and a sheep. They do not use garlic, onion, turnip, raddish, carrot, and mushroom among the vegetables. But these customs are observed by some of the people and not by all.

229. All persons do not abstain from the use of things already mentioned, but only high caste men and Brāhmins, such as Rājput, Baniās, Sūds, and Bōhrās, do so. Others, such as Kanait, smiths, minstrels, Bāfis, barbers, and goldsmiths, do not care for the above restrictions. All the tribes, except shoemakers, Kōlis, shepherds, and Nigalūs, abstain from the above-mentioned meats, but not necessarily from the vegetables.

230. It is a religious restriction not to take these things.

231. People abstain from these only on account of religious restrictions. Otherwise there is no reason for giving them up.

LXIX. — Tribal Descent.

232. No tribe is considered to have been descended from any plant or animal. However the *pīpal* tree, the banian tree, and the *tālasi* plant are thought to have divine powers.

233. No reasonable explanation can be given of the tribal fables.

LXX. — Customs on Eating, etc.

234. The customs of the people as regards eating, touching, speaking, seeing, and pronouncing names are given below :—

Brāhmins, Rājput, Bōhrās, Baniās, Sūds, and Kshatriyas. — There are some sections who do not take unfried food prepared by any person not belonging to their own section. There is no restriction regarding touching, seeing, speaking, and pronouncing names. They do not drink even water touched by a low Brāhmin, such as the Krishan.

Kanait and other sects neither eat food prepared by a person not belonging to their own sect, nor do they drink water touched by such a man. There is no restriction as regards touch.

235. The restriction of touch is according to caste. For instance, men of high castes do not touch those of low castes. The restrictions of eating and drinking are according to the subdivisions even of the same sect.

236. High-caste people look down upon low-caste men. They hate the men who eat flesh of cows or buffaloes. However, this custom prevails among the low castes only.

LXXI. — Restrictions as to Women.

237. Infants and women cannot enter into temples unless they are purified by means of baths, etc. A woman whose husband is alive is not allowed to worship the god Siva, nor can she worship Bīr Bhairōn or Hanūmān nor Kālī. Widows worship Siva.

238. The father of the husband of a woman has no scruples against using the things of her father, but her father cannot take anything from his son-in-law. He will not even drink water from the village where his daughter is married. But this custom prevails only among those tribes whose marriages are performed according to religious tenets. There is no such restriction for those whose marriages are not thus performed.

239. The reason of the above restrictions seems to be this — that as the father makes a vow to forsake everything that he gives as dower to his daughter, and it is not permissible to appropriate anything that has been once given up, so he does not even take meals at his son-in-law's house; for everything in the house of the latter is affected by the things given by the former. For the same reasons, a *ṣiṣmān* (disciple) of a Brāhman cannot take food in the house of that Brāhman.

LXXII. — Pronouncing Names and Words.

240. The names of elder relatives are not pronounced out of respect for them. The younger relative does not pronounce the name of the elder, but the elder can call the younger by name. For instance, a son does not pronounce the name of his father, mother-in-law, or elder brother, out of regard for them, and considers them more sacred than others.

241. There is no fear of magic or charm. The name is not pronounced only out of respect.

242. Many men do not pronounce, in the course of a conversation, the name of the chief or of a deceased person. The chief is mentioned by his title, and the deceased by his relationship.

243. Words or subjects denoting contempt, licentiousness, drinking, etc., are not spoken in the presence of a chief, or elder, or respectable person.

LXXIII. — Courtesy Titles.

244. The following are the titles used by different castes. An inferior person will call a superior one by his customary title. Men of equal rank can call each other by name: —

Titles of Brāhmins: — Pandit, Jōtishī, Pādḥā, Parōhit, Achāryā, Pandā, Rāi, Bhāt.

Titles of Rājputs: — Rājā, Mahārājā, Rāṇā, Mahārānā, Thākur, Kāṇwar, Miān, Rathī, Rangar, Ravat, Dād, Sartōrā.

Titles of Baniās: — Shāh, Sēth.

Titles of Kanāits: — Mukhiā, Wazīr, Mehtā, Mehr, Nēgi, Palerā.

Other tribes have ordinary titles according to their professions, and they need not be dwelt upon.

An inferior person will address a superior one with the following words: — Panditjī, Jōshijī, Mahārāj, Rājā, Sāhib, Rānā Sāhib, Shāhijī, Mukhiyājī, and so on.

LXXIV. — Agricultural Superstitions.

245. (1) It is prohibited to plough land on the *amāvas* (last day of moon), *ekādashi* (eleventh day of moon), or any other important festival. If at the time of ploughing, a snake be killed by the ploughshare, it is forbidden to go on ploughing without purifying it.

At the time of seed sowing the following matters are regarded as necessary: — (a) That the sower be under the good influence of the moon; (b) That there be no evil *mākshatar* (star), *tithi* (date) or *jōg* (combination of stars); (c) That the day be neither Tuesday nor Saturday.

(2) The following things are regarded as necessary, both at the time of sowing and of harvest : —

The people generally are very careful of *panchak jôg*, Tuesday, Saturday; *amdvās puranmāshi* (full moon) and *shankrānt* at the time of seed sowing and harvesting, but they do not care for evil stars and *jôgs*. If it rains a day or two after seed sowing it is considered ominous. The same is thought of rain at harvest, or of excessive rain at the time of planting a corn-field or one or two days after it, or of rain on the night of *janamāshṭami* or *puranmāshi* in Hâr or *amdvās* in Bhâdôn.

Ordinarily, land is ploughed twice, but good farmers plough it thrice, *i. e.*, first in lines parallel to the length of the field; secondly, crosswise from one corner to the other; and thirdly, also crosswise from the third corner to the fourth. The advantage of this is that the soil which remains unturned by the first ploughing is turned by the second, and thus the whole of the field is uniformly made fit for the crops to grow.

A long post is fixed in the field and a bone, or the skin of some animal, is hoisted on this post as a scare crow. Beasts being afraid of it, do not come near and injure the crops. It is also believed to be a safeguard against ghosts or the evil eye.

246. Feasts are given to the Brâhman at the time of digging a well, or a water-channel, or harvest. When a well or a water-channel is ready, the Brâhman is made to offer prayers, and after this they are used for watering purposes. When the harvest has commenced a big wheaten loaf is brought to the field and distributed among all the men present, or a goat is sacrificed and taken home. When corn is separated from the chaff it is collected in a large heap and worshipped, and a portion of it is set aside for the god. The scrapings are stored in bags or boxes. The people do not use fresh corn without feeding a Brâhman with it. Also some grain is devoted to the deceased ancestors, with which Brâhman are fed. At the end of the year — *i. e.*, at the end of the *kharif* season, when all the crops have been garnered — the people of the village bring their god from his temple with great *éolat* and worship him and sacrifice to him a goat. All the persons accompanying the god and saints and mendicants are fed. Generally this entertainment is given by several villages from the month of Bhâdôn to Mâgh, and is called *bhadrônjâ*, *halan*, *jâgrâ*, *panilâ pehrâ* or *mâghôjî*.

247. Sowing for the *rabi* crops begins in Asôj and ends in Pôh, and that for the *kharif* continues from Chêt to Hâr. The reaping of crops begins in Baisâkh and ends in Hâr for the *rabi*, and that for the *kharif* begins in Asôj and ends in Maghar. Sowing and reaping not done at the proper time is defective, and excess or want of rain on both these occasions is harmful.

248. There are no special gods for special seasons.

249. No tribe has any particular god, nor is caste of any importance in becoming a disciple. People can worship any god they choose.

LXXV. — Food and Drink.

250. A detail is given below of the use, or otherwise, of wine, beef, the flesh of a monkey, pork, cloven-hoofed or unclown-hoofed animals' flesh, fowls, fish with or without scales, shark, snake, mice, and other insects, and food of which another person has been eating.

Ved Pathī Brāhmins or those living in plains, Bhābrās, Banīs, Kshatriyas, and Bairāgi mendicants neither eat nor touch any of these articles.

Brāhmins of the hills, Rājput, Sūds, Bôhrās, Kanāits, goldsmiths, Jats, barbers, gardeners, milkmen, potters, masons, washermen, dyesinkers, carpenters, smiths, Thathērā or Bharērās, minstrels or Tārīs, or Dākīs, and Dhādīs, if Saivas or Śāktaks, eat the flesh of animals and use wine; if Vaishnavas, they do not.

The Saivas use the following : — Wine of all sorts; flesh of goats, either male or female; flesh of male sheep; pork; flesh of wild fowl; fish of every kind. There is no rule for the use or otherwise, of the flesh of animals with cloven or uncloven hoofs. Some men eat the flesh of cloven hoofed animals, and others do not. The same is the case with animals with uncloven hoofs and wild birds. The flesh of the peacock, crow, *kansharādi*, heron, and kite, etc., is not used.

The Chanāls, Kōlis, minstrels, shepherds, sweepers, cobblers, sailors or boatmen, and weavers use beef, the flesh of buffaloes, pork, flesh of cloven-hoofed and uncloven-hoofed animals, except those mentioned above and the flesh of a snake, a jackal, or a mouse.

No tribe eats anything of which a person of another tribe has been eating. Also men of the same tribe do not use food left after eating by another person. If a person of low caste be in the service of a person of high caste, then he can eat the food left by his master. A wife can use the food left by her husband, and children can use food left by their parents or elder brothers.

251. Some men do not take meat in the rains. They do not use cold things in winter, and warm things in summer.

252. It is forbidden by religion to take meat in the rains. In other seasons some things are not used in order to preserve health.

253. Widows and small children do not use meat. There is no difference between men and women, minors and adults, poor and rich, in taking or rejecting other foods.

254. None but the Chanāls and low castes use the flesh of monkeys, elephants, cows, oxen, herons, etc., for they are regarded as belonging to the gods.

LXXVI. — Dining Customs.

255. Among the Hindus none but Kayasthās eat together. Every adult person eats on a separate table. Minor boys and girls can take food with their parents, but only as long as they are six or seven years old.

256. Men and women do not eat together among the Hindus.

257. After the food is ready, a little of everything cooked is set apart for the god, and some of it is consigned to the fire of the hearth. Then it is laid before all the men. Every man puts aside, from his own plate, some portion for a cow, and a little is given to the crows and dogs. Some is put in the fire, and the rest is eaten.

258. There is no peculiarity concerning eating and drinking, except that it is an ancient custom.

LXXVII. — Stimulants and Medicines.

259. Stimulants and medicines are indifferently used. Some men do not use medicines prepared by a doctor who is of a low caste. Medicines, containing anything the use of which is prohibited by religion, are not used. No particular custom deserves mention.

260. People use wine at the time of the Holi or on any other happy occasion.

261. Wine is often used as a preventive of epidemics, like cholera, etc.

262. Drinking and use of other stimulants is regarded in the following manner by people : —

(1) Excessive drinking is badly thought of, if it produces lowness of spirits and brain fever. If it is used in small quantities, so as not to bring on excitement, or not to retard the ordinary course of business, then it is considered no harm to drink.

(2) The use of *charas* and *ganja* (intoxicating hemp drugs) is considered wicked.

(3) Use of opium to prevent some bodily disease or infirmity is not thought badly of, but otherwise it is looked down upon.

(4) To smoke *chandu* (a hemp drug) is considered wrong

(5) The use of *bhang* (a light hemp drug) in summer as a cooling draught is thought good.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE SEASONS OF GIRDHAR SADHU.

By the Poetess Sanvri Sakhi.

Text	Translation.
Girdhar, banai bajt ; Shām, terī āwāz sunkar main daurī. Rimjhim rimjhim mehā barseh pat : Jamnā par lagi jharī.	Girdhar, thy lute sounded ; Shām, hearing the sound I hastened to thee Heavily, heavily fell the rain : I hastened to the Jamnā
I.	I.
Pahlā mahinā Asārh lagiyā ; merā dil ho rahā bhorangi Pandit, joshi, sabhī bājh hie ; bājh liyā ramtā jogi. Girdhar, banai bajt, &c.	The first month June has come ; my heart is in a turmoil Priests, astrologers, all have I consulted ; I have consulted the wandering jogi. Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.
II.	II.
Dūsarā mahinā Sāwan lagiyā ; haryālī ho rahī jangal meñ. Dam dam par yād karūñ ; thī jhurwat apne mahlāñ meñ. Girdhar, banai bajt, &c.	The second month July has come ; the grass is green in the woodlands. Every moment I recall them ; there was suffering in my palace. Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.
III.	III.
Bhādon mahinā it ghan-garje, shamak tarīñ chhatyāñ larzē. Wā, Man Mohan, kashorī mere dil kī, dard kol nahīñ bājhe. Girdhar, banai bajt, &c.	In the third month August the clouds thunder, and the lightning falls and the heart grieves. Alas, Man Mohan, fascinator of my heart, no one considers my pain. Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

IV.

Asoj aśā lagī rahī, Sakhi rī; ājhā nā āye Har
Khrishṇā.

Tulsi ki māḷā leke hāth meñ, Rām Rām ratnā
ratnā.

Girdhar, bansī bajī, &c.

V.

Kātik karm-bhāg mere chūke nahīn mile Nand ke
lālā.

Mukaṭ ki lataḥ mere man bas gai; rī Mohan-
mālā!

Girdhar, bansī bajī, &c.

VI.

Manghur māng bhari naksak se, sab zēwar merā
sone kā.

Ajhūn na &c. Kin barmāe? Barā andēshā hai
pī ka.

Girdhar, bansī bajī, &c.

VII.

Poh piyā mad māti dolen, jūn Sāwan kī hai
bijli.

Palpal bars parā; pal bite; jūn bite, jūn jān
sahāye.

Girdhar, bansī bajī, &c.

VIII.

Moh mahinā man merā atkā: Har darshan kī hūn
piyāsi.

Airūt apnā sir morī; ajhūn na &c Birj-bāsi.

Girdhar, bansī bajī, &c.

IX.

Phāgan phāg khel Man Mohan: 'abir, gulāl, uḍe
rolī;

Kāsar rang kī kich bahī hai; lipaṭ jhapat khelen
Holī.

Girdhar, bansī bajī, &c.

X.

Chet mahinā at mohe chintā lagī; bhāl ghar nā
sūjhe.

Prān pati piyāre, Man Mohan, bilā darshan koī
na pūchhe.

Girdhar, bansī bajī, &c.

XI.

Baisākh mahinā sab sakhi milkar, Dewal pūjan
men jāti.

Shām mile to sab dukh bichhen, sital ho merī
chhāti.

Girdhar, bansī bajī, &c.

XII.

Jeth mahinā tapen deotā bich Puhār Kushāvartī.
Sānvri Sakhi par kirpā kijō; ān milen Mathrā-
bāsi.

Girdhar, bansī bajī, &c.

IV.

September has commenced, O Sakhi; Har
Khrishṇa has not yet come.

I take my *tulsi* garland in my hand to repeat the
name of Rām again and again.

Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

V.

In October my heart grieves that I have not met
the son of Nand.

The brilliancy of his crown has filled my heart;
oh the Mohan necklace!

Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

VI.

In November I have braided my hair, and put on
all my golden jewels.

Yet he comes not. Who has deceived him?
Great is the anxiety in my heart.

Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

VII.

In December my love is filled with pride, like the
lightning of July.

The separation of a year has passed; I suffer the
separation; as I suffer, so my life passes.

Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

VIII.

In January my heart is in love: I am athirst
for a sight of Har.

The spring is set; yet the dweller in Brij comes
not.

Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

IX.

In February Man Mohan has come to play: *abir*,¹
*gulāl*² and *rolī*³ are used;

Saffron has fallen lavishly; leaping and dancing
they play at the Holī.

Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

X.

In March my heart is grieved; pleasure comes
not to my house.

The master of my life, Man Mohan, has not
asked to see me.

Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

XI.

In April all my companions go together to the
Dīwālī festival.

If I meet Shām, all my trouble is eased and peace
enters my breast.

Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

XII.

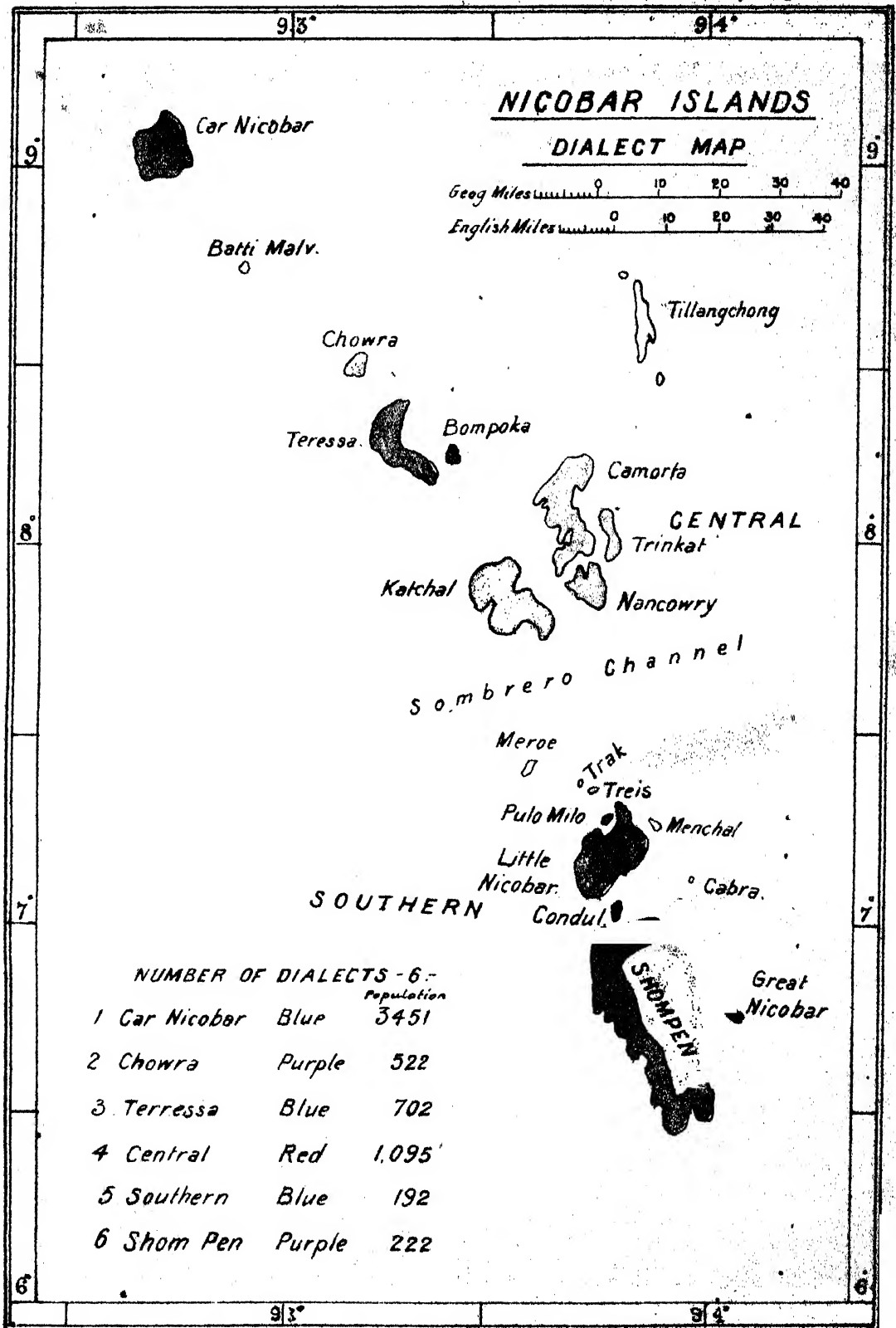
In May the gods do penance on Kushāvartī Hill,
Do Sānvri Sakhi a favour that she may meet the
dweller in Mathrā.

Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

¹ The red powder thrown by the people on one another at the Holī.

² A mixture of rice, turmeric and alum with acid used to paint the forehead.

³ Saffron-ambergris.



A PLAN FOR A UNIFORM SCIENTIFIC RECORD OF THE LANGUAGES OF SAVAGES.

Applied to the Languages of the Andamanese and Nicobarese.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 251.)

III.²⁵

THE THEORY OF UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR APPLIED TO THE NICOBARESE LANGUAGE.

Prefatory Remarks.

THE Nicobarese speak one Language in six Dialects so different as to be mutually unintelligible to the ear. These six Dialects are, from North to South, Car Nicobar, Chowra, Teressa, Central, Southern, and Shom Pen (*vide* Map attached).

The chief place of European residence has always been Nancowry Harbour, where the Central Dialect is spoken and hence that Dialect is by very far the best known. Therefore, except where otherwise specially stated, all examples and all vernacular words quoted are taken from that Dialect. Diacritical marks have not been used, except where unavoidable.

The works of Prof. Kuhn, Grünwedel, Vaughan Stevens, and Pater W. Schmidt were not available to me while writing this Grammar.

I. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

a. — History of the Study.

The Nicobarese Language in the Central Dialect has been long since studied. Vocabularies, collections of sentences, and partial Grammars of this Dialect have been made at intervals by various missionaries and others from 1711 onwards — the two Jesuit Fathers Faure and Bonnet in 1711; Surgeon Fontana of the Austrian vessel *Josef und Theresia* in 1778 (published 1795); G. Hamilton in 1801; the Danish missionary Rosen in 1831-4; Fathers Chabod and Plaisant (in Teressa) in 1845; Fathers Barbe and Lacrampe in 1846; Dr. Rink in the Danish vessel *Galathea* in 1846; the Austrian *Novara* Expedition in 1857 (published in 1862), with additions by de Roepstorff and others under Colonel H. Man; Maurer in 1867; Mr. A. C. Man in 1869; comparative statement by V. Ball of all information up to 1869; Mr. E. H. Man in 1871 onwards; F. A. de Roepstorff in 1876 onwards; Dr. Svoboda of the Austrian *Aurora* Expedition, 1886 (published 1892).

Ten Vocabularies and a translation into the Central Dialect of 27 Chapters of the Gospel of St. Matthew were made by the Danish Moravian missionaries (Herrnhuter) in 1768-87. These are still preserved in manuscript at Herrnhut, and were partially embodied in de Roepstorff's posthumous *Dictionary of the Nancowry (Central) Dialect*, 1884; a capital book with valuable appendices, requiring, however, retransliteration for English readers.

b. — Man's Enquiries into the Central Dialect.

But the latest and best attempt to reproduce this Dialect is Mr. E. H. Man's *Dictionary of the Central Nicobarese Language*, 1889. This contains also a brief and valuable attempt at the Grammar and a Comparative Vocabulary of all the Dialects. The system of transcription adopted is the very competent one of the late Mr. A. J. Ellis. Mr. Man had the advantage of all the labours of his predecessors, together with a much longer residence in the islands than any of them and better means of locomotion. To these he has added the accuracy and care which distinguish all his work. In this Article, therefore, his book has been followed for the facts of the language and the forms of its words, and all the examples given in it are culled from the great number of sentences he has recorded. For the mode of presentation I am, however, responsible, as Mr. Man attempted in his *Grammar* to explain the language exclusively from the current English view of Grammar, rather than to present its character as a scientific study.

The other Dialects only find a place in Mr. Man's studies and are still but little known, no one with sufficient scholarly equipment or inclination having ever resided on any of the islands for the time necessary to study them to the extent that has been possible at Nancowry.

²⁵ Largely reprinted, with additions and many corrections from Chapter IV, Part II, of the *Census Report*, India, 1901, Vol. III.

c.—Philological Value.

The Nicobarese speak one language, whose affinities are with the Indo-Chinese Languages, as represented nowadays by the Mon Language of Pegu and Annam and the Khmer Language of Cambodia amongst civilised peoples and by a number of uncivilised tribes in the Malay Peninsula and Indo-China. It has affinities also with the speech of the tribes in the Peninsula, who are generally classed as "wild Malays" (Orang-utan and Orang-bukit), so far as that speech has come under the old influence of the Indo-Chinese Languages. The Nicobarese language is thus of considerable value philologically, as preserving, on account of isolation and small admixture with foreign tongues for many centuries, the probable true basis for the philology of the Languages of the Indo-Chinese Family.

d.—Dialects.

The language is spoken by 6,300 people in six Dialects, which have now become so differentiated in details as to be mutually unintelligible, and to be practically, so far as actual colloquial speech is concerned, six different languages. These dialects are limited in range by the islands in which they are spoken —

1. Car Nicobar (population 3,451).
2. Chowra (population 522).
3. Teressa with Bompoka (population 702).
4. Central — Camorta, Nancowry, Trinkut, Katchal (population 1,095).
5. Southern — Great Nicobar Coasts and Kondul, Little Nicobar and Pulo Milo (population 192).
6. Shom Peñ — inland tribe of Great Nicobar (population 348).

e.—Mutual Unintelligibility.

Although it can be proved that the Nicobarese Language is fundamentally one tongue, yet the hopeless unintelligibility of the dialect of one Island to the ear of the people of another may be shown by the following example:—

Car Nicobar.

om *paikūa* *dra* *chian* *kā* *tārik*
doꞤ afraid not I eat man

Central.

wòt *mēn* *pahōa* *chit* *okngók* *ten* *paiyāh*
don't you afraid I-not eat to man

Sense of Both.

Don't be afraid ! I don't eat men ! (I am not a cannibal).

f.—Foreign Influence.

In spite of the aptitude of the people for picking up such foreign tongues as they hear spoken, quite a few foreign words have been adopted into their speech. Examples are—

From Portuguese.

ENGLISH.	NICOBARESE.	ENGLISH.	NICOBARESE.
boot	shapāta	crack	pīpa
book, paper	lūbare	elephant	lifānta
hat	shapēo	rupee	rupīa
copper money	Sānta Mariā	shaman, sorcerer	pater
"God"	Dōuse, Rēos		

From Hindustani.

salt shal, sal

From Malay.

cup	mòngko	an evil spirit	iwipòt ²⁶
buffalo	kapo	fowl	haiyam
cat	koching		

²⁶ The *iwī* are spirits of the departed ghosts, one of which is *iwī-pòt*, *pòt* being the Sanskrit *bhūta* through some Indo-Chinese form.

Only a century ago Portuguese was the trade language of the islands, with a sprinkling of Danish, German, and English. Malay and Chinese were both so before the Portuguese day, and now English, Burmese, and Hindustani are well understood. Indeed, the nature of the trade at any given island can be tested by the foreign languages best understood there. *E. g.*, on Car Nicobar, Burmese is best understood, and then English and Hindustani: Malay and the other Nicobarese dialects not much. On Chowra, Hindustani, Tamil, Malay, and English are spoken to a limited extent, and there is a trading knowledge of the other Nicobarese dialects, except Shom Pen. On Teressa, Malay, Burmese, and English are the languages, with the dialects of Chowra and the Central Group. In the Central Group they talk Hindustani, Malay, English, Chinese, and a little Burmese, with the dialects of the South and Teressa. In the Southern Group they talk Malay, Hindustani, Chinese, and English, with the Central Dialect.

The women know only their own dialect, and are dumb before all strangers. And here, as elsewhere among polyglot peoples, natives of different islands sometimes have to converse in a mutually known foreign tongue (*e. g.*, Hindustani, Burmese, Malay, or English), when unable to comprehend each other's dialects.

g. — Effect of Tabu on the Language.

There is a custom of tabu, which in the Nicobars, as elsewhere when it is in vogue, has seriously affected the language at different places, at least temporarily. Any person may adopt any word, however essential and common, in the language as his or her personal name, and when he or she dies it is tabued for a generation, for fear of summoning the ghost. In the interval a synonym has to be adopted and sometimes sticks, but that this is not very often the case is shown by a comparison of the Vocabularies published or made in 1711, 1787, 1876, and 1889, which prove that the language possesses a stability that is remarkable in the circumstances of its being unwritten and therefore purely colloquial, spoken by communities with few opportunities of meeting, and subject to the changing action of tabu.

h. — Method of Speech.

The Nicobarese speech is slurred and indistinct, but there is no abnormal dependence on tone accent, or gesture to make the meaning clear. The dialects are, as might be expected, rich in specialised words for actions and concrete ideas, but poor in generic and abstract terms.

i. — A Highly Developed Analytical Language.

Nicobarese is a very highly developed Analytical Language, with a strong resemblance in grammatical structure to English. It bears every sign of a very long continuous growth, both of syntax and etymology, and is clearly the outcome of a strong intelligence constantly applied to its development. Considering that it is unwritten and but little affected by foreign tongues, and so has not had extraneous assistance in its growth, it is a remarkable product of the human mind. There is no difference in the development of the different dialects. That of the wild Shom Pen is as "advanced" in its structure as the speech of the trading Car Nicobarese.

j. — Nature of Growth.

The growth of the language has been so complicated, and so many principles of speech have been partially adopted in building it up, that nothing is readily discoverable regarding it. The subject and predicate are not at once perceptible to the grammarian, nor are principal and subordinate sentences. The sentences, too, cannot at once be analysed correctly, nor can the roots of the words without great care be separated from the overgrowth. Neither syntax nor etymology are easy, and correct speech is very far from being easily attained.

k. — Order of the Words.

Grammatically the point to bear in mind is the order of the words, which is practically the English order, especially as functional inflexion is absent to help the speaker to intelligibility, and there is nothing in the form of the words to show their class, whether nouns, verbs, adjectives, and so on. Prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliaries, adverbs, and the "particles" of speech are freely used, and so are elliptical sentences. Compound words and phrases, consisting of two or more words just thrown together and used as one word are unusually common, and the languages show their Far Eastern proclivities by an extended use of "numeral co-efficients."

1. — Difficult Etymology.

The great difficulty in the language lies in the etymology. Words are built up of roots and stems, to which are added prefixes, infixes, and suffixes, both to mark the classes of connected words and to differentiate connected words when of the same class, i. e., to show which of two connected words is a verb and which a noun, and to mark the difference in the sense of two connected nouns, and so on. But this differentiation is always hazily defined by the forms thus arrived at, and the presence of a particular classifying affix does not necessarily define the class to which the word belongs. So also the special differentiating affixes do not always mark differentiation.

Again the affixes are attached by mere agglutination, in forms which have undergone phonic change, and by actual inflexion. Their presence, too, not unfrequently causes phonic change in, and inflexion of, the roots or stems themselves.

The chief peculiarity of the language lies in a series of "suffixes of direction," indicating the direction (North, South, East, West, above, down, below, or at the landing-place) in which action, condition, or movement takes place. But even suffixes so highly specialised as these are not by any means only attached to words, the sense of which they can and do affect in this way.

It is just possible that "North = up there: South = down there: West = below: East = in towards" have reference to the original migrations of the people, because the general direction of a migration, still in steady progress, of half-civilised tribes of considerable mental development on the Northern Burmese frontiers is North to South regularly. But this point would require proof.

It is thus that only by a deep and prolonged study of the language, one can learn to recognise a root, or to perceive the sense or use of an affix, and only by a prolonged practice could one hope to speak or understand it correctly in all its phases. Nicobarese is, in this sense, indeed a difficult language.

m. — Specimens of the Speech.

The following sample sentences in the Central Dialect will sufficiently exhibit the manner of Nicobarese speech.

The abbreviation c. i. r. = connector of intimate relation, a point to be explained later on. By translating it "in respect of" the sense of the Nicobarese sentences in which it occurs becomes clear.

Sample Sentences in the Central Dialect.

1.

ane inôat lamang ten chûa
that knife belong to I
(that knife belongs to me).

2.

inôat ta shong ôi
knife c. i. r. sharp is
(the knife is sharp).

3.

ânre ane nōang shaneñ kwòmhata ten chûa
both that thing spear give to I
(give me both those spears).

4.

iteak poatôre kâmheng en an
sleep always noon c. i. r. he
(he is always asleep at noon: the Nicobarese idiom is however really "noon (is) always asleep for him").

5.

an chûh harra halau lôe kân de
he go see buy cloth wife own
(he has gone to see about buying cloth for his wife).

6.

lêdt etchai—chakâ-lêbare chûa oal kaiyi de
did greet—face—paper (read aloud) I in road own
(I read it aloud while I was travelling).

7.

etchai—chaka—lêbare chûa tanang ta an
read—aloud I arrived c. i. r. he
(he arrived while I was reading aloud).

8.

harra ta chûa de ta fînowa tai
see c. i. r. elder-brother own c. i. r. beat by
chta an kanyûm leât chim
father his child did cry
(his child cried on seeing its elder brother beaten by its father).

9.

chûa fînowa tai an ta ông ôlhaki
I beat by he c. i. r. past-of-today morning
(I was beaten by him this morning).

10.

paltshe shi lôe ôi ta ofê
some old cloth has c. i. r. they (more than two)
(they have some old cloth).

11.

katom? guang kamutoka kakat ta wahe
how-many? persons dancers present c. i. r. last-night
(how many dancers were there last night?)

12.

an hat kôan men
he not child you
(he is not your child).

13.

oal koptêp men ta ngong
in box you c. i. r. nothing
(there is nothing in your box).

14.

ane kanyûl halau men lêngto-ten chi?
that coat buy you from who?
(from whom did you buy that coat?)

15.

chûa ôhldkngatô an kâtô ta nî shûa
I permit he live c. i. r. hut I
(I let him live in my hut).

16.

chûa lêap kitchal
I can swim
(I can swim).

17.

linheû chit lêap okngôk taina tû
to-day I-not can eat because sick
(I cannot eat to-day because I am sick).

n. — Bibliography.

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II. — GRAMMAR.

a. — The Theory of Universal Grammar.

I will now proceed to discuss the Nicobarese Language on the lines of the Theory of Universal Grammar already explained, using the Central Dialect for the purpose, and avoiding diacritical marks, except where necessary to the context. The familiar grammatical terms will be inserted in brackets beside the novel ones used, whenever necessary, in order to make statements clear in a familiar manner.

b. — Example of Sentences of One Word.

The Nicobarese, like all other peoples, can express a complete meaning or sentence by an integer or single word, or by a phrase representing a single word: but they do not use this form of speech to excess. Thus:

ENGLISH.	CENTRAL DIALECT.	ENGLISH.	CENTRAL DIALECT.
oh (astonishment)	weē, oyakarē	lor	tochangtō
alas	aiyakarē	there (annoyance)	hah-ā-a
oh (pain)	arē	what a pity	lōh
dear me (compassion)	ōh	go on (encouragement)	shial
ah (dislike)	shesh	there's no saying	ānyapa
ugh (disgust)	huñh-huñh-huñh	who knows	ahyachū
hush	āh-āh-āh	what's that?	kashī?
tut (rebuke)	en-en-en-en	thingummy (doubt)	chinda
pooh	hāsh	thingembob (doubt)	chūānda
hurrah, bravo	hū-ha-a		

c. — Subject and Predicate.

Nicobarese sentences, when of more than one word, are usually, but not always, clearly divided into subject and predicate, as can be seen from an examination of the sample sentences above given. Thus:

P = predicate: S = subject. The numbers below refer to the sample sentences.

(1) ane (S) inoat (S) lamang (P) ten (P) chua (P).

(2) inoat (S) ta (S) shong (S) ot (P).

(3) anre (P) ane (P) noang (P) shanen (P) kwomhata (P) ten (P) chua (P)
(S not expressed).

(5) an (S) chuh (P) harra (P) halau (P) loe (P) kan (P) de (P).

(6) leat (P) etchai-chaka-lebare (P phrase) chua (S) oal (P) kaiyi (P) de (P).

(7) etchai-chaka-lebare (P phrase) chua (S) tanang (P) ta (P) an (P).

(8) harra-ta-chau-de-ta-finowa-tai-chia (S phrase) an (S) kenyum (S) leat (P)
chim (P). (Here "harra — etc. — chia" is a phrase, "see (ing) elder-brother
beaten by father," in the subject part of the sentence).

(9) chua (S) finowa (P) tai (P) an (P) ta (P) ong (P) olhaki (P).

- (10) *paitshé* (S) *shi* (S) *loe* (S) *ot* (P) *ta* (P) *ofe* (P).
 (11) *katom* (S) *yuang* (S) *kamatoka* (S) *kakat* (P) *ta* (P) *wahe* (P).
 (12) *an* (S) *hat* (P) *koan* (P) *men* (P).
 (14) *ane* (P) *kanyut* (P) *halau* (P) *nuen* (S) *longtoten* (P) *chi* (P).
 (15) *chua* (S) *oklakngato* (P) *an* (P) *kato* (P) *ta* (P) *ni* (P) *chua* (P).
 (16) *chua* (S) *leap* (P) *kichal* (P).
 (17) *linhen* (P) *ohit* (S) *leap* (P) *okngok* (P) *taina* (S) *tu* (P).

Two of the sample sentences present a peculiarity in expressing Subject and Predicate.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|
| (4) | <i>iteak</i> | <i>poathre</i> | <i>kámheng</i> | <i>en</i> | <i>an</i> |
| | asleep | always | noon | c. i. r. | he |

This can be properly and directly translated, "he is always asleep at noon"; but the Nicobarese idiom runs in English, "noon is always asleep for him," the predicator (verb) "is" being unexpressed. So that the sentence is properly divided thus—*iteak* (P) *poatore* (P) *kamheng* (S) *en* (P) *an* (P).

- | | | | | | |
|------|------------|---------------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| (18) | <i>oal</i> | <i>hoptēp</i> | <i>meñ</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>ngong</i> |
| | in | box | you | c. i. r | nothing |

Here we have both Subject and Predicate in an elliptical form, and in English, though translatable at once as "there is nothing in your box," the sentence really runs "(the contents, not expressed) in your box (are, not expressed) as nothing." So that neither the subject nor the Predicator (verb) are expressed, but we have instead merely a phrase explaining the subject placed in apposition to another phrase illustrating the predicate. The sentence, in fact, as it stands, consists of an explicator (adjective) phrase, placed in apposition to an illustrator (adverb) phrase; and is divided elliptically thus—*oal-hoptep-men* (S) *ta-ngong* (P).

d.—Principal and Subordinate Words.

The words in the sample sentences are also clearly, but not readily, divisible into principal and subordinate. Thus:

- (1) *ane* (sub.) *inoat* (prin.) in the subject: *lamang* (prin.) *ten-chua* (sub.) in the predicate.
- (2) *inoat* (prin.) *ta-shong* (sub.) in the subject.
- (3) all the words are sub. to *kwomhata* in the predicate.
- (4) *iteak poatore en-an* are all sub. to a predicator (verb) unexpressed.
- (5) *loe kan de* are all sub. to *chuh-harra-hilau* (prin.) in the predicate.
- (6) *leat* (sub.) *etthai-chaka-lebare* (prin.) *oal-kaiyi* (sub.)
- (7) here are two separate sentences—the first has one word in each part, and in the second *ta* and *an* are sub. to *tanang* in the predicate. In full analysis the first sentence is an illustrator (adverb) phrase illustrating the predicator (verb) in the second.
- (8) in the subjective part *harra-ta-chau-de-ta-finowa-tai-chia* and *an* are sub. to *kenyum* and so is *leat* to *chim* in the predicate.
- (9) all the words in the predicate are sub. to a predicator (verb) unexpressed.
- (10) *paitshé* and *shi* are sub. to *loe* in the subject and *ta-ofe* to *ot* in the predicate.
- (11) *katom-yuang* are sub. to *kamatoka* in the subject and *ta-wahe* to *kakat* in the predicate.
- (12) all the words in the predicate are sub. to a predicator (verb) unexpressed.
- (13) in this sentence *oal-hoptep-men* are sub. to an indicator (noun) unexpressed in the subject and *ta-ngong* to a predicator (verb) unexpressed in the predicate. The whole of the words actually expressed are thus subordinate.
- (14) all the words in the predicate are sub. to *halau*.
- (15) all the words in the predicate are sub. to *oklakngato*.
- (16) *leap* is sub. to *kichal* in the predicate.
- (17) here again are two sentences joined by *taina*, because. In the first *linhen* and *leap* are sub. to *okngok* in the predicate. In the second *taina* is sub. to *chua* (I) unexpressed in the subject, and *tu* to a predicator verb unexpressed in the predicate.

e. — Functions of Words.

The next stage in analysis is to examine the functions of the words used in the sample sentences, and for this purpose the following abbreviations will be used :—

Abbreviations Used.

int	integer.	intd	introducer.
in	indicator.	r. c.	referent conjunctive.
e	explicator.	r. s.	referent substituta.
p	predicator.	c. in	complementary indicator.
ill	illustrator.	c. e.	complementary explicator.
c	connector.	c. ill	complementary illustrator.

The sample sentences can then be further analysed thus—

- (1) *ane* (e) *inoat* (in) *lamang* (p) *ten* (c) *chua* (r. s. as c. in).
- (2) *inoat* (in) *ta* (c) — *shong* (e., the whole an e. phrase) *ot* (p).
- (3) *anre* (c. e.) *ane* (c. e.) *noang* (c. e.) *shanen* (c. in) *koomhata* (p) *ten* (c) — *chua* (r. s. as in., the whole an ill. phrase).
- (4) *iteak* (e) *poatore* (ill) *kamheng* (in) *en* (e) *an* (r. s. as in): *iteak-poatore-en-an* from an ill. phrase).
- (5) *an* (r. s. as in) *chuh* (p) — *harra* (p) — *halau* (p., the whole a p. phrase) *los* (c. in) *kan* (in) — *de* (e., the whole an e. phrase).
- (6) *leat* (p) — *etchai* (p) — *chaka* (c. in) — *lebare* (c. in., the whole a p. phrase) *chua* (r. s. as in) *oal* (c) — *kaiyi* (in) — *de* (e., the whole an e. phrase).
- (7) *etchai* (p) — *chaka* (c. in) — *lebare* (c. in) — *chua* (r. s. as in., the whole an ill. phrase) *tanang* (p) *ta* (ill) *an* (r. s. as in).
- (8) *harra* (p) — *ta* (c) — *chau* (c. in) — *de* (c. e.) — *ta* (c) — *finowa* (e.) — *tat* (c) *chia* (in., the whole an e. clause) *an* (e) *kenyum* (in) *leat* (p) — *chim* (p., the whole a p. phrase).
- (9) *chua* (r. s. as in) *finowa* (e) — *tai* (c) — *an* (r. s. as in., the whole an e. phrase) *ta* (c) — *ong* (e) — *olhaki* (in., the whole an ill. phrase).
- (10) *paithe* (e) *shi* (e) *loe* (in) *ot* (p) *ta* (c) — *ofe* (r. s. as in., the whole an ill. phrase).
- (11) *katom* (e) — *juang* (e., the whole an e. phrase) *kamatoka* (in) *kakat* (p) *at* (c) — *wake* (in., the whole an ill. phrase).
- (12) *an* (r. s. as in) *kat* (e) *koan* (c. in) *men* (e).
- (13) *oal* (c) — *hoptep* (in) — *men* (r. s. as e., the whole an e. phrase of subject unexpressed) *ta* (c) — *ngong* (in., the whole an ill. phrase 'of predicate unexpressed).
- (14) *ane* (c. in) *kanyut* (c. in) *halau* (p) *men* (r. s. as in) *lengioten* (c) — *chi* (r. s., the whole an ill. phrase).
- (15) *chua* (r. s. as in) *oklakngato* (p) *an* (r. s. as in) — *kato* (p., the whole c. in phrase) *ta* (c) — *ni* (in) — *chua* (r. s. as e., the whole an ill. phrase).
- (16) *chua* (r. s. as in) *leap* (p) — *kichal* (p., the whole a p. phrase).
- (17) *linhen* (ill.) *chit* (r. s. as in) *leap* (p) — *okngok* (p., the whole a p. phrase) *taina* (r. c.) *tu* (e).

f. — Purpose of Sentence Indicated by the Position of the Components.

It will be seen that the purposes of the sentences thus analysed are as under —

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| (1) Affirmation — Nos. 1, 2, 15, 16, 17. | (4) Exhortation — No. 3. |
| (2) Denial — Nos. 12, 13. | (5) Information — Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, |
| (3) Interrogation — Nos. 11, 14. | 9, 10. |

The sample sentences cover, therefore, the whole range of all speech as regards purpose, and analysis shows that the Nicobarese rely on the position of the words in the sentence to indicate its purpose, that no special order is observed for differentiating any particular purpose, and that the position of the words is in their language of the greatest importance for the intelligibility of the sentences. That is, Nicobarese is a language that indicates purpose mainly by the position of the components of the sentences.

g. — Order of the Words in the Sentences.

Another analysis of the sample sentences will, therefore, now be made to show what the order of the words in Nicobarese sentences is.

I.

Subject precedes predicate, but for emphasis can follow it :

Preceding :

- (1) *ane-inoat* (S) *lamang-ten-chua* (P)
and so always, except
- (6) *leat-etchai-chaka-lebare* (P) *chua-oat-keiyi-de* (S).
- (7) *etchai-chaka-lebare* (P) *chua* (S) *tanang-ta-an* (P)

II.

Subject, predicate, complement (object).

- (1) *ane-inoat* (S) *lamang* (P) *ten-chua* (C).

But the order is reversed for emphasis.

- (3) *anre-ane-noang-shanen* (C) *kwomhata-ten-chua* (P., S. unexpressed).
- (14) *ane-kanyut* (C) *halau* (P) *men* (S) *longtoten-chi?* (P).

III.

Explicator (adjective) precedes indicator (noun); or follows it, usually with a connector (preposition), but also without a connector. Thus :

(a) Preceding indicator (noun) :

- (1) *ane* (e) *inoat* (in) *lamang ten chua*.
- (3) *anre* (e) *ane* (e) *noang* (e) *shanen* (in) *kwomhata ten chua*.
- (4) *iteak* (e) *poatore* (ill.) *kamheng* (in) *en an*.
- (5) *paishe* (e) *shi* (e) *loe* (in) *ot ta ofe*.

(b) Following indicator (noun) with connector :

- (2) *inoat* (in) *ta* (c) *shong* (e) *ot*.

(c) Following indicator without connector :

- (5) *an chuh harra halau loe kan* (in) *de* (e).
- (9) *chua* (in) *finowa* (e) *tai an ta ong olhaki*.
- (12) *an* (in) *hat* (e) *koan* (in) *men* (e).
- (13) *oal hoptep* (in) *men* (e) *ta ngong*.

(d) Following indicator (noun) with and without connector :

- (8) *harra ta chau* (in) *de* (e. without c.) *ta* (c) *finowa* (e) *tai chia an kenyum leat chim*.

IV.

Illustrators (adverbs) usually follow, but sometimes precede, predicates (verbs).

(a) Follow :

- (3) *anre ane noang shanen kwomhata* (p) *ten-chua* (ill. phrase).
- (5) *an chuh-harra-halau* (p) *loe kan-de* (ill. phrase).
- (7) *etchai-chaka-lebare-chua* (ill. phrase) *tanang-ta-an* (p. phrase).
- (10) *paishe shi loe ot* (p) *ta-ofe* (ill. phrase).
- (11) *katom yuang kamatoka kalcit* (p) *ta-waho* (ill. phrase).
- (14) *ane kanyut halau* (p) *men longtoten-chi* (ill. phrase).

(b) Precede :

- (17) *linhen* (ill.) *chit leap-lingok* (p.)

But illustrators (adverbs) follow explicators (adjectives).

- (4) *iteak* (e) *poatore* (ill.) *kamheng en an*.
- (9) *chua-finowa-tai-an* (e. phrase) *ta-ong-olhaki* (ill. phrase).
- (13) *oal-hoptep-men* (e. phrase) *ta-ngong* (ill. phrase).

V.

Connectors (prepositions) precede the words they connect with preceding words:

(a) Connecting predicator (verb) with complement (object):

- (1) *ane inoat lamang* (p) *ten* (c) *chua* (C).
 (3) *anre ane noang shanen kwomhata* (p) *ten* (c) *chua* (C).
 (8) *harra* (p) *ta* (c) *chau* (C) *de ta finowa tai chia an kenyum leat chim*.

(b) Connecting predicator (verb) with illustrator (adverb):

- (4) *iteak poatore kamheng en* (c) *an* (r. s. for ill. phrase). (p. unexpressed).
 (9) *chua finowa tai an ta* (c) *ong-olhaki* (ill. phrase).
 (10) *paishe hi loe ot* (p) *ta* (c) *ofe* (r. s. for ill. phrase).
 (11) *katom yuang kamatoka kakat* (p) *ta* (c) *wahe* (ill).
 (13) *oal hoptep-men ta* (c) *ngong* (in. as an ill. phrase): (here ill. is connected with p. unexpressed).
 (14) *an kanyut halau* (p) *men longtoten* (c) *chi* (r. s. for ill. phrase).
 (15) *chua oklakngato an kato* (p) *ta* (c) *ni-chua* (ill. phrase).

(c) Connecting indicator (noun) with explicator (adjective):

- (2) *inoat* (in) *ta* (c) *shong* (e) *ot*.
 (6) *leat-etohai-chaka-lebare chua* (in) *oal* (c) *kaiyi-de* (e. phrase).
 (8) *harra ta chau-de* (in) *ta* (c) *finowa* (e) *tai chia an kenyum leat chim*.
 (15) *oal* (c) *hoptep-men* (e. phrase connected with in. unexpressed) *ta ngong*.

(d) Connecting explicator (adjective) with illustrator (adverb):

- (8) *harra ta chau de ta finowa* (e) *tai* (c) *chia* (in) *an kenyum leat chim*.
 (9) *chua finowa* (e) *tai* (c) *an* (in) *ta ong olhaki*.

VI.

Referent conjunctors (conjunctions) commence a sentence connected with a previous one.

- (17) *linhen chit leap okngok* (first sentence) *taina* (r. c.) *tu* (second sentence).
paivyah^{26a} hat dōh katōka hen (r. c.) *mikdsha*
 man not can dance (first sentence) when sing
kōi-hakt.
 solemn-chaunt (second sentence).
 (one may not dance when singing the solemn chaunt).

VII.

Interrogatory Speech.

Introducers (adverbs) commence sentences.

kdhē na itā?
 when he here? (p. unexpressed).
 (when will he be here?)

chī yō hayian?
 who wish pig-hunt?
 (who is going to hunt pigs?)

chun oñthā ongwōng en chūa?
 which tree cut-down c. i. r. I?
 (which tree shall I cut down?)

chin lēang an?
 what name he?
 (what is his name?)

chūang lēang an?
 what name it?
 (what is its name?)

^a This is an additional illustrating sentence.

Questions are, however, usually asked by means of an interrogatory prefix, *ka*, *kā*, *kan* meaning "what?" attached to the subject of the sentence. In every such case the usual place of the subject is not changed. *E. g.*

tāu *meñ* *kā—an?*
younger-brother you he?

(is he your younger-brother?)

shwatare *ka—meñ?* *ta* *linheñ*
return you? c. i. r. morning

(will you return this morning?)

māngayan *ka-en—kōan?* * *meñ*
quite-well c. i. r. child? you

(is your child quite well?)

māh *ka—met?* *hāang* *shud* *meñ* *Loòng*
ever you-not? one time you Great Nicobar

(have you never once been to Great Nicobar?)

As in many languages, there is an interrogative introducer (adverb) *an*, which expects an affirmative answer. *E. g.*

an? *na* *tāu* *meñ*
yes? he younger-brother you

(isn't he your younger-brother?)

an? *meñ* *iteakla* *ta* *linheñ*
yes? you drowsy c. i. r. morning

(aren't you drowsy this morning?)

an? *meñ* *hāang*
yes? you one

(surely you got something?)

The following uses of *ka*, when prefixed to a word, show the system of the Nicobarese language well:—

meñ *itūa* *Loòng* *ka-hañan?*
you visit Great Nicobar no?

(will you visit Great Nicobar or not?)

meñ *hāu* *ka-an?* *ka-hañan?*
you * see yes? no?

(you saw it, didn't you?)

an? *ka-meñ?* *yang* *en* *chūa* *olyōl* *an* *ka-hañan?*
yes? you? with c. i. r. I say yes no?

(are you coming with me? say, "yes or no").

ka-shiri? *na* *ka-an?* ²⁷
fool? he yes?

(what a fool he is!)

ka-shiri? *me* *ka-an?*
fool? you yes?

(what a fool you are!)

ka-shiri? *cha* *ka-an?*
fool? I yes?

(what a fool I am!)

²⁷ These three sentences express impatience at anything carelessly done.

VIII.

Referent Substitutes (Pronouns).

Referent substitutes (pronouns) follow the place of their originals—

- (1) *ane inoat lamang ten chua* (r. s. as in).
- (4) *iteak poatore kamheng en an* (r. s. as ill. phrase).
- (5) *an* (r. s. as in) *chuh harra halau loe kan de.*
- (8) *an* (r. s. as e.) *kenyum leat chim.*
- (9) *chua finowa tai an* (r. s. as ill. phrase) *ta ong olhaki.*
- (10) *paitshe shi loe ot ta ofe* (r. s. as ill. phrase).
- (12) *an* (r. s. as in) *hat koan men.*
- (13) *oal hoptep men* (r. s. as e.).
- (15) *chua oklakngato an* (r. s. as in) *kato ta ni chua* (r. s. as e.).
- (16) *chua* (r. s. as in) *leap kichal.*
- (17) *linhen chit* (r. s. as in) *leap okngok taina tu.*

The ordinary referent substitutes (pronouns) are :

Table of "Personal Pronouns."

chüa	I	ina	you-two
meñ	thou (you)	ifē	you
an, na	he, she, it	onâ	they-two
heñ, chaai	we-two	ofē	they
hē, chiñi	we		

Chüa, meñ, an are ordinarily inflected also to *cha, me, ch.* E. g.

hendün ta eh

awake c. i. r. he

(awake him).

There is further inflexion of all the "personal pronouns" with *hat*, not, in negative sentences. Thus :

Table of Negative "Personal Pronouns."

chit	I-not
met	thou-not
net (and <i>hat</i>)	he-not
heñ-hat	we-two-not (in full, to distinguish from the next)
het	we-not
inât	you-two-not (in full, to distinguish from the next)
ifêt	you-not
onât	they-two-not (in full, to distinguish from the next)
ofêt	they-not

Inflection of some of these words appears again in the questions used when startled. Thus :

chüa ? kane ? what ? that ? (what was that ?) (*kane ? = ka ? + ane*)

chüa ? kinâ ? what ? you-two ? (what was that ?) (*kina ? = ka ? + inâ*)

chüa ? kifē ? what ? you ? (what was that ?) (*kifē ? = ka ? + ifē*)

So, too, in greetings : *et-chai-chakd* (greet-face), greet; then (*et-*) *chai-chachid-ka* (greet-face-indeed), or (*et-*) *chai-cha-rakat* (greet-face-now). Then further—

met-chai° ? how d'you do ? (*met = meñ + 'et*)

inât-chai° ? how d'you do, you two ? (*inat = na + et*)

ifêt-chai° ? how d'you do, all of you ? (*ifêt = ifē + et*)

Another common inflexion of the same type may be noticed here, though it does not belong to this place : *wôt*, don't, for *wi-hat* (do-not).

h. — Order of Connected Sentences.

Connected sentences are usually joined by referent conjunctors (conjunctions) and in such cases the principal sentence is followed by the subordinate.

(17) *linheñ ohit* leap *okngôk* (principal sentence) *taina* (r. c.) *tu* (subordinate sentence).

<i>ata</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>milâk</i>	<i>laok</i>	<i>taina</i>	<i>ohua</i>	<i>yô</i>
go	you	play	outside (prin. sentence)	because	I	wish

iteak

sleep (sub. sentence)

(go and play outside, because I want to sleep).

<i>paiyûh</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>dôh</i>	<i>katôka</i>	<i>hen</i>	<i>mikdsha</i>
man	not	can	dance (prin. sentence)	when	sing

kôî-hakt

solemn-chaunt (sub. sentence).

(one cannot dance, when singing the solemn chaunt).

* Referent substitutes (pronouns) are often, though not always, used in both of two consecutive sentences. Thus :

<i>ka</i> , who, which,	} in the prin. sentence with <i>shina</i> , the same, in the sub. sentence.
<i>ohicht</i> , <i>ya</i> , whoever	
<i>kae</i> , whatever	

Except when thus used *shina* should therefore be regarded as a referent conjunctor (conjunction).

i. — Expression of Connected Purposes.

But the tendency of the Nicobarese in indicating connected purposes by speech is to treat the subordinate sentence as an integral part of the principal, and to avoid breaking up speech into separate sentences connected by referent conjunctors (conjunctions). *E. g.*

(6)	<i>leat</i>	<i>etchai-chaka-lebare</i>	<i>chua</i>	<i>oal</i>	<i>kaiyi</i>	<i>de</i>
	did	read-aloud	I	in	road	own

There are two connected purposes in the sentences of this statement: (1) "I read aloud," (2) "while I was travelling." But the Nicobarese treats them as one by turning the subordinate sentence *oal-kaiyi-de* into an explicator (adjective) phrase attached to the subject "*chua*, I."

(7)	<i>etchai-chaka-lebare</i>	<i>chua</i>	<i>tanang</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>an</i>
	read-aloud	I	arrive	c. i. r.	he

Here the two connected purposes of the statement are more apparent. The information is (1) "I was reading aloud," (2) "he arrived." But the Nicobarese has treated the subordinate sentence *et-chai-chaka-lebare chua* as an illustrator (adverb) phrase of the principal sentence *tanang ta an*.

(8)	<i>harra</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>chua</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>finowa</i>	<i>tai</i>	<i>chia</i>
	see	c. i. r.	elder-brother	own	c. i. r.	beat	by	father
	<i>an</i>	<i>kenyum</i>	<i>leat</i>	<i>chim</i>				
	his	child	did	cry				

Here we have (1) "his child cried," (2) "on seeing its elder-brother beaten by its father." But the subordinate sentence *harra ta chau de ta finowa tai chia* is treated by the Nicobarese as an explicator (adjective) phrase of the subject *an kenyum*.

j. — Expression of the Functions and Interrelation of Words.

It will have been observed that the Nicobarese express the interrelation of the components of their sentences by functional connectors (in their case prepositions), which form, therefore, an important part of their speech. Thus :

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|----------------------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| (1) | <i>lamang</i> | <i>ten</i> | <i>chua</i> | | | | |
| | belong | to | I | | | | |
| (2) | <i>inoat</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>shong</i> | <i>of</i> | | | |
| | knife | c. i. r. | sharp | is | | | |
| (3) | <i>kwomhata</i> | <i>ten</i> | <i>chua</i> | | | | |
| | give | to | I | | | | |
| (4) | <i>iteak</i> | <i>kamheng</i> | <i>en</i> | <i>an</i> | | | |
| | asleep | noon | c. i. r. | he (is) | | | |
| (6) | <i>leat</i> | <i>etchui-chaka-lebare</i> | <i>chua</i> | <i>oal</i> | <i>kaigi</i> | <i>de</i> | |
| | did | read-aloud | I | in | road | own | |
| (7) | <i>harra</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>chau</i> | <i>de</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>finowa</i> | <i>tai chia</i> |
| | see | c. i. r. | elder-brother | own | c. i. r. | beat | by father |
| (8) | <i>chua</i> | <i>finowa</i> | <i>tai</i> | <i>an</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>ong</i> | <i>olhaki</i> |
| | I | beat | by | he | c. i. r. | past-of-to-day | morning |
| (9) | <i>paitshe</i> | <i>shi</i> | <i>toe</i> | <i>ot</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>qfe</i> | |
| | some | old | cloth | possess | c. i. r. | they | |
| (10) | <i>katom</i> | <i>juang</i> | <i>kamatoka</i> | <i>kakat</i> | <i>ta</i> | | <i>wake</i> |
| | how-many? | persons | dancers | present | c. i. r. | | last-night |
| (13) | <i>oal</i> | <i>hoptep</i> | <i>men</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>ngong</i> | | |
| | in | box | you | c. i. r. | nothing | | |
| (14) | <i>ane</i> | <i>kanyut</i> | <i>halau</i> | <i>men</i> | <i>longtoten</i> | <i>chi</i> | |
| | that | coat | buy | you | from | who | |
| (15) | <i>chua</i> | <i>oklakngato</i> | <i>an</i> | <i>kato</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>chua</i> |
| | I | permit | he | live | c. i. r. | hut | I |

k. — Connectors (Prepositions).

The functional connectors (prepositions) and connector-phrases are necessarily numerous and their use quite simply expressed. The commonest are :

Table of "Prepositions."

CENTRAL DIALECT.	ENGLISH.	CENTRAL DIALECT.	ENGLISH.
ten, an, ta, tatau	to, at, on (object)	yō	to (place)
tai	by	en, at, kat	at
oal, òl	in	enyâh	after
yôl, yiang, hokaio	with	pat, taihit, hatyôl hatyiang	} without
lôngto, lóngtoten, ngatai, yang, lôngtota, chakâ, lamôngtotai	} from	kâe	concerning
ngashî	} about, in relation to	yôna-ta-kâe	} for, account of, sake of
henshât-kâe	for, place of	hêangechuk	among
mongyûangñe	between	talashîak	along-side
tanûak	beneath	harôh-tômtare	except
oyûhta	till, until	tamang	as-far-as
ta-tangtatai, hûangetai; okâlhare	} as-well-as	tamat	during
	across	yôhñe	through (a solid)
		ôakñe	through a fluid

good example of their use is the following :

<i>an</i>	<i>okaihanga</i>	<i>pôwah</i>	<i>lôngto</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>oal</i>	<i>dûe</i>	<i>chûa</i>
he	took-away-south	paddle	from	c. i. r.	in	canoe	I

(he took away to the South the paddle out of (from inside of) my canoe).

1. — Connectors of Intimate Relation.

The only class of connectors (prepositions) that presents any difficulties is that of the connectors of intimate relation. These are *ta*, *en*, *pan* and may be translated "in respect of, as, as for, as to, regarding, as regards, with reference to, concerning, for" according to the context. They are used for connecting :

(1) indicator (noun) with its explicator (adjective).

(2) subject and its predicate.

(3) explicator (adjective) with its illustrator (adverb).

(4) predicator (verb) and its complement (object).

(1) indicator (noun) with its explicator (adjective).

inbat ta shong ot
knife sharp is
(the knife is sharp).

payuh ta uruhatshe dak
man many come
(many men came).

kenyuh tai an ta finowa
child by he beat
(the child was beaten by him).

(2) subject and its predicate.

yuchuh pan chua
go-home I
(I am going home).

paishe homkwom en men ten chua
some give thou to I
(give me some).

oal hoptep men ta ngong
in box you nothing
(there is nothing in your box).

(3) explicator (adjective) with its illustrator (adverb).

iteak kankheng en an
asleep noon he
(noon is asleep for him, i. e., he sleeps at noon).

chua finowa tai an ta ong olhakt
I beat by he past-of-to-day morning
(I was beaten by him this morning).

hat ot loe ta oal hoptep an
not is cloth in box he
(there is no cloth in his box).

(4) predicator (verb) and its complement (object).

harra ta ghau de
see elder-brother own
(seeing the elder brother).

paishe shi loe ot ta ofe
some old cloth have they
(they have some old cloth).

wt an en ta linhen
make it to to-day
(make it to-day).

chit lap wt an en
I-not oan make it to
(I cannot make it).

The Nicobarese, however, have no idea of using connectors (conjunctions) merely for joining two words together. They cannot express "and" or "or" without a paraphrase. Thus :

ane nina an—dtawu an homkwōm
that this it—another he give

(he gives this and that).

an dāk òlhaki hañan en chüa
he come morning no I

(he will come in the morning : no : (then) I, i. e., he or I will come in the morning).

m. — Order of the Words is the Essence of the Grammar.

But the great point of the speech is the position of the words and that comes out clearly in the following instances from the sample sentences, where the words are simply thrown together.

an chüh harra halau lōe kñn de
he go see buy cloth wife own

(he has gone to see about buying cloth for his wife).

an hat kōan meñ
he not child you

(he is not your child).

ane kanyūt halau meñ lōngtōten chí ?
that coat buy you from who?

(from whom did you buy that coat?)

It would be impossible to make such sentences intelligible, except by the order of the words. The same principle of simple collocation in a certain order is adopted in elliptical connected sentences.

oal hoptēp meñ ta ngong
in box you c. i. r. nothing

(there is nothing in your box).

Simple collocation of words, in a fixed order, determining the functions and classes of each is very common in the language.

<i>chīa</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>chüa</i>	}	= my wife's father
father	wife	I		
<i>kñn</i>	<i>chīa</i>	<i>meñ</i>	}	= your father's wife
wife	father	you		
<i>due</i>	<i>chang</i>	<i>chüa</i>	}	= my own canoe
canoe	own	I		
<i>hoptēp</i>	<i>chang</i>	<i>chīa</i>	<i>kñn</i>	<i>chüa</i>
box	own	father	wife	I

(my wife's father's own box).

n. — Expression in Phrases.

The habit just explained comes out strongly in the simple collocation of appropriate words to express the various phases of action or condition necessarily connected with predicators (verbs). Thus:

Table of "Auxiliaries" to "Verbs."

<i>orihata</i>	beat
<i>wòt orī</i> (<i>wòt</i> for <i>wī hat</i> , do not)	don't beat
<i>chüa orī</i>	I beat (I am beating)
<i>chüa yuangshitō orī</i>	I busy beat (I was beating)
<i>chüa leät yuangshitō yanga orī</i>	I finish busy just-now beat (I had been beating)
<i>chüa yanga orī</i>	I just-now beat (I have just beaten)
<i>chüa leät orī</i>	I finish beat (I have beaten, I did beat)
<i>chüa orī leätngare</i>	I beat entirely (I had beaten)
<i>chüa yō orī</i>	I wish beat (I will beat)

chüa enyák ori	I afterwards beat (I shall beat)
chüa alde ori	I just-now beat (I am about to beat)
lák (and shók) chüa ori	let I beat (let me beat)
chüa læp ori	I can beat
chüa dôh ori	I able beat (I may (perhaps) beat)
dôhta chüa ori	duty I beat (I must (ought to) beat)
chüa kaiyáhtashe ori	I permit-from-some-one beat (I may, i. e., have the power to, beat)
harôh-ta-yande-chüa ori	expect-continue I beat (I might beat)

So with the really ellipsed form *oria*, beaten, where the predicator (verb) is unexpressed.
E. g.

chüa læt oria	I finish beaten (I was beaten)
chüa yô oria	I wish beaten (I shall be beaten)
chüa dôh oria	I can beaten (I may be beaten)
and so on.	

All this shows that the Nicobarese have no idea of "active" and "passive voices," the expression of the various natural phases of action and condition being merely with them a question of the collocation of certain conventional appropriate words.

o. — Numeral Coefficients.

The habit of collocating conventional words in phrases comes out in another important point in the Nicobarese language. There is, in common with all Far Eastern languages, but carried to a far greater extent than usual, a kind of explicator (adjective) employed in Nicobarese, known to grammarians as the "numeral coefficients," attached with numerals to indicators (nouns), when the numerals themselves are used as explicators (adjective). Thus one cannot say in Nicobarese "one man," but one must say "one fruit man": i. e., one must not say *hëang enkôina*, but *hëang yüang enkôina*. The numeral coefficient is always collocated with the words to which it is attached between the numeral and the thing enumerated.

Table of Numeral Coefficients.

CENTRAL.	CAR NICOBAR.
(1) for human beings and spirit-scaring figures (<i>kareau</i>). <i>yüang</i> (fruit) <i>kôï</i> (head) <i>tat, tat-yüang, tat-kôï</i>	<i>taka</i>
(2) for animate moving objects, eggs, parts of the body, domestic and other objects that are round. <i>nôang</i> (cylinder)	<i>nông</i>
(3) for fruit. <i>nôang-yüang</i>	<i>taka</i>
(4) for flat objects, cooking-pots and fishing-nets. <i>ták</i> (wide)	<i>ták</i>
(5) for dwellings and buildings. <i>ken</i>	<i>momti</i>
(6) for trees and long things. <i>chanang</i>	<i>mă</i>
(7) for ships and boats. <i>dandi</i>	<i>nông</i>
(8) for bamboos used for keeping shell-lime. <i>hinle</i>	<i>kôhă</i>
(9) for bunches of fruit, but for single pine-apples or <i>papaya</i> . <i>tôm</i> (bunch)	<i>lamndha, tum</i>
(10) for bundles of <i>pandanus</i> -paste. <i>manoal, mokônha</i>	

- (11) for bundles of split-cane and wood-chips.
pomdl *chumvi*
- (12) for bundle of cane.
- (13) for bundles of firewood.
minól
- (14) for bundles of tobacco.
lamem *milima*
- (15) for books.
amoka
- (16) for ladders.
chaminkda
- (17) for pieces of cloth.
shamanap
- (18) for cord and fishing lines.
kamilang

Another set of numeral coefficients for "pair" is used in the same way.

<i>tafual</i>	pair	of cocoanuts, rupees, edible birds' nest.
<i>tdk</i>	pair	of bamboos for shell-lime.
<i>amok</i>	pair	of cooking pots.

This principle is carried rather far in the following instances:—

amok is also used for two pairs of bamboos for shell-lime.

kamintap is a set (4 to 5) of cooking pots.

nang is a set of ten pieces of tortoise-shell.

EXAMPLE—*lōe nang okhup*, three sets of tortoise-shell, i. e., 30 pieces.

Numeral coefficients appear again in yet another way in the following instances:—

tanaí shud, five times, but

<i>lanai kotatai</i>	five times	(for hammering and hand work)
<i>dn kochat</i>	two times	(for jumping)
<i>foan kongaláh</i>	four times	(for going)
<i>lōe kōñengē</i>	three times	(for talking, singing)
<i>foan koshohakd</i>	four times	(for eating, drinking, feeding)
<i>issdt koshānha</i>	seven times	(for washing, bathing)

p. — Elliptical Sentences.

Elliptical sentences are very common: the obvious predicate being usually unexpressed.

steak pontōre kāmheng en an, noon (is) always asleep for him.

an hat kōan meñ, he (is) not your child.

q. — Analytical Nature of the Language.

We can now perceive generally how the Nicobarese mind regards speech. A Nicobarese has no idea of using variation in the external form of words to indicate the functions of the sentences and the interrelation of the component words, but uses position and special additional words (connectors) for those purposes: nor does he use anything but position to indicate the functions of his words. He must consequently, to make himself intelligible, rely mainly on the order of his words, in the sentence, which thus becomes of the greatest importance to him. His language is, therefore, essentially a Syntactical Language of the analytical variety. Briefly it may be described as an Analytical Language.

r. — Order of Speech.

To the Nicobarese instinct the logical order of speech for all purposes is as follows:—

- (1) subject before predicate,
- (2) subject, predicate, complement (object).
- (3) explicator (adjective) before indicator (noun): or with connector (preposition) after indicator,

- (4) *illustrator* (adverb) after *predicator* (verb) or *explicator* (adjective).
- (5) *connector* (preposition) before the word it connects with another.
- (6) *referent conjuncter* (conjunction between connected sentences) and *introducers* (interrogative adverb) before everything.
- (7) *referent substitutes* (pronouns) follow the position of their originals.
- (8) the principal sentence precedes the subordinate.

The Nicobarese has to adhere strictly to this order, and can only vary it when the inherent qualities of the words used allows him to do so for emphasis or convenience; as when he makes the subject follow the predicate, explicator (adjective) follow indicator (noun) without connector (preposition), *illustrator* (adverb) precedes *predicator* (verb) or *explicator* (adjective). He has very complicated methods, without using functional variation of form, of indicating the nature and class of his words, and these necessarily form the chief point for study in the language as regards the structure of its words.

s. — Classification of Words Depends Primarily on Position in the Sentence.

Primarily there is nothing in external form, which necessarily denotes the function or functions of a word in a sentence and, therefore, its class or its inherent qualities, i. e., its nature. Nor is there primarily anything in external form to show that a word has been transferred from one class to another. That is, properly the class of a word is known by its nature or by its position, and its transfer from one class to another is shown by its position.

I have said above "primarily" and "properly," because, like all speakers of highly developed languages, as analytical languages must necessarily be, the Nicobarese follow one principle of language chiefly and others in a minor degree. So, as will be seen later on, it is possible in many, though not in by any means all, cases to classify Nicobarese words by their form.

• Examples of the effect of position on the class of a word.

lôa, "quick," explicator (adjective) is transferred to *illustrator* (adverb)

"quickly" by position.

mittîi "false," to "falschood."

chang, "own," predicator (verb) to "own," explicator (adjective),

hen, "time" to referent conjuncter "when."

kayngato, "remember" to "mindful."

paitngato, "forget" to "forgetful."

kedohnga, "another" to "otherwise (differently)."

• *patayan*, "punctual" to "early" *illustrator* (adverb).

hoi, "far" explicator (adjective) to "far" *illustrator* (adverb).

Words of the same form with totally different meanings according to class are known by position. Thus:—

kâtto as explicator (adjective) means "silent": as a predicator (verb) it means "dwell."

tafnal as an indicator (noun) means "pair": as a numeral explicator (adjective) or indicator (noun) it means "six."

tâ as an indicator (noun) means "touch": as an explicator (adjective) it means "flat."

kâhê as an indicator (noun) means "moon": as an referent conjuncter it means "when."

yô means "if," "wish" (verb), "to," "thither" according to its position in the sentence. *M. g.*

<i>yô</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>yô</i>	<i>yô</i>	<i>Pô</i>
if	you	wish	to	Car Nicobar.

(if you wish to go to Car Nicobar).

t. — Phrases (Compound Words) Classed as Words.

Phrases (compound words) formed of several words thrown together without connectors are very common. They are treated in the sentence precisely as simple words.

Indicator Phrases (Compound Nouns).

heñ-hatòm	time-night, night-time.	ânñ-chakâ-fòin	life-face-crossbow,
paiyüh-olchûa	man-jungle, jungle-man.	ânha-oal-hindel	bolt of c.
kôï-henyûan	head-hill, hill-top.	moah-toah	contents-gun, cartridge.
			nose-breast, teat.

Explicator Phrases (Compound Adjectives).

karû-fâp	big-side, corpulent.	yô-huyôie-tai	wish-drunk-make, intoxicating.
yô-huyôie	wish-drunk, intemperate.	dôh-enhngashe	can-recover, able.

Predicator Phrases (Compound Verbs).

alde-shiang	just-now-sweet, become sweet.	ingühñe-nâng	inform-ear, send word.
		wi-kaiyi-dâk	make-road-water, drain.

The use of such phrases (compound words) as single words is proved by the following examples: —

I. Roots: *rû*, shade; *kôï*, head. Then

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|-------------------|
| (1) | <i>ha—rû—ngare</i> | go into the shade |
| | pref. shade suff. | |
| (2) | <i>ha—rû—kôï</i> | take shelter |
| | pref. shade head | |
| (3) | <i>ha—rû—ya—kôï—re</i> | shade the head |
| | pref. shade suff. head suff. | |

In this case we have:

- (1) root + pref. + suff. (simple word).
- (2) root 1 + root 2 + pref. (compound word).
- (3) root 1 + pref. + suff. = first word (+) root 2 + suff. = second word, the whole being a compound word. The third case shows clearly that the whole compound is looked upon as one word grammatically constructed.

II. Roots: *tum*²⁸ (lost r.), tie; *lâh*, leg. Then

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) | <i>tum—a—lâh</i> | tied by the leg (simple word) |
| | tie suff. + leg | |
| (2) | <i>om—tum—lâh</i> | tie the legs (compound word) |
| | pref. tie + leg | |

III. Roots: *tum* (lost r.), tie; *koâl*, arm.

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------|--|
| (1) | <i>tum—a—koâl</i> | tied by the arms, pinioned (simple word) |
| | tie suff. arm | |
| (2) | <i>om—tum—koâl</i> | tie by the arms, pinion (compound word) |
| | pref. tie + arm | |

III.—ETYMOLOGY.

a. — Classification of Words Depends Primarily on Their Order in the Sentence.

It has been already noted that the Nicobarese relies mainly on the position and inherent qualities of his words, i. e., on their nature, for a complete expression of his meaning, and that there is nothing in the external form of the words which necessarily indicates their class. or

²⁸ This root is seen again in such words as *tom-bl*, *tom-mbl*, collect, gather: *ha-tôm*, assemble.

whether a word, as used in a sentence, belongs to its original class or has been transferred to another. That is, there is nothing to show that *lēap*, can, and *wi*, do, are predicators (verbs), or that *oyūhta*, till, is a connector (preposition), or that *dūe*, canoe, and *kōi*, head, are indicators (nouns), except their actual meaning.

Again, there is nothing to show when the indicator (noun) *chūa*, I, is transferred to explicator (adjective) "my," or when *lāa*, quick, explicator (adjective) is transferred to illustrator (adverb) "quickly," or when *leūt*, did, predicator (verb) is transferred to illustrator (adverb) "already," except their position in the sentence.

b. — Classification of Words Depends Secondly on Form.

But, nevertheless, the Nicobarese have means of indicating the class to which a word has been transferred, or to which of two or more classes connected words in different classes belong, and of differentiating connected words belonging to the same class. They can thus make their speech clearer than would be possible, if they entirely trusted to the mere collocation of their words.

c. — Form Created by Radical Prefixes, Infixes, and Suffixes.

The Nicobarese manage to differentiate connected words by adding, in various complicated ways, affixes of all the three sorts, — prefixes, infixes, and suffixes, — to simple stems or roots. The affixes are, therefore, none of them functional, but are all radical, and the words consist of simple stems, or of compound stems (stems made up of a root or a simple stem plus radical affixes). The Nicobarese carry this principle through a great part, but not through all of their language, and have by its means built up a complicated but uncertain system of radical and derivative words, and have rendered their language a very difficult one to analyse and to speak, or to understand, correctly.

d. — Use of Radical Affixes: Agglutinated, Changed, and Inflected.

The radical affixes usually employed to indicate transfer of stems from one class to another, i. e., to create words of different classes connected with each other, those to which the affixes are added being necessarily "derivatives" of the others, are as follow. It will be seen, from what follows later, that they are added—

- (1) by mere agglutination, i. e., unchanged form :
- (2) by changed form :
- (3) by clipped form, i. e., by inflexion.

Table of Radical Affixes of Transfer.

(*Mr. Man gives many more.*)

Prefixes.

ka ha na ma men en hen op o la lan lok fak

Infixes.

ma an an o

Suffixes.

a o yo yan la nga hat

e. — Use of the Radical Affixes of Transfer.

The following examples will exhibit the use of the radical affixes of transfer:—

Abbreviations used in the following tables :

in. class	for nouns (indicators)	ill. class	for adverbs (illustrators)
e. class	for adjectives (explicators)	c. class	for prepositions (connectors)
p. class	for verbs (predicators)		

Radical Affixes of Transfer added by Agglutination.

Prefixes.

c. class <i>yól</i> (with)	ha to p. class <i>ha-yól</i> (mix fluid)	in. class <i>kōan</i> (child)	mēn to e. class <i>mēn-kōm</i> (having many children)
in. class <i>wá</i> (blood)	na to p. class <i>na-wá</i> (bleed)		la to e. class <i>la-ok</i> (behind, following)
e. class <i>huyōie</i> (drunk)	ma to in. class <i>ma-huyōie</i> (drunkard)	in. class <i>ok</i> (back)	ka to in. class <i>ka-yól</i> (friend)
p. class <i>pōya</i> (sit)	en to in. class <i>en-pōya</i> (seat)	ill. class <i>yól</i> (together)	lan to p. class <i>lan-dākmāt</i> (water, of the eyes)
p. class <i>tōp</i> (cover the shoulders)	op to in. class <i>op-tōp</i> (shawl)	in. class <i>dākmāt</i> (tear)	lòk to p. class <i>lòk-shamōa</i> (to sprout) <i>lòk-hoàng</i> (to sweat)
in. class <i>foàng</i> (window)	o to p. class <i>o-fouh</i> (to open)	in. class <i>shamōa</i> (sprout) <i>hoàng</i> (sweat)	fuk to p. class <i>fuk-dāk</i> (draw water)
p. class <i>tainya</i> (to plait) <i>lain</i> (revolve)	hen to in. class <i>hen-tain</i> (basket) <i>hen-lain</i> (wheel)	in. class <i>dāk</i> (water)	

Infixes.

p. class <i>pa-hōa</i> (to fear) <i>po-mōan</i> (to fight)	ma. to in. class. <i>pa-ma-hōa</i> (coward) <i>pa-ma-mōan</i> (warrior)	p. class <i>l-ēap</i> (can)	to e. class <i>l-am-iap</i> (expert)
<i>pōin-nōp</i> (die)	<i>pa-ma-nāp</i> (corpse)	in. class <i>kōan</i> (child)	to e. class <i>k-am-ōaro</i> (having children)
e. class. <i>ka-rū</i> (large)	to in. class <i>ka-ma-rū</i> (adult)	<i>ch-ūaka</i> (property)	<i>ch-am-woahōn</i> (rich)
in. class <i>pu-yól</i> (hair)	to e. class. <i>pa-ma-yól</i> (hairy)	an p. class <i>t-dk</i> (to measure)	to in. class <i>t-an-dk-rām</i> (night-measurer, sand-glass)
p. class <i>d-āk</i> (come) <i>t-āk</i> (to measure) <i>ch-nanga</i> (visit a jungle)	am to in. class <i>d-am-āk</i> (guest) <i>t-am-āka</i> (fathom) <i>ch-am-ūanga</i> (a visitor of a jungle)	<i>w-i-ñt</i> (make-hut, build) <i>ch-iō</i> (to whistle) <i>ch-tal</i> (lift by a handle)	<i>w-an-e-ñt</i> (frame-work of hut-roof) <i>ch-an-ō</i> (a whistle) <i>ch-an-ōla</i> (strap, handle)
e. class <i>k-ōang</i> (strong)	to in. class <i>k-am-ōang</i> (strong man)	e. class <i>sh-i-tashe</i> (old)	to in. class. <i>sh-an-i-tashe</i> (age)

Stellen.

	a		nga
p. class	to e. class	p. class	to e. class
<i>ngēang</i> (employ)	<i>ngēang-a</i> (employed)	<i>dōh</i> (can)	<i>dōh-nga</i> (suitable)
p. class	to in. class	in. class	to p. class
<i>top</i> (drink)	<i>top-a</i> (beverage)	<i>kaiyi</i> (road)	<i>kaiyi-nga</i> (go away)
e. class	to p. class	(ol) <i>chūa</i> (jungle)	<i>ch-ūa-nga</i> (go into (visit) ²⁹ a jungle).
<i>orēh</i> (first)	<i>orēh-a</i> (begin)		
p. class	to e. class		yan
<i>ori</i> (beat)	<i>ori-a</i> (beaten)	in. class	to e. class
	o	<i>oyāu</i> (cocoanut-tree)	<i>oyāu-yan</i> (lonely)
in. class	to e. class		hat
<i>fūp</i> (side)	<i>fūp-o</i> (fat)	e. class	to in. class
	la	<i>paich</i> (small)	<i>paich-hat</i> (a little)
p. class	to e. class		yo
<i>iteak</i> (sheep)	<i>iteak-la</i> (sleepy)	in. class	to p. class
p. class	to in. class	<i>dūe</i> (canoe)	<i>due-yo</i> (travel in a canoe)
<i>leāt</i> (finish)	<i>l-an-ēāt-la</i> (final me- morial feast)		

Radical Affixes of Transfer added in Changed Form.

Prefixes.

change of ma to mo		change of en to an	
p. class	to e. class	p. class	to in. class
<i>hēu</i> (see)	<i>mo-hiwa</i> (long-sighted)	<i>(oal)-ōla</i> (in))	<i>(b u r y an-ūla</i> (grave)
change of ha to hā		change of en to in	
in. class	to p. class	p. class	to in. class
<i>wan</i> (net)	<i>hā-wan</i> (net fish)	<i>(ol)-yōla</i> (speak)	<i>in-ōla</i> (tale)

Infixes.

change of am to om		change of am to aīm	
p. class	to in. class	p. class	to in. class
<i>p-em</i> (drink)	<i>p-om-em</i> (drunkard)	<i>t-op</i> (drink)	<i>t-aīm-op</i> (drunkard)
<i>w-i</i> (make)	<i>w-om-i</i> (maker)	change of an to en	
e. class	to in. class	p. class	to in. class
<i>ch-anghōi</i> (tall)	<i>ch-om-anghōi</i> (tall man)	<i>h-et</i> (to chisel)	<i>h-en-et</i> (a chisel)
		change of an to in	
in. class	to p. class	p. class	to in. class.
<i>sh-āyo</i> (sack)	<i>sh-om-yo</i> (fill a sack)	<i>l-tan</i> (run)	<i>d-in-nōnha</i> (winner in a foot race)

Suffixes.

change of a to wa		change of a to ha	
p. class	to in. class	p. class	to in. class
<i>halau</i> (buy)	<i>halau-wa</i> (a purchaser)	<i>dīan</i> (run)	<i>dinnōn-ha</i> (winner in a foot race)
change of a to ya		change of o to yo	
in. class	to e. class	in. class	to e. class
		<i>chatai</i> (weapon)	<i>chatai-yo</i> (armed)
in. class	to p. class	in. class	to p. class
<i>miyai</i> (value)	<i>miyai-ya</i> (costly)	<i>dūr</i> (canoe)	<i>dūr-yo</i> (travel in a canoe).

²⁰ We have here a very interesting set of words to exhibit word-building: (ol)-chūa, jungle: chūa-nga, visit a jungle: ch-aw-ūa-nga, 'visitor of a jungle.

Radical Affixes of Transfer added by Inflexion.

Prefixes.

ha inflected to h			
p. class	to in. class	<i>enlūana</i> (exorcise)	<i>m-enlūana</i> (exorcist)
<i>okngôk</i> (cat)	<i>h-okngôk</i> (food)	<i>tīka</i> (visit)	<i>m-tīka</i> (visitor)
in. class	to p. class	e. class	to in. class
<i>omkwôm</i> (gift)	<i>h-omkwôm</i> (give)	<i>orēh</i> (first)	<i>m-orēh</i> (first person or living thing)
ma inflected to m		<i>omtôm</i> (all, the whole)	<i>m-ōmtōma</i> (flock, crowd)
p. class	to in. class		

f. — Correlated Radical Affixes of Transfer.

The Nicobarese also indicate the classes, to which connected words derived from lost or obscure roots belong, by a system of correlated radical affixes of transfer.

Prefixes.

lost or obscure root	p. class	to in. class
<i>hēat</i>	<i>ha-hēat</i> (to hook up)	<i>hen-hēat</i> (hooked pole)
<i>het</i>	<i>hai-het</i> (to strain)	<i>hen-het</i> (strainer)
<i>ôi</i>	<i>hu-yôie</i> (drunk)	<i>hen-yôiya</i> (drunkard)
<i>shin</i>	<i>ka-shin</i> (to prop)	<i>ken-shin</i> (a prop)
<i>tôk</i>	<i>ka-tôka</i> (to dance)	<i>ken-tôka</i> (a dance)
<i>shâng</i>	<i>ka-shâng</i> (to fish in slack water)	<i>kan-shâng</i> (a weir)
<i>kâk</i>	<i>tom-kâk</i> (pierce)	<i>ten-kâk</i> (lancet)
<i>fūal</i>	<i>tom-fūalhata</i> (tie a pair of cocoanuts)	<i>ta-fūal</i> (a pair)
<i>hôn</i>	<i>kom-hôn</i> (to trap fish)	<i>ken-hôn</i> (a trap)

A good instance of the use and force of correlated radical affixes of transfer is the following: — Obscure or lost root, *tain*: then *tain-ya*, plaiting: *en-tain-ya*, plaited: *hen-tain*, basket: *ha-tain-ya-paiyôh*, crosswise.

Instructive examples of the effect of correlated affixes of transfer on the forms of connected words are the following, where a prefix has been added to the lost root of one of two connected words and an infix to the other. Thus:

lost or obscure root	p. class (pref. used)	to in. class (inf. used)
<i>dī</i>	<i>o-dī</i> (beat with stick)	<i>d-an-i</i> (cudgel)
<i>kâsh</i>	<i>i-kâsha</i> (sing)	<i>k-an-ôishe</i> (song)

That the lost root in the latter case is really *kâsh* in the last case is shown by *momt-kâsha* (maker-song), a singer.

g. — Inflexion of Affixes.

It is probable that there is more inflexion than at first appears in the existing forms of the radical prefixes.³⁰ Thus in the case of the correlated radical prefixes—

<i>hen</i> may be taken to be <i>ha + en</i>	<i>tom</i> may be taken to be <i>ta + om</i> (for <i>am</i>)
<i>ken</i> <i>ka + en</i>	<i>pan</i> <i>pa + an</i>
<i>ten</i> <i>ta + en</i>	<i>pen</i> <i>pa + en</i> (for <i>an</i>)

h. — Duplication of Affixes.

The existence of such inflexion would make one suspect the common existence of duplicated radical affixes, and that this is the case the following instances go to show:—

- (1) *en-lūana* (exorcise): *m-en-lūana* (exorcist). Here the root is *lūan* and the prefix *men* is certainly an inflected form of *ma + en*, two separate prefixes.
- (2) *kōan* (child): *k-am-an-āna* (a generation). Here the root is *k-ōan*, and the infix *aman* is certainly *am + an*, two separate infixes.
- (3) *h'en-tain* (basket): *m-en-tain-ya* (basketful). Here the root is *tain* and the prefixes *hen* and *men* are certainly inflected forms of *ha + en* and *ma + en*, respectively.

There is also a prefix of transfer, *kala*, which seems certainly to be made up of *ka + la*. Thus, *kôl* (far): *kala-hōrya* (sky).

³⁰ Here seems to be a strong instance of the inflexion to which affixes can be subjected: *wi*, make: *w-om-i*, maker, which also takes the form of *m-om-i* for (P) *m-[w]-om-i* (*ma + w + am + i*).

Duplication of suffixes is very common: e. g.,

Lapā-yan (well): *lapā-yanō* (glad). *Di* (bulk): *di-ngareeshe* (all absent from anything, entirely wanting in): here the suffix is double (*ngare* + *she*) or more probably²¹ treble (*nga* + *re* + *she*).

The proof will be seen in the following examples:—

<i>wt-hala</i> (to take out)	<i>wti-la eh</i> (take it out)	<i>wti-hahat</i> (to screw in)	<i>wti-ha eh</i> (screw it in)
<i>kaichuat-hala</i> (to dig up)	<i>kaichuat-la eh</i> (dig it up)	<i>tuak-haiñe</i> (to drag)	<i>tuak-ñe eh</i> (drag it)
<i>lenkdh-hanga</i> (to bend)	<i>lenkdh-nga eh</i> (bend it)	<i>tapaih-haiñe</i> (to spit out)	<i>tapaih-ñe eh</i> (spit it out)
		<i>ēp-hashe</i> (to transplant)	<i>ēp-she eh</i> (transplant it)

i. — Connectors of Intimate Relation as Prefixes.

There must of course be a strong tendency in the connectors of intimate relation (prepositions), *ta*, *en*, *pan*, *pen*, to become radical prefixes of transfer, and we accordingly find that in some cases they do so: e. g.,

Connectors of Intimate Relation as Radical Prefixes of Transfer.

	<i>ta</i>
p. class	to in. class
<i>kūpāh</i> (die)	<i>ta-kūpāh</i> (carcase)
	<i>pen</i>
e. class	to in. class
<i>teyeh</i> (white)	<i>pen-teyeh-oalmāt</i> (white of the eye)
<i>āl</i> (black)	<i>pen-āl-oalmāt</i> (pupil of the eye)

j. — Nature of Nicobarese Predicators (Verbs).

There is also a use of the duplicated prefix *hen* as an affix of transfer with predicators (verbs), which is of grammatical interest, as showing that the Nicobarese do not separate in their minds predicators (verbs), when they merely assert a fact regarding a subject, from indicators (nouns). They look upon them both as indicating, the first the idea about a thing, and the second the thing itself; and instinctively put the words for both in the same class, indicators (nouns). That is, the Nicobarese look upon "intransitive verbs" as "nouns" and in order to transfer them to the class of real, i. e., "transitive verbs," they add sometimes, but (in obedience to their instinct in such matters) not always, an affix of transfer, the prefix *hen*. Thus:

ENGLISH.	INTRANSITIVE FORM.	TRANSITIVE FORM.
break	<i>tōknga</i>	<i>hen-tōknga</i>
smash	<i>dāhnga</i>	<i>hen-dāhnga</i>
sink	<i>pangshe</i>	<i>hen-panghashe</i>

k. — Expression of "Active" and "Passive."

An important set of correlated suffixes of transfer in daily use are worth noting apart. They are used to transfer explicators (adjective) to predicators (verbs) and have, naturally though erroneously, been taken to indicate the "passive and active voice."

The common explicator (adjective) suffix of transfer is *a*: then very commonly

stem	e. class	to p. class
<i>harōk</i> (burn)	<i>harōk-a</i> (burnt)	<i>harōk-hata</i> (burn)
<i>haril</i> (shoot with gun)	<i>haril-a</i> (shot)	<i>haril-hata</i> (shoot)

That this is the correct way to view this point in Nicobarese Grammar can be shown thus:

(1) <i>lāk hā harōk ten an</i>	<i>lāk hā ori ten an</i>
let we burn to it	let we beat to it
(2) <i>lāk an harōka</i>	<i>lāk an orta</i>
let it burnt	let it beaten
(3) <i>harōk(hata)²² ta eh</i>	<i>ori(hata)²² ta eh</i>
burn o. i. r. it	beat c. i. r. it

²¹ See below, q, "Groups of Words Round an Idea," II.

²² *Hata* is omitted in the "imperative."

Here we have in (1) the mere stems *haròk*, burn; *orì*, beat. In (2) we have the predicator (be) unexpressed. In (3) we have the subject (thou, you) unexpressed. There is no instinct whatever of an "active" or "passive voice." Of the suffixes, *a* is merely a suffix of transfer indicating the class (é.) to which the stems have been transferred from their original class (p.): and *kata* is really a suffix of differentiation, giving a definite turn to the original sense of the stem.

1. — Use of Radical Affixes of Differentiation.

The Nicobarese differentiate connected words of the same class and derived from the same root (original meaning) by radical affixes, precisely as they indicate transfer of words from class to class. There is no difference in method or form in the affixes thus used. *E g.*,

Radical Affixes of Differentiation for Connected Indicators (Nouns).

Prefixes.

hen-tain (basket)	mahen-tainya (basketful)	en-kòina (a male)	men-kòina (a male of a given race)
wétare (goblet)	ta-wétare (gobletful)		
yai (price)	mi-yai (value)	mòngko (cup)	mo-mòngkóa (cupful)

Infixes.

sh-áyo (sack)	sh-am-ayōwa (sackful)	k-âhē (moon)	k-am-ahēwa (lunation)
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Combined Prefix and Infix.

p-omlē (bottle)	ta-p-ah-ōmlē (bottleful)
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For Connected Explicators (Adjectives).

Suffixes.

kēh (violent)	kēh-tō (ill-tempered)	kēh-ngayan (difficult)
lapā (good)	lapā-yan (well)	lapā-yan-tō (glad)
hēang (one)	{ hēang-ashe (alike)	hēang-ayan (equal)
	{ hēang-e (same)	hēang-she (first)
karū (large)	karū-ngashe (extensive)	karū-she (abundant)
yōl (together)	{ yōl-hashe (same kind)	yōl-shī (beside)
	{ yōl-ten (accompanying)	

m. — Working of Correlated Radical Affixes.

In the following instances one can see side by side the working of the correlated radical suffixes both of transfer and differentiation.³³

(1) Lost or obscure root; *tang* (p) arrive.

CLASS.	WORD.	SENSE.
e.	tang-ngashe	complete.
e.	tang-tashe	accurate.
p.	tang-hat	arrive eastwards.
p.	tang-ngato	approve.
p.	tang-ngayan	satisfy (hunger, thirst).

(2) Lost or obscure root; *yāh* (p) attract.

CLASS.	WORD.	SENSE.
e.	yāh-ngamat	pretty
e.	yāh-ngatō	happy
e.	yāh-ngayan	kind
p.	yāh-ngashi	fond of (to be)
p.	ha-yāh-ngashi	love (family)(to)
p.	hen-yāh-ngashe	family love

In the last two instances it will be noticed that correlated prefixes of differentiation have been called in to make the sense clear in the usual way.

n. — In the "Comparative Degrees."

In working out his "comparative degrees" the Nicobarese exhibits the uses of the radical affixes in most of the ways above explained. He adds the suffix *a* and then sometimes the infix *en* or the prefix *en* and *ong*, and sometimes he uses correlated prefixes. This addition he effects by agglutination, change of form, or inflexion.

³³ The mental process observable in these cases becomes quite clear from a reference to the Languages of the Torres Straits, as pointed out to me by Mr. Sydney Ray. Thus:

Palai (intransitive form *pali*) expresses the idea of separation, division into two parts, motion apart. Then
dan-pali (*dan* = eye), to open eye, be awake.
gud-pali (*gud* = mouth), to open (flower, mouth).
poi-pali (*poi* = dust), to shake off.
galu-pali (*galu* = cold), to tremble.
gagai-palai (*gagai* = bow), to shoot.
idai-palai (*idai*, plural of *i'a*, word), to cause one to chatter.
kerket-palai (*kerket* = smarting sensation), to cause to smart.

The connection with the root idea in these cases is not always easy for a European to follow.

Table of the "Comparative Degrees."

(Suffix always a.)

Unchanged Form of Suffix.

Infix en.

changed form	<i>ch-òng</i> (high)	<i>ch-in-ònga</i> (higher)
inflected	<i>l-apā</i> (good)	<i>l-en-pāa</i> (better)
inflected	<i>ch-aling</i> (long)	<i>ch-in-linga</i> (longer)
inflected	<i>sh-ang</i> (sweet)	<i>sh-inn-ānga</i> (sweeter)
inflected	<i>p-ōap</i> (poor)	<i>p-enn-ōapa</i> (poorer)
inflected	<i>la-ngan</i> (heavy)	<i>l-en-ngāna</i> (heavier)

Changed Form of Suffix.

inflected	<i>f-uoi</i> (thick)	<i>f-enn-oiyo</i> (thicker)
inflected	<i>pa-chau</i> (cold)	<i>p-en-chauwa</i> (colder)

Unchanged Form of Suffix.

Prefixes en, ong.

inflected	<i>enh</i> (near)	<i>enn-enhā</i> (nearer)
agglutinated	<i>koṅg</i> (strong)	<i>ong-koṅga</i> (stronger)

Changed Form of Suffix.

Correlated Prefixes.

<i>mi-tūnto</i> (short)	<i>en-tānta</i> (shorter)
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The "superlative" does not come into the argument, as there is, strictly, no such "degree," the illustrator (adverb), *ka*, 'indeed,' following the "comparative" for the purpose. Thus:

<i>chṅg</i> (high)	<i>chṅṅga</i> (higher)	<i>chṅṅga ka</i> (highest)
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o. — In Expression of "Continuing Action."

So also in working out a plan for expressing "continuing action," the Nicobarese employs the same method. He adds a suffix *yande* to the suffix *a*, and then proceeds as in the former case.

Continuing Action.

 (Suffix always a + *yande*.)

Infix en.

inflected	<i>t-op</i> (drink)	<i>t-enn-opayande</i> (c. drinking)
inflected	<i>(ok)-ng-ōk</i> (eat)	<i>ng-enn-ōkayande</i> (c. eating)
inflected	<i>(i)-k-āsha</i> (sing)	<i>k-enn-ōishayande</i> (c. singing)
inflected	<i>(ong)-sh-ònga</i> (walk)	<i>sh-inn-òngayande</i> (c. walking)

Correlated Prefixes.

<i>i-teak</i> (sleep)	<i>en-teakayande</i> (c. sleeping)
<i>ka-tōka</i> (dance)	<i>ken-tōkayande</i> (c. dancing)
<i>et-āt</i> (write)	<i>en-ētayande</i> (c. writing)
<i>a-minh</i> (rain)	<i>en-minhayande</i> (c. raining)

p. — In Expression of Naturally Connected Words.

So further in the case of expressing the depth of water, a matter of much consequence to a people constantly navigating canoes and boats along a coral-bound shore.

Water and canoes are measured by the arm-span, which is something over five feet, or roughly a fathom: *hāng tamāka*, one fathom. But for the more commonly used 2 to 10 fathoms there are expressions specially differentiated by means of the prefix or infix *en* and the suffix *o* (for *a*), attached on the principles noted in Appendix A in the case of the numerals.

Root.		Word.	Sense.
<i>ān</i>	two	<i>enn-āy-o</i>	2 fathoms
<i>l-ōe</i>	three	<i>l-enn-ōiy-o</i>	3 fathoms
<i>f-oan</i>	four	<i>h-enn-oan-no</i>	4 fathoms
<i>t-anai</i>	five	<i>t-enn-ēy-o</i>	5 fathoms
<i>t-afual</i>	six	<i>t-en-fūal-o</i>	6 fathoms
<i>iesat</i>	seven	<i>en-shāt-o</i>	7 fathoms
<i>enfoan</i>	eight	<i>enfōan-no</i>	8 fathoms
<i>sh-om</i>	ten	<i>sh-inn-am-o</i>	10 fathoms

Sudden emphasis on these terms is very often necessary in navigation, and further differentiation is effected by the attachment of the prefix *ma* or the infix *am*: e. g.,

m-enn-ây-o	only 2 fathoms	t-amen-fual-o	only 6 fathoms
l-amen-ôiy-o	only 3 fathoms	m-en-shat-o	only 7 fathoms
ma-h-enn-ôann-o	only 4 fathoms	m-enfoan-no	only 8 fathoms
t-amen-ey-o	only 5 fathoms	sh-aminn-am-o	only 10 fathoms.

q. — In Expression of Groups of Words Round Ideas and Groups of Ideas Round Words.

The Nicobarese carry this plan of differentiating connected words of the same class by radical affixes very far, and manage by this means to create groups of words round one idea or set of ideas, or *vice versa*, groups of ideas round one word or set of words.

Groups of Words Round an Idea Differentiated by Radical Affixes.

I. Idea: "Same Sort."

(Prefixes or Infixes Employed.)

enkôina	a male	m-enkôina	a male of the same race
enkâna	a female	m-enkâna	a female of the same race
kenyûm	child	k-am-enyûma	child of the same race
paiyûh	a Nicobarese	{ p-en-yûh p-amen-yûh }	a Nicobarese of the same community.
nôt	pig	men-nôta	pig of the same village
âm	dog	enm-âma	dog of the same village
chông	ship	ch-inm-ônga	ship of the same rig
mattai	village	m-en-tai	village of the same people
kentôka	dance	k-am-entôka	dance of the same kind
kandishe	song	ka-menn-ôishe	song of the same kind
kaling	foreigner	ka-ma-lenga	foreigner of the same country

This last word is an instance where a foreign word has been subjected to Nicobarese grammatical forms; for Kling, Kaling is an Indian word for the foreigners settled in the Malay countries, from Kalinga, the Northern coasts of Madras.

Example.

<i>hēang</i>	<i>kamennôishe</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>kôisha</i>	<i>ân</i>	<i>kamentôka</i>	<i>ta</i>
one	same kind-of-song	c. i. r.	sing	two	same kind-of-dance	c. i. r.
<i>katôka</i>	<i>taî</i>	<i>chûa</i>	<i>wâhê</i>			
dance	by I		last-night			

(one sort of song was sung and two dances of the same kind were danced by me last night).

II. Idea: "Complete Condition."

(Suffixes Employed.)

ROOT OR STEM.	CONNECTED WORDS.	SENSE.
dî (bulk)	dî-re dî-ngashe dî-shire dî-ngare dî-ngareshe	{ all good (of a hut, goods) all bad (of a hut or goods) all absent (of a quality, substance)
hēang (one)	hēang-lare hēang-ngare	all good (contents of anything) all bad (contents of anything)
dūat (length)	dūat-shire	all (of a long object)
hēang-leât (one-finished)	hēang-leât-tare	the whole set

Example.

linhēn dingareshe mattai nēs hat ōt toak ta taiñ
 to-day all-absent village this not is toddy c. i. r. fermented
 (there is no fermented toddy at all in this village to-day).

Groups of Ideas Round a Word Differentiated by Radical Affixes.

Word : *la*, a portion ; then *l-inn-a*, less.

(Suffixes Employed.)

<i>linnâ-ngashe</i>	}	less than—
<i>linnâ-ngayan</i>		
<i>linnâ-hala</i>		less than (a height ; a distance northwards) :
<i>linnâ-hashe</i>		less than (a shortness ; a distance westwards)
<i>linnâ-haiñe</i>		less than (a nearness ; a distance to landing-place)
<i>linnâ-hanga</i>		less than (a distance southwards)
<i>linnâ-hahat</i>		less than (a distance eastwards)

Examples.

<i>an</i>	<i>linnâ-hala</i>	<i>chinōnga</i>	<i>kōi</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>ch'ia</i>
he	less	taller	head	o	I
(he is not so tall as I am).					
<i>an</i>	<i>linnâ-ngayan</i>	<i>ongkoōnga</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>men</i>	
he	less	stronger	to	you	
(he is not so strong as you are).					

r. — Differentiating Radical Suffixes of Direction.

When one comes to consider the suffixes of predicators (verbs), we find the principle of differentiating and grouping connected words by radical affixes carried to an extraordinary extent. Thus, there are sets of suffixes attached to roots or stems indicating motion, which give them a special force, though, when attached, as they frequently are, to other roots or stems, they have no particular force traceable now, whatever might have been possible once.

Differentiating Radical Suffixes of Direction attached to Roots and

Stems Indicating Motion.

<i>hala</i>	<i>lare</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>al</i>	northwards, upwards, out of.
<i>hauga</i>	<i>ngare</i>	<i>ngo</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>ang</i>	southwards, from self.
<i>hahat</i>	<i>hare</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>ahat</i>	eastwards, inwards.
<i>hashe</i>	<i>shire</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>aich</i>	westwards, downwards.
<i>haiñe</i>	<i>ñire</i>	<i>ñe</i>	<i>ñe</i>	<i>aiñ</i>	towards the landing place, outwards, away.
<i>hata</i>	<i>tare</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>at</i>	towards any direction on same lead, towards self.

As the differentiating radical suffixes of direction play an important part in Nicobarese speech, some examples are given here.

I. Root *o*, go.

go north	<i>o-le</i>	go up (ascend)	<i>o-le</i>
go south	<i>o-nge</i>		
go east	<i>o-he</i>		
go west	<i>o-she</i>	go down (descend)	<i>o-she</i>
go to landing place	<i>o-ñe</i>		
go anywhere	<i>ote</i>		

II. Root *af*, go.

go north	<i>af-al</i> ³⁴
go south	<i>af-ang</i>
go east	<i>af-a-hat</i>
go west	<i>af-aich</i> ³⁴
go to landing place	<i>af-aiñ</i>
go anywhere	<i>af-at</i>

III. Root *tang*, arrive.

arrive northwards	<i>tang-la</i>
arrive southwards	<i>tang-nga</i>
arrive eastwards	<i>tang-hat</i>
arrive westwards	<i>tang-she</i>
arrive at landing place	<i>tang-ñe</i>
arrive somewhere	<i>tang-ta</i>

IV. Root *oid*, hither.

hither northwards	<i>oid-lare</i>
hither southwards	<i>oid-ngare</i>
hither eastwards	<i>oid-hare</i>
hither westwards	<i>oid-shire</i>
hither to landing place	<i>oid-ñire</i>
hither to anywhere	<i>oid-tare</i>

V. Root, *shwá*, bring back.

bring back northwards	<i>shwá-hala</i>
bring back southwards	<i>shwá-hanga</i>
bring back eastwards	<i>shwá-hahat</i>
bring back westwards	<i>shwá-hashe</i>
bring back to landing place	<i>shwá-haiñe</i>
bring back anywhere	<i>shwá-hata</i>

s. — Extreme Extension of the Use of the Radical Suffixes of Direction.

These suffixes explain a set of illustrators (adverbs) of direction, which are to be explained as consisting of a lost root *nga* + suffix of direction, *e. g.*,

Illustrators (Adverbs) of Direction.

<i>ngá-le</i>	north, above	<i>nga-iche</i> }	west, below
<i>nga-nge</i>	south down	<i>ngá-she</i> }	
<i>ngá-hae</i>	east	<i>nga-iñe</i>	to landing place

Example.

<i>due</i>	<i>ngaiñe</i>	<i>chamang</i>	<i>cht ?</i>
canoe	at-landing-place	belong	who ?
(whose is the canoe at the landing place?)			

Transferring these illustrators (adverbs) to indicators (nouns) by means of using the connector of intimate relation, *ta*, as a prefix, we get —

The Four Quarters.

<i>Ta-ngále</i>	North	<i>Ta-ngange</i>	South
<i>Ta-ngáhae</i>	East	<i>Ta-ngaiche</i>	West

Transferred to yet another set of illustrators (adverbs), the sense of "ago" is conveyed to predicators (verbs) of motion in the same curious manner.

Illustrators (Adverbs) of Time Past.

<i>hala</i>	ago (of movement, occurrence in the North)
<i>hanga</i>	ago (of movement, occurrence in the South)
<i>hat</i>	ago (of movement, occurrence in the East)
<i>hashe</i>	ago (of movement, occurrence in the West)
<i>hata</i>	ago (of returning)
<i>hashi</i>	ago (of a death)

Example.

<i>tanaí</i>	<i>hanga</i>	<i>kamahéwa</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>kápáh</i>
five	ago-to-the South	month	he	died
(five months ago he died in the South).				

³⁴ *Afal*, *afaich*, like *ñe*, *ñe*, mean also "go up," "go down" (a hill).

The interrogative prefix *ka*, *ké*, *kan*, has been already explained and when attached by inflexion to *di*, be, together with an inflected suffix of direction, it produces a curious and common set of forms of question and answer.

Interrogatives of Direction.

Root *di*, be, plus prefix *ka* for the question, plus suffix *ta* of "any direction" inflected with suffix of definite direction.

<i>k-dé-de ?</i>	be ?	<i>k-dé-hare ?</i>	be east ?
<i>k-dé-lde ?</i>	be north ? be up- stairs ? be above ?	<i>k-dé-itde ?</i>	be west ? be downstairs ?
<i>k-dé-ngde ?</i>	be south ? be below ?	<i>k-dé-iñde ?</i>	be at landing place ?

Examples.

- Q. *Kódde ta ane ddk ?* Any water there ? A. *Kakat*. There is.
 Q. *Kòlde ta ane ddk ?* Any water up there ? up north ? A. *Kòlde*. It is up there ; up north. A. *Ngdlde*. It is up here.
 Q. *Kóngde ta ane ddk ?* Any water down there ? down south ? A. *Kóngde*. It is down there ; down south. A. *Ngange*. It is down here ; down south.
 Q. *Kôhare ta ane ddk ?* Any water to the east ? A. *Kôhare*. There to the east. A. *Ngdhae*. Here to the east.
 Q. *Kòitde ta ane ddk ?* Any water downstairs ? to the west ? A. *Kòitde*. There to the west. A. *Ngashe* (and *ngashe*). It is down here to the west.
 Q. *Kòinde ta ane ddk ?* Any water at the landing-place ? A. *Kòinde*. It is there at the landing-placs. A. *Ngaiñe*. Here at the landing-place.
 Q. *Kakat ?* *enkòina* *enkana* *ta* *itá* A. *Kakat*.
 Q. Be ? man woman c. i. r. here A. Be.
 (Q. Are there any men and women here ? A. There are.)

In the above instance *kakat* is a case of a double prefix *ka* + *ka* + (*di*) *t*.

t. — Use of Terms for Parts of the Human Body as Supplementary Radical Affixes of Differentiation,

Words relating to some parts of the body are used as supplementary radical suffixes both of differentiation and transfer to indicate action or relation naturally referable to those parts. Thus :

-*tai* (hand) refers to what is done by the hand or by force: -*láh* (foot, leg), to movement by the foot: -*kói* (head), to anything relating to the head or top: -*ndng* (ear), to what can be heard: -*chaká* (face), to what is done before one or in the presence: -*ngé* (voice), to speech: -*mat* (surface, eye), and -*ok* (skin, back), to what is outside, on the surface. E. g.,

Supplementary Radical Suffixes Derived from the Parts of the Body.

<i>tai</i> (hand)	<i>hodh</i> (starve)- <i>nga-tai</i>	(make to starve)
<i>láh</i> (foot)	<i>ō</i> (go)- <i>ngo-láh</i>	(to) leave
<i>kói</i> (head)	<i>kenyá</i> (a leaf ²⁵)- <i>nga-kói</i> (head)	(to) cover a pot
<i>ndng</i> (ear)	<i>huma</i> (bequest)- <i>nga-ngang</i>	(advice)
<i>chaká</i> (face)	<i>oreh</i> (before)- <i>chaká</i>	(to) advance
<i>ngé</i> (voice)	<i>opyap</i> (overhear)- <i>nga-ngé</i>	(to) eavesdrop
<i>mat</i> (surface)	<i>ettat</i> (polish)- <i>mat</i>	(to) wipe
<i>mat</i> (eye)	<i>dáte</i> (water)- <i>mat</i>	(to) wipe a tear
<i>ok</i> (skin)	<i>ettatch</i> (husk)- <i>nga-ok</i>	(to) flay

(To be continued.)

²⁵ *Kenyá* is the name of the plant which produces the leaves used as the covering of pots for steaming pandanus parts.

NOTES ON ANCIENT ADMINISTRATIVE TERMS AND TITLES IN THE PANJAB.

BY H. A. ROSE.

A STUDY of the old designations of officials and administrative divisions in the **Panjab** would undoubtedly throw much light on the ancient system of administration. Unfortunately, the material for such a study is very scanty and is almost confined to the names and titles given incidentally in the copper-plate inscriptions of the **Chambā State**, some of which were published in the *Archæological Report* for 1908. A full collection is being published by the **Panjab Government** in a separate volume.

The **Chambā** inscriptions allude to the "eighteen elements of the State," but do not describe what these eighteen elements were. They would appear, indeed, to have been given a more or less conventional number,¹ according to a theoretical system borrowed from the more powerful State of **Kashmīr**, rather than a description of the indigenous organization of the State in actual force at any period. Besides these so-called eighteen elements, the inscriptions enumerate a horde of officials, whose functions are not described and are not known at all clearly from other sources. From three of the inscriptions a list of no less than thirty-five official, or *quasi*-official, titles is obtainable, as the following table, which is taken from three **Chambā** copper-plates of 960—1080 A. D., shows:—

Official Titles in Chambā, circ. 1000 A. D.

Plate II. Text.	Plate IV. Text.	Plate V. Text.
1. rājā.	1. rājā.	1. rājā.
2. rānā (rājānaka).	2. rānā.	2. rānā.
3. rājput (rājaputra). ²	3. rājāmātya.	3. rājput.
4. rājāmātya, royal minister.	4. rājā-putra.	4. rājāmātya, royal coun- cillor.
	5. parikara-sanniyuktaka- viniyuktaka: ? 'those appointed and com- missioned (out of the Rājā's attendants).'	5. brāhmana.
		6. kshatriya.
		7. vaisya.
		8. sūdra.
5. rājasthāniya, chief justice.		9. rājasthāniya.
		10. parikara-samniyuktakavi- niyuktaka: cf. No. 5 of Plate IV.
6. pramātar, ? measurer.		
7. sarobhanga.		
8. kumārāmātya, councillor of the prince.		
9. uparika. ³		
10. vishayapati. ⁴		
11. nihelapati.		

¹ It can hardly be more than a coincidence that the well-known Right-hand castes in **Madras** comprised eighteen sorts of people: cf. *Nelson's Scientific Study of Hindu Law*, pp. 98, 99, and 100. And, according to *Dubois* (*Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, 6th Ed., p. 15), the **Śūdras** of **Madras** comprise eighteen chief sub-castes.

² *Rāwat* (*Guzarāti*) and *Rāut* (*Marāthi*) = horse-soldier, trooper, also appear to be derived from *rājaputra*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, p. 218.

³ A fiscal term, ? fr. *Pr. uparī*, may denote a tax levied on cultivators who have no proprietary rights in the soil: *C. I. I.*, III, 97, etc.

⁴ Lord or governor of a *vishaya*, probably a sub-division of a *dēśa* or *mandala*: *C. I. I.*, p. 327.

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| 12. kshatrapa (kshetrāpa). | | |
| 13. prāntapāla, frontier guard. | | |
| 14. hastyaśvoṣṭra
balavyāvṛ(ṣṭ)ataka,
those occupied with
elephants, horses, camels,
and the forces. | | |
| 15. dūta. ⁵ | 6. dūta. | 11. dūta. |
| 16. gamāgamika. | 7. gamāgamika. | 12. gamāgamika. |
| 17. abhitvaramāṇa. | 8. abhitvaramāṇa. | 13. bhitvara-sāmāṇa. |
| 18. khasha. | 9. khasha. | 14. khāśa. |
| 19. kulika. | 10. kulika. | 15. kulika. |
| 20. śaulkika. ⁶ | 11. śaulkika. | 16. śaulmika. |
| 21. gaulmika, inspector of
police, patrol. ⁷ | 12. gaulmika. | 17. gaulmika. |
| 22. khaṇḍaraksha. | 13. khaṇḍaraksha. | 18. khaṇḍaraksha. |
| 23. tara patika, ? bridge-
guard. | 14. tarapati. | 19. tarapati. |
| 24. chhatrachchhāyika, um-
brella-bearer. | | |
| 25. vetakila, betel-carrier. | | |
| 26. vīrajāyātrika, ? those
belonging to the expedi-
tionary force. | 15. vīrajāyātrika. | 20. vīrajāyātrika. |
| 27. chauroddharāṇika, thief-
catcher. | 16. chauroddharāṇika. | 21. chauroddharāṇika. |
| 28. daṇḍika, jailor. ⁸ | 17. daṇḍika. | 22. daṇḍika. |
| 29. daṇḍavāsika, executioner, | 18. daṇḍavāsika. | 23. daṇḍavāsika,
'and all others that
constitute the eighteen
elements of the State.' |
| 30. bhogapati. ⁹ | | |
| 31. viniyuktaka. | | |
| 32. bhāgika, land-owners. ¹⁰ | | |
| 33. bhogika, land-holders. | | |
| 34. chāta (modern <i>chār</i>), head-
men of a <i>pargana</i> . | | |
| 35. and sevakādūn their subor-
dinates and servants. | | |
| | 19. brāhmaṇa. | |
| | 20. kshatriya. | |
| | 21. viṭ (vaiśya). | |
| | 22. chūdr (śūdra) and all
others that constitute
the eighteen (<i>etc</i>) ele-
ments of the State,
and etc. | |

In Plate III (*Arch. Report*, 1903, pp. 257-258) are mentioned a *mahāmātya*, or chief councillor, and a *mahākshapaṭālika* or chief record-keeper, who do not appear in Plates II, IV, or V.

⁵ *Lit.*, 'a messenger': cf. Hindi *dūt*, especially in *dūt-bhūt*, evil spirits, and also the messengers of Yāma, the god of death. Is P. *dawā*, 'runner' or 'messenger,' a doublet? For an interesting note on *dūtaka* (occasionally *dūta*, s. g., in Nirmand copper-plate), cf. Fleet in C. I. I., II, p. 100².

⁶ Cf. *śulka*, 'superintendent of tolls or customs': C. I. I., III, p. 52³.

⁷ But cf. *gulma*, 'superintendent of woods and forests': C. I. I., III, 52.

⁸ *Dāṇḍika*; *lit.*, a punisher: fr. *danda*, fine or rod: C. I. I., III, p. 218⁴. *Dand* is still used for 'fine.'

⁹ *Bhoga*, -ika, 'one who enjoys or possesses': C. I. I., III, 100; *bhoga*, 'enjoyment of shares,' p. 120¹.

¹⁰ Cf. the modern Balochi *bhāgyā*, and Fañjābi *bhāgwand*, 'wealthy.' *Bhāga* is a territorial term, C. I. I., III, p. 248.

Of all the designations given in the above list, only one, *vis.*, *chār*, the Sanskrit *chaṣa*, survives, or can, at least, with any certainty be said to survive in the modern language of the State. Within quite recent times an entirely different set of names was in use, but these are now nearly obsolete in their turn and are being displaced even in popular use by designations borrowed from the British Revenue Codes.

But before describing the more modern or the present official titles it will be best to note the names of the old administrative divisions. The ancient administrative division or unit was the *maṇḍala*,¹¹ which corresponds to the more modern *pargand*. Popular belief holds that Chambā was once divided into or comprised 84¹² of these *maṇḍalas*, when it was larger than it is now. Even at annexation it contained 72 *pargands*, since reduced by amalgamating the smaller *pargands* to 52. Till recently the Bhaṭṭiyāt or Bhaṭṭi *wizārat* contained 12 *pargands* and was accordingly known as the Bārah Bhaṭṭiān. These *pargands* are now grouped into 4 *wizārats*, corresponding to the *tahsils* or sub-collectorates of a British District. The *wizārats* are, as the word itself indicates, of modern origin. It is perhaps worth noting that each *pargand* contained a State granary (*koṭhī*) in which the revenue of the State, collected in kind, was stored, and in which the officials of the *pargand* lived.¹³ As a rule there is only one *koṭhī* in each *pargand*, but when the *pargand* consists of two or more amalgamated smaller *pargands* it possesses two or more *koṭhis*, each with its *pahṛī*, *hālī*, and *jhotiār*.

The officials at the capital were as follows : —

- (1) *Wazīr*, chief minister.
- (2) *Thare*¹⁴ *dā mahtā*, chief financial minister.
- (3) *Bakhshī*, who used to keep the military accounts and was responsible for the internal administration of the State forces.¹⁵
- (4) *Hāzrī dā kotwāl*, magistrate in attendance on the Rājā.
- (5) *Thare dā kotwāl*, magistrate who performed miscellaneous duties and disposed of petty cases arising in the town.

For the outlying tracts special officials were appointed — *wazīrs* for Pāngī and Barmaur *wizārats*, and elsewhere a *mahtā* and a *kotwāl* for each *pargand*. The two latter posts were held by men appointed in the capital, whence they transacted all the business of their charges. Not unnaturally these posts became all more or less sinecures.

The chief local officials varied in different parts of the State : —

In Chambā and Chaurāh *wizārats* each *pargand* was in charge of a *chār*, collector, a *likhnehārd*, clerk, and a *bhatwāl*, personal assistant called collectively *kārdārs* or *kāmdārs*. Of these —

¹¹ *Maṇḍal*, s. m. disk, circle, ring . . . region, country, district, province (extending 20, or, according to some, 40 *yojanas* in every direction); the country over which the 12 princes Chakravartī are supposed to have reigned.

¹² 84 is almost certainly a conventional or auspicious number: cf. *Panjab Notes and Queries*, I, 1884, § 465, for the Tribal Collocations of 12 (Bārah), 22 (Baiyā), 52 (Bāwani), 84 (Chaurāh) and 85 (Paṭhān) villages.

¹³ The *koṭhis* varied in size and appearance, but most of them were built on one plan: a square structure, 20 or 30 yards long on each side, consisting of rooms surrounding an open courtyard. The buildings are usually two or three storeys high and divided into rooms and *dālāns* or halls. There is a principal entrance, and in the courtyard a staircase leading to the upper storeys. Some of the *koṭhis* are very ancient, several dating back even to the times of the Rānās whose rule preceded the foundation of the State itself.

¹⁴ *Thara*, high place, where justice was administered. Hence *thareh*, an attendant at the *thara*, an official whose functions are not more fully defined.

¹⁵ For the functions of the *Bakhshī*, see Irvine's *Army of the Moghals in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1896, p. 539.

(i) The *chār* was the collector of revenue and the officer responsible for the internal management of the *parganās*.¹⁶

(ii) The *likhnehār* kept the revenue accounts and did clerical work.

(iii) The *bhatwāl*¹⁷ carried out their orders and held under them a position analogous to that of the *hāzrī dā kotwāl* at the capital.

The other officials, who were all subordinate to the three *kārdārs*, were—

(iv) The *jhotiār* (from *jhotā*, 'an errand'), a messenger, who was under the immediate orders of the *bhatwāl* and carried out the *kārdār's* orders conveyed through him.

(v) *Ugrākā*,¹⁸ a tax-gatherer, who collected the revenue demand under the *chār*.

(vi) *Jinsālī* (from *jins*, 'grain' or goods, and *āl*, a store), a store-keeper, who was in charge of the storehouse of the *parganā*.

(vii) *Pahrī* (from *pahr*, watch), a record-keeper, who was in charge of the State's *kothī*, records, and revenue, both in cash and kind.

(viii) *Bhānd* (? from *bhāndā*, a vessel), a cook, who cooked the *kārdār's* food and cleaned their utensils.

(ix) *Hālī*, a care-taker, who kept the *kothī* clean and looked after the storage and safe-keeping of the grain.

(x) *Kāgadīārū* (from Persian *kāghaz* and *ārū*, bringing), a letter-carrier.

(xi) *Lakkarhār*, who supplied wood to the *kothī*.

(xii) *Ghīārū*, who collected *ghī* from those who paid their revenue in that commodity.

(xiii) *Dudhīārū*, who similarly collected milk.

In certain *parganās* there used to be a high official called *odhrū*, who was superior to the *kārdārs*, and had under him more than one *parganā*.

In Barmaur, the ancient Brahmapura, all the above officials are known, but the *ugrākā* is called *durbīāl* or *drubīāl*, and although the *jhotiār* is not unknown, his duties are performed by a *kothēru*. There is also an official called *ahrū*,¹⁹ below the *durbīāl*, who collects milk. Neither the *kothēru* nor the *ahrū* are paid servants of the State, but they are allowed certain concessions and privileges in their *wisārat*. Formerly an official called *patwārī*²⁰ had woollen blankets made for the Rājā out of the wool collected as revenue.

In the *Bhaṭṭiyāt wisārat* certain *parganās* had an *odhrū* over them and others an *amlān*. Both were superior in rank to the *kārdārs*. There the *bhatwāl* was called *tharēth*; ²¹ the *jhotiār*, *bhatwāl*; the *ugrākā*, *muqaddam*; and the *ahrū*, *jhiwar* or *jhar*.

The remote *wisārat* of Pāngi used to be under a *wazīr* (who visited it every third year to collect the revenue), and under him was a *pālsrā*. Otherwise Pāngi had all the officials except No. xiii, above described, the only difference being that the *ugrākā* was called *muqaddam*.

(To be continued.)

¹⁶ Hence his charge (the *parganā*) was also called *chārī*. Some *parganās* also have a *chhota chār*, whose jurisdiction is separate from that of the *barā chār*.

¹⁷ It is possible, but hardly probable, that the *bhatwāl* is the *bhata* of the copper-plates.

¹⁸ *Ugrākā*, cf. Panjābī *ugrākā*, a collector or gatherer of tax. The *ugrākā* and *jhotiār* were appointed as occasion required.

¹⁹ Possibly from *ahrī*, beatings, the first milk of a cow after calving. If so, the word is practically synonymous with *dudhīārū*.

²⁰ Probably from *pattu*, blanket.

²¹ See ante, p. 350, note 14.

BOOK-NOTICE.

ACHYUTARĀYĀBHŪDAYAM OF ŚRĪ RĀJANĀTHA, with a commentary by PANDIT R. V. KRISHNAMACHARIAR (ABHINAVA BHATTĀ BANA). Part I, Cantos 1—6. Srirangam : Sri Vani Vilas Press, 1907. Pp. 156.

THIS beautifully printed little volume contains the first half of a hitherto unpublished Sanskrit poem, accompanied by an excellent commentary in the same language. The hero is king Achyuta (A. D. 1530—40) of the second dynasty of Vijayanagara. On this prince a recent historian has justly pronounced the verdict that he "was a craven, and under him the Hindu empire began to fall to pieces."¹ The author of the panegyric poem of course represents him as a mighty, pious, and warlike sovereign.

As in the Vijayanagara inscriptions, Achyuta is stated to have belonged to the family of the Tuluva kings (*sarga* III, verse 38), and his pedigree is traced from the Moon to the mythical king Turvasu (I, vv. 5—18). To this race belonged Timma I. (v. 23), whose son Īsvara (v. 25) had by Bukkamā two sons: Nṛsiṃha (v. 27) or Narasa (v. 28) and Timma II. The latter is not mentioned in the Vijayanagara inscriptions. The former took Mānavadurga from a Śaka (*i. e.*, Musalmān) chief (v. 29). As in the Vijayanagara inscriptions, he is reported to have dammed up the Kāvērī and to have stormed Seringapatam (v. 30). He slew the Marava king and took Madhurā (v. 31 f.). He captured Kōṇṭīrāja (v. 33). Vidyāpurī (*i. e.*, Vijayanagara) became his capital (v. 39). His three favourite queens were Tippāmbikā, Nāgamāmbā, and Ōbamāmbā (v. 52). Tippāmbikā's son was Viranṛsiṃharāja, Nāgamāmbā's Krishnarāja (v. 53), and Ōbamāmbā's Achyuta (II, v. 32), whose chief queen was Varadāmbikā (III, v. 15), the daughter of the Salaga king (v. 48).

Viranṛsiṃha (v. 17) was succeeded by his brother Krishnarāja, who took Kōṇḍavṛṭi and other forts from the Gajapati king and set up a pillar of victory at Puṭupettanṭpura (P) (v. 18 f.). Then Achyuta, the third of the brothers, was anointed at Śeṣhādri (*i. e.*, Tirupati, v. 23) and entered Vidyānagarī (v. 24). The kings of

Kaliṅga, Magadha, Śaka, and Sinhala are represented as his servants (v. 46). His son Chinaveṅkaṭādri, who is mentioned as Veṅkaṭarāja in the Vijayanagara inscriptions, was appointed heir-apparent (v. 51 f.).

Once Achyuta's minister addressed his master in private in the Veṅkaṭa-vilāsa maṇḍapa (IV, v. 46). He submitted that the Chōla king had fled to the Chēra kingdom, and that those two kings deserved to be "punished" (v. 56), while the Pāṇḍya king, who had lost his throne, would have to be "protected" (v. 57). Thereupon the king gives the necessary instructions to the commander of his army (v. 58) and starts himself on horseback (V, v. 1). His movements are a little erratic. He enters Chandragiri (v. 22), ascends Śeṣhādri (v. 23), worships the god (v. 30), and makes presents to him (vv. 39—42). From Veṅkaṭagiri he proceeds to Kālāhasti (v. 44). At Viṣṇukāśichī (v. 47) he performs the *tulāpuruṣa* ceremony in the Varadarāja temple (v. 49). Then he travels *viā* Aruṇāchala (*i. e.*, Tiruvannāmalai, v. 51) to the Kāvērī (v. 55) and visits Srirangam (v. 57), whence he sends (his brother-in-law) the Salaga prince to bring the Chōla king from the Chēra country (v. 64).

The Salaga prince marches *viā* Madhurā to the Tāmraparṇī (VI, v. 1). He encamps there and sends his general in advance to meet the enemy (v. 13). Then follows the description of a battle, which is opened by the Tiruvaṭi king (*i. e.*, the king of Travancore, v. 14), and in which the army of the Kēraḷa (v. 25) or Chēra (v. 28) is defeated. The latter delivers the Chōla king Tiruvaṭi into the hands of the Salaga prince (v. 29 f.),² who pardons him, but places the Pāṇḍya king over him (v. 31).

The published portion of the poem closes in the middle of the description of a journey which the king undertakes in order to worship the god at Anantaśayana (Trivandrum, v. 32).

E. HULTZSCH.

Halle, 26th October, 1907.

¹ Mr. R. Sewall's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 165.

² These two verses shew that the author treated "the Chōla king" and "the Travancore king" as synonyms. On Tiruvaṭi see Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900*, p. 28.

A PLAN FOR A UNIFORM SCIENTIFIC RECORD OF THE LANGUAGES OF SAVAGES.

Applied to the Languages of the Andamanese and Nicobarese.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Concluded from p. 347.)

IV. — PHONOLOGY.

a. — Mode of Speech.

THE Nicobarese speak in a deep monotonous tone and with open lips, thus adding to the many difficulties presented by their language by giving it an exceedingly indistinct sound. The pronunciation is guttural, nasal, drawled, and indeterminate: *i. e.*, the Nicobarese speak slowly from the throat with the flat of the tongue and open lips. Final consonants are habitually slurred, especially labials, palatals, and gutturals. All this is the result of the habit of betel-chewing till the lips are parted, the teeth greatly encrusted and the gums distended, rendering the articulation of speech most imperfect.

b. — Man's and de Rœpstorff's Enquiries.

Mr. Man was at very great pains to catch the real sound of Nicobarese words, and his reproduction of them on Mr. A. J. Ellis's scheme may be taken as being as near to complete accuracy as one is likely to arrive at. Mr. de Rœpstorff, who was a Dane, used in 1876 his national system of representation, which has been followed by Danish and German writers, but is entirely unsuited to English readers. *E. g.*, he writes *j* for *y*, and the usual Danish and German complications to represent *ch* and *j* and so on. He had also the common Danish and German difficulty in distinguishing surds from sonants, which has made his transliterations puzzling.

c. — Reduction of the Speech to Writing.

There are a great number of vowel sounds in the language, which have been reproduced by Messrs. Man and Ellis as follows:—

The Vowels in the Central Dialect.

ENGLISH.	CENTRAL.	ENGLISH.	CENTRAL.
a idea, cut	yūang (fruit)	ò pot	òmtūm (all)
ā cur ³⁶	dāk (come)	ô awful	lôe (cloth)
à casa (Ital.)	kākātōk (a month ³⁷)	ó kong (Ger.)	hōi (far)
â father	kân (wife)	u influence	puâ (catch)
a fathom	leât (finished)	ū pool	dūēn (monkey)
e bed, chaotic	heng (sun)	u uber (Ger.)	dūe (canoe)
ē paŕ	lōang (name)	ai bite	tanai (five)
i lid	kaliug (foreigner)	au house	karean (spirit-scarer)
ī police	wī (make)	au haus (Ger.)	oau (vomit)
o indolent	koâl (arm)	oi boil	enlōin (wallow)
ō pole	enlōin (axe)		

Almost every vowel is nasalised and the following are reproduced in the written form

adopted:—

Nasalised Vowels in the Central Dialect.

añ	holiañ (spinster)	ōñ	kenhōña (pocket)
āñ	miañ (spear)	ōñ	ōñh (fuel)
ân	ân (two)	ôñ	môñhuyá (alumni)
añ	koyañwa (guava)	uñ	chyuñ (sweet)
eiñ	eiñ (near)	aiñ	mifaiñya (cloud)
iñ	amiñh (rain)	auñ	aiñauñ (parboil)
īñ	fiñha (hog's head)	oiñ	ombōiñ (tobacco)
oñ	haroiñ (stalk game)		

³⁶ With untrilled r.

³⁷ The name of the first month of the North-East monsoon.

The consonants do not require much explanation, but the following may be noticed : —

ENGLISH.	CENTRAL.	ENGLISH.	CENTRAL.
ch chain	chakā (face)	ŋ springiest	iŋgol (nearly ripe)
hw what (Scotch)	benhwāva (ashes)	r rest (Eng. r)	karū (large)
ñ gagner (Fr.)	enkōiña (man)	sh she	shohōng (south-west monsoon)
ng singer	yangtare (follow)		

d. — Stress.

Stress is on the root or stem, or on what is now thought by the Nicobarese to be so. These can to a great extent be separated out from the affixes by the stress. In stems of two syllables the stress is on the second syllable, unless the first contains a long vowel.

V. — COMPARISON OF DIALECTS.

a. — Man's Enquiries.

Mr. Man gives a long list of words in the dialects, and when considering the currency of the people in Appendix A the comparative terms for the numerals and words connected with enumeration have also been given. From these last the deduction seemed to be clear, that the six dialects of the Nicobarese are variants of the same fundamental tongue. The same inference seems inevitable from the following examination of a selection of words from Mr. Man's *Dictionary*.

b. — Comparison of Words.

Roots will be separated out of the words by placing the affixes in italics. This separation of the roots is of course, at present, tentative, as roots can only be ascertained beyond doubt by a comparison with other connected languages in the Far East. The present attempt will, however, be useful to students.

The following abbreviations will be used in the accompanying tables : —

C. N. = Car Nicobar	Ch. = Chowra
T. = Teresa	O. = Central
S. = Southern	S. P. = Shom Pei

Words in the Six Dialects Compared.

ENGLISH.	C. N.	Ch.	T.	O.	S.	S. P.
bachelor	lāmòk	maĩl	maiyoħ	ilū	ilū	hakōit
maiden	dōla	lāmòk	lāmòk	{ holian- (wihla)	penhōn- (wihla)	
child	nīa	ken-yūm	ken-yūm	ken-yūm	pin-len	akau
female	kikāna	enkāna	enkēāna	enkāna	oyūha	apdu
male	kikōiña	mohēo	maioħ	enkōiña	otāha	akōit
man	{ tūā tūrik tāoiñ }	pāch	pai	paiyūh	pōh	akōit
back (the)	ok	ok	ok	ok	tomuōit	hakōa
blood	mām	pāheōit	vā	vā	wā	dōb
breast	tāh	tōh	tōh	toah	toāh	tōa
ear	nāng	nāng	anang	nāng	nāng	nāng
finger	kuntī	kenūshnōi	mōhtī	kanetai	kewēt	noai-tī
hair	kūya	hēōk	hēōk	yōk	yōk	jūo, jōa
hand	eltī	nōi	mōhtī	kanetai	kewēt	noai-tī

ENGLISH.	O. N.	CH.	T.	C.	S.	S. P.
head	kūi	kōi	kōi	kōi	kōi	kōi
leg	kaldrañ	lāah	lāh	lāh	lāh	lāu
nose	elmenh	mōnh	mōnh	noanh	moanh	mahūn
stomach	elūan	wiang	vīang	wīang	wiang	kāu, kàhal

bird	chechōn	shichūa	shichūa	shichūa	shichūa	sichūa
canoe	āp	dūe	rōe	dūe	henhōat	dōaī, hōa
cocoanut-tree	taōka	owcāu	ovēau	oyāu	gāu	kalēal
dog	am	òm	òm	ām	ām	kab
fire	tēmōya	palō	heōe	heōe	hentōñha	yōp
fruit	rong	eang	āng	yūang	oag	
hut	pūtī	ñī	ñī	ñī	ēn, ñī	{ ñī-yāng ñī-ngām
meat	alāhah	eñha	oiho	āñha	eñha	oiha
moon	chi-geāt	manēana	ka-hai	kā-hō	kā-hō	hawōp

name	mīnainā	lēang	lēang	lēang	lē	lēd
North	lāōla	lāōl	lāō	tangāle	laōl	
north-wind ³⁸	kofat-kapā	fāh-kapā	hāñsh-kapā	hūñsh-kapā	hāñsh-kapā	
paddle	paiyūah	kāhēal	kāhēa	pōwah	pāūah	kākal
pig	hāun	nōt	nōt	nōt	pakōit	mōn
pig (wild)	hāun-chōn	mīliah	oū-ha	sharudl	chūam	nōng
place	chiak	chuk	chuk	chuk	chū	lēichau
village	pānōm	pānam	mattai	mattai	pattai	
sea	mai	shamarāu	enliang	kamalō	ō	heōa
seed	kōlal	enshūng	enshūng	opōp	opōp	kēap
storm	rashat	fēh	hurāsha	hurāsha	oriasha	
tabu	tālkōya	kāl	yeōich	chij	yīi	yūid
to-morrow	hurōch	tāha-kōi	horōich	hakī	haki	yābō
year	sōmyūhu	samāiha	samenēoh	shomenyūh	shāū	āñhōi
yes	hañ, hōn	añ	añ	añ	hañ	

all	rōkhare	chiōi	chiōi	ōmtōm	hē	kāapōi
bad ³⁹	at-lāk	hat-lu	hat-lapā	hat-lapā	ngā-kō	wu-āuhu
good	lāk	lu	lapā	lapā	kō	āukō
not	{ ar, at dran }	hat	hat	hat	ngā	wu
hear	hang	hēang	heāng	yāng	hāng	hāng
see	māk	harra	ha	harra	haka	tūa
say	rō	kānyūa	ennēola	olyōla	hāhal	tēit
steal	olāya	malānga	kalōhanga	kalōhanga	palait	

he	ngōa	ān	ān	au, na	an	nhō
I	{ chyūa chian }	chiā	chiā	chūa	echiahān	chiāu

³⁸ The first of the conjoined words signifies "wind."³⁹ The first syllable of the word means "not"; "bad" = "not good."

ENGLISH.	C. N.	Ch.	T.	O.	S.	S. P.
we-two	hōl-chyū	chia-hān	haih-hā	heh	hāna	ā-mō
we	iha	hē	hē	hē	hēi	fūchōe-mō
you-two	nāa	inā	inā	inā	nāa	
you	yā	ehē	the	ifē	hēa	

c. — Comparison of Roots.

We can now compare the above words by roots, so far as these are at present apparent, which will sufficiently show the unity of origin of all the dialects, and should help to fix the identity of the general Nicobarese Language with that of the tongue of some definite group of speakers in the Far East.

Roots in the Six Dialects Compared.

ENGLISH.	C. N.	Ch.	T.	O.	S.	S. P.
bachelor	mōk	āl	yēh	lū	lū	kā
maiden	dē	mōk	mōk	ho	hōn	
child	ī	ken-yū	ken-yū	ken-yū	pin-ī	ak
female	kān	kān	kēān	kān	yū	ap
male	kōñ	hē	o	kōñ	tā	ak
man	tā	pā	pai	pai	pō	ak
back (the)	ok	ok	ok	ok.	nō	kō
blood	mām	pāh	vā	wā	wā	dōb
breast	tāh	tōh	tōh	toah	toāh	tū
ear	nāng	nāng	nang	nāng	nāng	nāng
finger	tī	nōi	tī	tai	wēt	noai-tī
hair	kū	hēok	hēok	ōk	ōk	jū, jo
hand	tī	nōi	tī	tai	wet	noai-tī
head	kūi	kōi	kōi	kōi	kōi	kōi
leg	kal	lāah	lāh	lāh	lāh	lāu
nose	meih	mōnh	mōnh	moaah	moaah	hūi
stomach	lōan	wīang	wīang	wīang	wīang	kān, kā
bird	chechō	shichū	shichū	shichū	shichū	sichū
canoe	āp	dū	rō	dū	hō	dō, hō
cocoanut-tree	ō	wēau	vēau	yāu	gāu	lē
dog	am	ōm	ōm	ām	ām	kab
fire	tō	pō	heō	heō	tōn	yō
fruit	rong	eang	āng	yūang	oag	
hut	tī	nī	nī	nī	en, nī	{ nī-yang nīngām
meat	lā	ēn	ēn	ān	ēn	ēn
moon	chi-geā	nēa	ka-hai	kā-hē	kā-hē	ha
name	naiñ	lē	lē	lē	lē	lē
North	ō	ō	ō	ngā	ō	
N.-wind	fat-pā	fāh-pā	hāhsh-pā	hāhsh-pā	hāhsh-pā	
paddle	paiyū	kāhē	kāhē	pō	pāu	kāk
pig	hāun	nōt	nōt	nōt	pak	mēn
pig (wild)	hāun-chō	lī	eū	shu	chū	nōng
place	chīn	chu	chu	chu	chū	chau
village	pān	pān	mat	mat	pat	
sea	mai	shāu	lī	lē	ō	ō
seed	kōi	shūng	shūng	ēp	ēp	ēap
storm	rash	fēh	rāsh	rāsh	riash	
tabu	kō	kā	ye	chi	yī	yū

ENGLISH.	O. N.	CH.	T.	C.	S.	S. P.
to-morrow	rēch	tāh-kōi	rōich	kī	kī	yāb
year	syūh	saih	sēoh	shyūh	shāū	hō
yes	han, hōn	ai	ai	ai	han	
all	rōk	chiō	chiō	tōm	hō	pōi
bad	at-lāk	bat-lu	hat-lapā	hat-lapā	ngā-kō	wu-hu
good	lāk	lu	lapā	lapā	kō	kō
not	{ ar, at } { dran }	hat	hat	hat	ngā	wu
hear	hang	hēang	heāng	yāng	hāng	hāng
see	māk	har	ha	har	ha	tā
say	rō	yu	eo	yo	hāh	tō
steal	lā	lā	lō	lō	la	
he	ngō	ān	ān	an, na	an	nhō
I	chyū, chi	chi	chī	chu	chī	chi
we-two	hōl-chyū	chī-hān	haiū-hā	heū	hāū	ā-mō
we	ih	hē	he	hē	hē	hoe-mō
you-two	nā	nā	nā	nā	nā	
you	yī	hē	he	fē	hū	

VI. — COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY.

a. — Comparison with the Indo-Chinese Languages.

I am able to compare some of the Nicobarese roots with those of corresponding sense in the Indo-Chinese Languages, civilised and uncivilised, — of which Mon (Peguan) and Khmer (Cambodian) form the civilised group, — and in the aboriginal dialects of the Malay Peninsula as contained in Mr. Otto Blagden's paper on the *Early Indo-Chinese Influence in the Malay Peninsula*.

b. — Elements of Uncertainty in the Comparison.

In making the comparison, the elements of uncertainty are these. In Nicobarese a root is nowadays surrounded and obscured by a long growth of affixes (prefixes, infixes, and suffixes) attached by agglutination, phonic change of form, inflexion and duplication, the effect of the affixes being often to induce phonic change in the root itself. So patience and a knowledge of the affixes and their effect is necessary to separate the root correctly from its surroundings. In the Far Eastern words treated by Mr. Blagden there is the uncertain element of misapprehension in the original reporters. However, Mr. Blagden put his words together with great care and personal knowledge, and my specimens are based on the exceedingly accurate reporting of Mr. Man: so that results may be looked on to be as accurate as is possible in the present stage of the enquiry.

I.

Table of Comparative Roots and Words Relating to the Human Sexes.

ENGLISH.	NICOBARESE.	MALAYAN ABORIGINES.	INDO-CHINESE.
father	tā (man), otā (male) pā, pō, pai, ap (woman) ak (man), ku, ika (man) kân (woman), kōū, kōiū (male) dōin chīa	ita iku, ikun	ta (grandf.) kuh, kuñ, konh
child	kūan, kūan, kōat ken-yū (yu, male and female)	k'non, kenod	kon
son	kōiū, kân (daughter)	kon	ken

The mixing of the sexes in the roots of the terms for describing human beings is common to all languages (*e. g.*, the modern English, "girl") and Mr. Man has supplied me with a valuable table of words denoting generically tribal and family connections and showing how they are differentiated sexually.

ENGLISH.	C. N.	CH.	T.	C.	S.	S. P.
a Nicobarese	târik	pâch	pai	paiyüh	pôh	
parent	yang	yang	yîa	chia		ēm
child	{ nîa kūan	ken-yūm ⁴⁰ kōan	ken-yūm kōan	ken-yūm kōan	pin-îeh } kōan	kōit

To these⁴¹, in order to differentiate the male and female of each kind must be added, the appropriate words for the sexes as given above in the Table of Roots in the Six Dialects Compared.

II.

Table of Comparative Roots and Words.
General Terms.

ENGLISH.	NICOBARESE.	MALAYAN ABORIGINES.	INDO-CHINESE.
back (the)	ok, kō (nô)	kiah, ki-ah	cha'
breasts	tō tâh, tōh, toah	tuh	da tah
ear	nâng		na (Burmese)
eye	mât, mat mēät, mēt main	mat, mot	mat, mot
foot		jaung, chung, cnan	jung, jung, jong giong chung, chong, cheun cho'n 'sang, sinh young
hair	lâh, drân hōök, yök	chau so', sak, sok, sogk, suk	sak, sok, souk, shok tiok'
hand	kū, jū tî, tai (both ⁴² = hand and finger) nòi (h. and f.)	t'hi, the, tu tung, tong, tein ting (hand and finger)	ti, tay, toa, day
head	kōi kūi	kōi, koī, koe kui, kuya, kay	tuwi, toui
mouth	fâng foá, wâ	pang, ban hain, hein	paing
nose ⁴³	mònh, meñh, moañh mahūn	moh, muh, mah mo, mu	mieng muh, mouh mo, mui, mus

⁴⁰ This word seems to combine in itself the roots *ken*, male, *yu*, female.

⁴¹ Except to *nîa*, *kenyūm*, and *pinîeh*.

⁴² Both *ti* and *tai* denote the hand and the finger.

⁴³ In Nicobarese, however, this word is, I think, *ahh*, breath, soul, life, plus prefix, *ma*, *mo*.

ENGLISH. tongue	NICOBARESE. leták, liták mál	*MALAYAN ABORIGINES. letik, litig, letig lontak, lentak, rentak	INDO-CHINESE. lataik n'tak andat
bird	chechō, sichū, shichū	chim, chem, chop	chim, chiem, kiem, kachem
egg	pēu kātēab hā, huyā	k'poh, kepoh	pong
fish	kāa, kalō	ka, ka', kah	ka
mosquito	misōka, mihōya pishūiinha, mōanh obūat	kemus	mus
wood	chiō, chōn hōnō, hòp, hōap (jungle) oñi, wī peñ (jungle)	chue, chuk (tree) jehu	chhu
stone	mang, mwāma	t'mu, g'mu	t'ma, th'ma, t'mo taman, tamao
hut	kūb, hong, patu pātī	deh, derk, dug	tong, doung, dong
sun	ngīa	tunkat	t'ngoa, th'ngay
moon	hēg, heng mū, wū káhō, kahai chi-ngēū	chi, kachik, kichēk, kachil, guchah, gechai, geche, giche, biche	khe, kato kachai, mechiai kaosai
water	ma-nēana hawō dāk, rák dūi (river), pūi tāhō (river)	dak deu, daū, diau do, d'hu teu, bi-teu, ba-teau bi-teu (river)	daik, dak, tak, tuk, trak doi do
rain	mak amiñh kòmrā yāu, káp	gema, kumeh gumar	koma, ma
male	enkōiñ, ikōñ enkān (female)	ongkon	angyuang
go	chūh, chau, shō chīah (come) do, ēwa	cho' chap, chip, chiop, chiup chohok, jok	cho cheo, chea jib (come)

ENGLISH.	NICOBARESE.	MALAYAN ABORIGINES.	INDO-CHINESE.
eat	shá	chi, cha, cha', chioh chacha, inchi, inchih nacha, nachi	cha, chha, si
	ká, kô ña, ngá, ngô pñah, hām		
sleep	teak, tiak	teik, tiok tag, taig jetek, jettik, ietek letik	theak, tep dek takla
	ngā, ngōi harrôh		
stand	shòk, shiák, kōag chôl, ô	jög	chho
cry	chīm, chīam puin, hēa	j'm	jom

c. — Nicobarese Radically an Indo-Chinese Language.

Now, the Nicobarese have been on the same ground for at least 2000 years, and they have a tradition of migration from the Pegu-Tenasserim Coast. They have been quite isolated from the coast people, except for trade, for all that period. Their language has been affected by outside influences almost entirely only in trade directions, and then not to a great degree. It has been subjected to internal change to a certain degree by the effects of tabu. Yet we find roots in the language, of the kind that remain unchanged in all speech, to be apparently beyond question identical with those that have remained unchanged in the dialects of the wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula; these very roots owe their existence among the wild tribes to the effect on them of the influence of the Indo-Chinese Languages, civilised and uncivilised.

Considering, then, the long isolation of the Nicobarese, it is a fair inference that these islanders probably preserve a form of the general Indo-Chinese speech that is truer to its original forms than that of any existing people on the Continent. We may, therefore, find in the Nicobarese speech the real foundation on which to build up the philology of the whole Indo-Chinese Group of Languages. In this view the Nicobarese dialects are of great scientific value and well worth a thorough investigation.

APPENDIX A.

Nicobarese Reckoning.

a. — System.

Like most half-civilised people the Nicobarese have evolved an elaborate and clumsy method of enumeration, in their case [as in that of the Kafirs of Kafiristan whose *hazār* (1,000) = 20×20 or 400] based on tallying by the score. And in order to project oneself into their minds and to grasp numbers as they present themselves to the Nicobarese, one has to set aside preconceived ideas on the subject dependent on the European decimal notation. The old English tally by the dozen and the gross (which still survives commercially mixed up in the higher figures with the general decimal system) for small articles made and sold in very large quantities, forms an almost exact parallel.

The Nicobarese have not much use for large numbers, except for their currency and export article of commerce, the cocoanut, and hence they have, except the Shom Pñ, evolved two concurrent systems of enumeration, viz., one for ordinary objects, and one for coconuts.

In applying terms for numbers to objects and things they use special numeral co-efficients, as do all the Far Eastern races, the explanation of which will be found, *ante*, II (Grammar), *o* (Numeral co-efficients).

b. — The Numerals.

For ordinary objects the Nicobarese enumerate by a curiously isolated set of terms up to half a score (ten) by separate words — thus in all the dialects:—

Comparative Table of Numerals.

CAR NICOBAR.	CHOWRA.	TERESSA AND BOMPOKA.	CENTRAL GROUP.	SOUTHERN GROUP.	SHOM PEN.
1. kahōk (heng ⁴⁴)	hēang	hēang	hēang	heg	heng
2. neät	ân	ân	ân	ân	ân
3. lūo	lūe	lūe	lōe, lūo	lūe	luge
4. fân	foön	foön	fōan	fōat	fuat
5. tanī	tanī	tanī	tanai	tanī	tain ⁴⁵
6. tafūal	tafūal	tafūa	tafūal	takōal	lagau
7. sāt	ishât	isseät	issât	ishât	ain
8. hāo-hare	enfân	enfoön	enfōan ⁴⁶	enfōan	towe
9. maichūa-tare	kalafân	rūe-hata	heäng-hata	hüch-hata	lungi
10. sam	shòm	shòm	shòm	shab	teya

After the half score and up to nineteen the enumeration is ten — one and so on for all the dialects, except Car Nicobar where they count one — ten and so on, using then *stan* for *sam*. Among the Shom Pen, the inland tribe, who have no export commerce, there are no such special systems of enumeration as the other people have, but in addition to direct reckoning they count by pairs, a point of some interest as will be seen hereafter. Thus *âu*, two, becomes *ta-âu*, a pair. Then 2 = *heng ta-âu*, one pair; 3 = *heng ta-âu heng*, one pair one; 4 = *âu ta-âu*, two pair, and so on. For numerals beyond ten the Shom Pen have an expression for half-a-pair *mahàukod*, which again will be found later on to explain a point in the system of the other tribes, and count thus up to 19; *heng mahàukod teya*, one half-pair (and) ten = 11, and so on.

When approaching the first or any score, all the dialects use a plan, in common with many other people, of counting "more reach a score." *E. g.*, in the Central dialect *lōe tare tangla hēang momchīama*, 3 more reach one score = 17: *ân tare tangla fōan momchīama*, 2 more reach four score = 78.

A score in all the dialects is named as follows:—

CAR NICOBAR.	CHOWRA.	TERESSA AND BOMPOKA.	CENTRAL GROUP.	SOUTHERN GROUP.	SHOM PEN.
michāmb ⁴⁷	noòng	momchīama	momchīama	momchīama	} inai
anai ⁴⁸	tom	tom	inai	inai	

And after the score the Central and Southern Groups have a term for half-a-score (*dòktai*), just as the Shom Pen have, as we have seen, one for half-a-pair. Thus in these two dialects 30 is respectively *hēang momchīama dòktai* and *heg-momchīama-dòktai* one score (and) half-a-score.

Between the scores the numerals otherwise run as above explained — "one score one" and so on.

⁴⁴ For cocoanuts and money.

⁴⁵ *tī*, *tai*, hand: then with infix *an*, *t-an-tī*, *t-an-tai* five; and with suffix *ā*, *tai-ā*, five.

⁴⁶ *ân*, two: *fōan*, *foön*, four: then *en-fōan*, *en-foön*, eight.

⁴⁷ Of general objects.

⁴⁸ Of cocoanuts and money.

The large figures 100 and so on are merely 5, 10, 15, 19 scores up to 400, which is a score-of-scores in all the dialects, except Shom Peñ which says *həng-təo*, i.e., one *təo*, or score-of-scores, another point of importance in reckoning, as will be presently seen. For expressing score-of-scores the other dialects use the alternative term for the first score, also a point of interest later on, e. g., in Central dialect *həang inai momchiam*, one score (of) scores.

The numeral we call 500 all the Nicobarese dialects call "one score (of scores and) five scores," except Shom Peñ which says "one-*təo* (score of scores) five (scores)." So 600 is in the Central and Southern dialects "one score (and a) half (score of) scores": in Shom Peñ it is "one *təo* (and) ten score": in Teressa it is "a score (and) ten (of) scores": in Chowta and Car Nicobar it is "a score (and) five pairs (of) scores." So also 700 in the Central and Southern dialects is "one score (and) half (score and) five (of) scores": in all the rest it is one score (and) fifteen scores." Beyond 600 the Shom Peñ and beyond 700 the other dialects, except Car Nicobar, do not ordinarily reckon. For 1,000 the Car Nicobarese say "two score (and) five pairs (of) scores": for 2,000 they say "five score scores." Beyond 2,000 they do not ordinarily have to reckon.

c. — Reckoning by Tally.

We are now in a position to reckon according to the Nicobarese fashion, supposing ourselves to tally as we go along.

Tally by the Score (1 to 20).

(All dialects) one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten.

(All dialects but Shom Peñ and Car Nicobar) ten-one, ten-two, ten-three, ten-four, ten-five, ten-six, ten-seven, ten-eight, ten-nine, or, sometimes, for 17, three-more-one-score, for 18, two-more-one-score, for 19, one-more-one-score. Tally.

(All dialects but Central and Southern) (20 to 40) score-one, score-two . . . one-more-two-score, two score. Tally.

Tally by Score of Scores (20 to 400).

(All dialects but Shom Peñ) one-score, two-score, three-score . . . one-more-one-score (of) scores, one-score (of) scores. Tally.

Further Tally by Score of Scores (500-700-2,000).

All dialects except Shom Peñ by varying expressions, meaning, one-score (and) five (of) scores, one-score (and) ten (of) scores, one-score and fifteen (of) scores . . . two score (and) five (of) scores . . . five score scores.

The Shom Peñ stop tallying altogether at 600: and the others, the Car Nicobarese excepted, at 700, and the Car Nicobarese themselves at 2,000, except for cocoanuts, for which there is a separate system.

Tally is usually kept by nicks with the thumb-nail on strips of cane or bamboo, and in Car Nicobar by notches out in sets of five on a stick. Each nick or notch represents a score of whatever is being enumerated.

d. — Reckoning by the Score.

As regards the exceptions above noted. For tally up to a score, beyond ten, the Car Nicobarese say "one-ten" and so on, to nineteen. For even numbers the Shom Peñ use besides direct numerals, "one-pair, two-pair," etc.: and for odd numbers "one-pair-one," and so on: and beyond ten to nineteen they say "one half-pair (and) ten" and so on.

For tally beyond a score the Central and Southern people use a term, *dòktai*, for "half-score" in the same way as the Shom Peñ use "half-pair." This word is of great interest, as it is a lost stem, meaning "(waning to) half," which can be shown to be the case by the term for

5,000 pairs in Car Nicobarese, *dròngte lāk*, half *lāk*, i.e., half 10,000 pairs. Here *lāk* is borrowed from the Far Eastern *lakṣa*, *lak*, 10,000 (one form of the Sanskrit *lakṣa*, just as *lakh* for 100,000 is another in modern India), and *dròngte* (*dòktai*) is not otherwise found in Car Nicobarese. This term *dròngte* is applied also to the "half (waned) moon" while *drònga* means "waning."

It will have been noticed that there are alternative terms for "score"; one old one, as shown by the Shom Peñ form, and one newer: the newer term being now used for "score" and the old one to tell or multiply it by the score. In going into the cocoanut-counting system these alternative terms will be found put to yet another use. Again, the Shom Peñ have a special term for score-of-scores, *təo*: and can tally up to large figures by scores: one score, two scores, three scores, one more one *təo*, one *təo*. This idea, too, will be found to be of value when going into the system of counting cocoanuts.

Another subversion of inter-island custom is to be noticed in Car Nicobar, where one is ordinarily *kahōk*, but for cocoanuts one is the universal *heng*.

Beyond the score-of-scores (400) the Nicobarese have so seldom to enumerate ordinary objects that their nomenclature for the numerals then becomes, though clear, uncertain, as will be seen from the different method by which the various islanders arrive at the same sum. At the same time the fact that the Shom Peñ stop at 600, the others, except the Car Nicobarese, at 700, and the Car Nicobarese themselves at 2,000, is not due to want of intelligence, but to want of practical use: just as we stop practically at a million and most people are uncertain as to whether a billion is 10 or 100 or 1,000 or even a million millions, and as beyond the billion the terms become academic.

e. — The Small Numbers.

As regards the smaller simple numbers, the terms for them have got quite away from any idea now of connection with the hand or multiplication of each other, though both can be seen after examination to be present. The word for hand, *tai*, in Nicobarese is a "lost root" and now only exists for parts of the hand, thus — *ok-tai*, back (of the) hand; *oal-tai* (in-hand) palm; *kane-tai* (stick-hand) and even *tai*, finger. So *tanai* is certainly a derivative of *tai*, formed with the differentiating infix *an*, thus — *tai*, hand, fingers, *t-an-ai*, five. Next we find clear roots *d* (*du*, *an*, *dñ*) two and *fū* (*kō*) pair: whence in various forms, *dñ*, two; *fōan*, four (two pair); *en-fōan*, eight (twice two-pair). So in Shom Peñ three, six and nine (*luge*, *lagau*, *lungi*) are clearly the inflected remains of some such connected multiples, and in the other dialects "six" is three pair; *lue*, three, (*ta*)-*fū-al*, six, a pair of three (*ta* is a common radical prefix in the language). *Tafūal* (*tafūal*, *takōal*, *tahōl*), which in that case is really a numerical coefficient, also means a pair in all the dialects except Shom Peñ, and is built up etymologically in the same way as the homonym for six quite legitimately, thus — *ta-fū-a*, prefix-root-suffix; while we see the root again in Shom Peñ in the (probably mixed) compound term for "half-a-pair" *ma-haū-kod* (P)-two-pair. The term *heñg-hata* for nine is an elliptical phrase *heñg hata* (*shòm*), one less (ten); as will be seen later on.

f. — Commercial Reckoning.

Turning now to the second system—the Nicobarese method of reckoning cocoanuts for commerce and currency, and from cocoanuts money, which they do not possess themselves, carries them into large figures. It is still a tally system, adopted for commercial purposes by all except the Shom Peñ, from the system of tallying by the score.

Cocoanuts as currency are seldom used in small quantities and the Nicobarese get quickly to the score by counting the nuts in pairs—thus, one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine pairs, one score. Tally.

The term used for "score" in this case is *inaí* (*tom*), the alternative already noted, and not *momchiama* (*pomchiama*, *nichāma*, *noòng*) as in the case of ordinary articles, *momchiama* being adopted, *quá* cocoanuts, for "score-of-scores."

It must be remembered that cocoanuts, except when stated in scores or multiples of scores, are always stated in pairs (*tafua*, *tafual*, *takōal*), the term for which is omitted in reckoning, unless it is necessary to express it for very small quantities, or in the case of odd numbers, when 3 becomes "one-pair-one, *hēang-ta fūal-hēang*," and so on.

In tallying cocoanuts by the score, the various islands have set up different standards of tally, which are complicated and in many cases in alternative use. The number of standards in fact indicates the trade, where trade is brisker, the standards are most numerous. It may be noted that in counting cocoanuts "ten pair" may be substituted for "one score" in the lower tally everywhere, except in Chowra, where "one score" is used without an alternative.

g. — Commercial Tally by the Score.

It is now necessary to use some abbreviations — C. = Central, S. = Southern, T. = Teressa, C. N. = Car Nicobar, and Ch. = Chowra.

The least developed method of tallying by the score is in C. and S., where there are only two standards, *inaí* score (20) and *momchiama* score-of-scores (400). There the counting by the score is — one, two, three . . . score, one *momchiama* (score-of-scores); then one two, three . . . up to any number of *momchiama*. This method is very awkward in the higher figures, thus—

500	1	<i>momchiama</i>	5 (score)	[400 + 5 (20)]
600	1	"	and-a-half (<i>dōktai</i>)	(400 + 200)
700	1	"	and-a-half 5 (score)	[400 + 200 + 5 (20)]
1,000	2	"	and-a-half [(2 × 400) + 200]	
3,000	7	"	and-a-half [(7 × 400) + 200]	
10,000	1	score 5	<i>momchiama</i>	[(20 + 5) × 400]
20,000	2	"	5 pair <i>momchiama</i>	[(40 + 5 [2] × 400)]
100,000	10	"	5 <i>momchiama</i>	[10 × (20 + 5) × 400]
200,000	1	"	5 (of) score (of) <i>momchiama</i>	[(20 + 5) × 20 × 400]

Car Nicobar adopts the score and score-of-scores (*inaí-momchiama*) standard, but only alternatively and only as far as the higher of the two (400). T. and Ch. will talk about 11, etc., score, but as far as 15 score only.

h. — Standards of Ten and One Hundred Score.

All these three islands, Car Nicobar, Teressa, and Chowra, have a third standard of ten score (200), which is in these dialects called

C. N.	T.	Ch.
'òng ⁴⁹	nòng	lâ

Then alternatively Ch. and C. N. will reckon by the *lâ* or 'òng up to 15 score, and C. N. alternatively up to 20 score. Beyond the *nòng*, T. always reckons by the *nòng* thus⁵⁰—

200	1	'òng (nòng, lâ)
400	2	'òng (nòng, lâ)
500	2	'òng (nòng, lâ), 5 score (tom),

The standard of ten score (200) is carried by all the three islands C. N., T., Ch., up to 2,000, i. e., 10 'òng (*nòng, lâ*), when alternatively a new standard of hundred scores commences in C. N. called *kaiñe*, in T. and Ch., *mamīla*. Thus—

2,000	1	<i>kaiñe</i> (<i>mamīla</i>)
3,000	1	<i>kaiñe</i> (<i>mamīla</i>), 5 òng (nòng, lâ).

⁴⁹ Inflectionally (1) nòng, (2) tòng, (3) yòng, (10) mòng according to the terminal of the previous numeral.

⁵⁰ Except in case of 300 which is 15 score.

i. — The Higher Numbers.

After this the islands break off on their own lines. Thus T. carries on the standard of ten score (*mamila*) for all the higher figures: 200,000 being in that dialect simply 5 score *mamila* ($5 \times 20 \times 2,000$). C. N. and Ch. do so also as far as 100,000, which is in all the three dialects 2 score 5 pairs *mamila* (*kaiñe*) or $[2 \times 20 + 5 (2)] \times 2,000$; but Ch. alternatively commences a new standard at two *mamila* or two hundred score (4,000) called *metñēetchya* and carries that on to all figures. Thus for Ch. —

20,000 is alternatively 5 *metñēetchya* ($5 \times 4,000$)
 100,000 is 1 score 5 *metñēetchya* $[(20 + 5) \times 4,000]$
 200,000 is 2 score 10 *metñēetchya* $[(40 + 10) \times 4,000]$

At 10 *kaiñe* ($10 \times 2,000 = 20,000$) C. N. commences a new alternative standard, *lāk* (borrowed from the Malay and Far Eastern *laksa* 10,000⁵¹), meaning 10,000 pairs (= 20,000) cocoanuts. This is carried on to all the high figures. Thus—

20,000 is 1 *lāk*
 100,000 is 5 *lāk*
 200,000 is 10 *lāk*

By an interesting expression C. N. says *drōngte lāk*, half *lāk*, for 10,000. This proves that *dòktai*, “and-a-half” (scores) of C. and S. really contains a lost root for “half.” Also it is to be noticed that when C. and S. get into large figures they have borrowed the T. Ch. alternative term for score. Thus—

200,000 in C. and S. is *hēang inai tanai tom momchāma*, one score (and) five score (of) score-of-scores ($20 + 5 \times 20 \times 20 \times 20$).

j. — Coconut Reckoning Standards.

The following table will show briefly the standards for reckoning cocoanuts:—

I.	pair	...	...	all islands	1	tafūa (tafūal, takōal, tahòl)	...	2
II.	10 pairs or score	...	...	all islands	1	inai (tom)	...	20
III.	10 score	...	...	Ch. T., C. N.	1	lā (nòng, 'òng)	...	200
IV.	score of scores	...	...	C., S., C. N.	1	momchāma (pomchīāma, michāma)	...	400
V.	10 ten-scores	...	...	Ch., T., C. N.	1	mamila (kaiñe)	...	2,000
VI.	score of ten-scores	...	...	Ch.	1	metñēetchya	...	4,000
VII.	10,000 pairs	...	...	C. N.	1	lāk (borrowed trade term)	...	20,000

C. N. and Ch. have thus six standards and Car Nicobar has the highest: T. has four standards: C. and S. have three. These standards exactly indicate the relative trading opportunity of the various islanders.

The Shom Peñ have no trade, but they can easily reckon up to 80,000, thus *teya inai tēo* 10 score (of) *tēo* $[(10 \times 20) \times 40] = 80,000$. They have three standards — I, pair, 1 *ta-ūu*, 2: II, score, 1 *inai*, 20: III, score of scores, 1 *tēo* 400. They do not, in fact, fall behind the other islanders in the capacity for grasping and reckoning in abstract figures.

⁵¹ Not from the Indian *lākḥ* 100,000. Both *laksa* (10,000) and *lākḥ* (100,000) are from the same root as the Sanskrit *lakṣa*.

k. — Scales for Reckoning Cocoanuts.

For European trade the table of scales would be as follows :—

I.

For all islands.

10 tafūa or takōal or tahòl (pair) make 1 inai or tom (score), (20)

II.

C., S., C. N.

10 tafūal or tahòl make 1 inai (20)
20 inai „ 1 momchīama or michāma (400)

III.

Ch., T., C. N.

10 tafūal or takōal or tahòl (pair) make 1 inai or tom (score), (20)
10 inai or tom (score) „ 1 lâ, nòng, or 'òng (200)
10 lâ, nòng, or 'òng „ 1 mamīla (kaiñe) (2,000)

IV.

Ch.

10 takōal make 1 tom (20)
10 tom „ 1 lâ (200)
10 lâ „ 1 mamīla (2,000)
2 mamīla „ 1 metñetchya (4,000)

V.

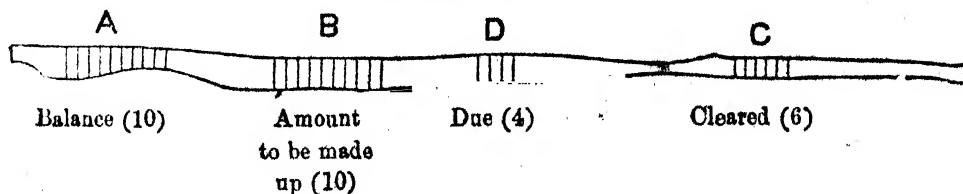
C. N.

10 tahòl make 1 inai (20)
10 inai „ 1 'òng (200)
10 'òng „ 1 kaiñe (2,000)
10 kaiñe „ 1 lâk (20,000)

One can see, when put in this way, which is, of course, distinctly not Nicobarese, where trade has sharpened wits.

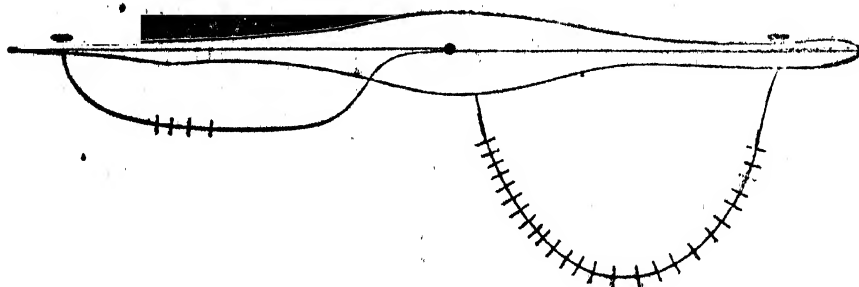
1. — Tallies.

In a Car Nicobar tally stick, *kenrāta-kòk*, in my possession, unfortunately already dry-rotted in the notches, which are thus lost for the future, a running account of cocoanuts with a trader, who has advanced rice for cocoanuts, is shown. The balance due on the rice was 2,000 cocoanuts, *i. e.*, 10 'òng or 1 *kaiñe* denoted by the 10 notches at A. The 10 notches at B represent the total sum 10 'òng to be made up. The 6 notches at C denote that the owner has cleared 6 'òng (1,200, the 4 notches at D that 4 'òng (800) are still due.

Kenrāta-Kòk.

I have another tally of beads on a string from Car Nicobar (*kenrāta-ngiji*) which shows that 26 *michāma* ($400 \times 26 = 10,400$) of cocoanuts are due out of a sum and that 4 *michāma* (1,600) have been paid. The original debt was therefore 30 *michāma*, i.e., 12,000 cocoanuts, or as a Car Nicobarese would say, 6 *kaiñe* or *drōngtē lāk heng kaiñe* [half *lāk* (and) one *kaiñe*].

Kenrāta-ngiji.



APPENDIX B.

a. — Reckoning of the Days of the Months.

Each "moon" is divided into phases and divisions in all the islands on the same system, except Car Nicobar, which has a differing one. There is for descriptive purposes a waxing and a waning moon; dividing the "moon" into halves. There are also a descriptive First Phase (*Hēang Lā*, one piece): Full Moon (whole or swollen moon): Last Phase (*Kaneāl*, Boar's tusk). For reckoning, the month is divided into 30 days and four phases — I (*she*), 1st to 10th (10 days); II (*yām*), 11th to 20th (10 days); III (*tailānga*) 21st to 25th (5 days); IV, 26th to 30th (5 days). In the fourth phase the days are not counted, but separately named.

In Car Nicobar the following descriptive phases are recognised: — (a) First Phase (*Kānel-hāun*, Boar's tusk), 2nd day: Second Phase (*Tutlaal*), 8th day (First Quarter): Third Phase (*Chawt Chingeāt*), 14th day (Full Moon): Fourth Phase (*Drōngtē Chingeāt*), 22nd day (Last Quarter); and (b) Waxing moon, 1st to 10th (10 days): whole moon, 11th to 16th (6 days): waning moon, 17th to 26th (10 days): disappearing moon, 27th to 30th (4 days): total, 30 days. In Car Nicobar also the full moon, and the day before and the two days after, are all recognised by separate terms. For reckoning, the month is divided into 30 days and 3 phases: waxing moon, 1st to 16th (16 days): waning moon, 17th to 26th (10 days): disappearing moon, 27th to 30th (4 days): total, 30 days.

In reckoning the month the Car Nicobarese reckon straight through the waxing moon from 1 to 16 and simply say "*kahōk chingeāt*, one moon . . . *tafual stan chingeāt*, sixteen moon." They then go straight through the waning moon from 1 to 10 and say "*kahōk drōngtē chingeāt*, one waning moon," and so on. Lastly they run through the disappearing moon from 1 to 4, "*kahōk sālñōwa chingeāt*, one disappearing moon," etc. If intercalary days then ensue, they are all called *aiya āp-chingeāt*.

In the other islands the plan of counting the days is the same, but the method differs and is more complicated. They count 1 to 10 (*she* moon); thus "*hēang she kāhē*, one *she* moon . . . *shōm she kāhē*, ten *she* moon." Then 1 to 9 (*yām*, whole); thus "*hēang yām kāhē*, one *yām* moon . . . *hēang hata yām kāhē*, nine *yām* moon." But the 20th is "*hēang*

momchāma yām kāhē, one score *yām* moon," to finish the reckoning, because it now takes on a new phase. The 21st to 25th are reckoned backwards thus—

21st	enfōan	tatlānga	8	<i>tatlānga</i> .
22nd	issāt	"	7	
23rd	tafūal	"	6	
24th	tauai	"	5	
25th	fōan	"	4	

After this they reckon by separate names :

26th	ongāwa
27th	linai
28th	hinlain
29th	manūt
30th	kanat

Any following intercalary days are all called *kanat*.

b. — Explanation of Terms for Numerals.

There is a term for the 19th in the Central Group, which explains the curious form *heāng-hata* for nine. The ordinary term for the 19th day is *heāng-hata yām kāhē*, nine *yām* moon: but *shòm heāng hata tom yām*, which is obviously "ten one less score *yām*," is also used, because the 20th is *hēang momchāma yām kāhē*, one score *yām* moon. *Hat* means "not" and *hata* here is clearly "less" and so *heāng-hata*, nine, is an elliptic phrase for *hēang hata shòm*, one less ten.

Another pair of expressions is *drōnga chingeāt*, waning moon, and *drōngte chingeāt*, half moon, which explains *drōngte lāk*, half *lak* (20,000), and *dōktai* "and-a-half (score)." Here is a "lost root" *drōng*, *dōk*, "lessen," which when combined with (*te*, *ta*) *tai*, "lost root" for "hand," means "the lessened hand" or "half."

The only other term which might be disputed is *chamānga chingeāt*, ten moon, the word for ten in Car Nicobar being *sam*, but it is quite a legitimate extension for differentiation by infix and suffix, thus; *ch-am-āng-a* (for *s-am-ām-a*), or according to root forms, *chang* for *sum*.

c. — Calendar Tallies.

In a Car Nicobar Calendar (*kenrāta*) in my possession the days are notched as follows to indicate a monsoon. It is in the form of a sword-blade.

The first month	notches	31	days
The second	"	29	"
The third	"	26	"
The fourth	"	28	"
The fifth	"	26	"
The sixth	"	29	"
The seventh	"	28	"

197 days

or well over half the year, which would require readjustment during the next monsoon.

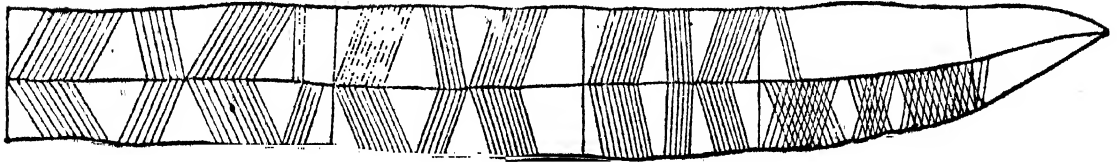
It will be observed that the notches are meant to go 10, 6, 10, 4=30.

That is, in this *kenrāta* the Car Nicobarese four phase system is taken in calendaring the months, i. e., the months are divided into waxing, full, waning, and disappearing moon.

When the notches fill one side of the *kenrāta*, they commence on the other, and are thus able to keep tally of time for a short while.

Car Nicobar Calendar.

(*Kenrāta*.)



Note.

Mr. de Röepstorff's Calendar.

In Mr. de Röepstorff's posthumous *Dictionary of the Nancowry (Central) Dialect*, of 1884, is given a complete and most interesting Calendar, found among his papers, for the year 1883 day by day, but unfortunately there is something wrong about it. He has given *Danāh-kapā* and *Kabā-chnij* as two separate solar months, whereas they are duplicate names for the closing month of the N.-E. Monsoon, and thus gives 13 and not 12 solar months to the year. He has also got the months *Channi* and *Hammua* in the reverse order. Further, his months work out thus for the solar year, giving an intercalary day each to (7) *Hammua* (May-June) and (9) *Manākngapoah* (August-September).

Month	1.	9th January	to	7th February	30 days.
	2.	8th February	to	8th March	29 "
	3.	9th March	to	6th April	29 "
	4.	7th April	to	6th May	30 "
	5.	7th May	to	5th June	29 "
	6.	6th June	to	3rd July	29 "
	7.	4th July	to	3rd August	31 "
	8.	4th August	to	31st August	28 "
	9.	1st September	to	1st October	31 "
	10.	2nd October	to	30th October	29 "
	11.	31st October	to	29th November	30 "
	12.	30th November	to	28th December	29 "
	13.	29th December	to	8th January	11 "

365 days

This would have resulted in the Nicobarese full year of two monsoons being completed in 363 days, and this reckoning would have brought about a muddle in the ensuing year, 1884, which does not as matter of fact occur.

It is to be observed that the S.-W. Monsoon was taken in that year as commencing on 7th May and the N.-W. on 1st November, so that the S.-W. Monsoon half year lasted 177 days and the N.-W. about 188.

It is to be noted also that in Mr. de Röepstorff's calendar the *She* days are 10, the *Yām* days 10, and the *Tailānga* days 5 in each month, while the odd dark nights run thus: for 1 month none, for 1 month 3, for 6 months 4, for 3 months 5, for 2 months 6 in the month.

A REPORT ON THE PANJAB HILL TRIBES.

From the Native point of view.

BY MIAN DUEGA SINGH.

*(Communicated by H. A. Rose.)**(Concluded from page 815.)*

LXXVIII. — Social Customs.

263. Methods of salutation among different tribes are : —

(1) Brāhmans salute one another, as *pairi pōnd*; *namaskār*. They salute Rājputa with *asirbādd*, *erī bachan*, *Rājā kō erī Raghu Nāth sahāi* (God be with the Rājā). Other tribes, except the low castes, with *kalyān* or *asirbādd*. Low tribes with "May you long live or flourish."

(2) Rājputa say to the Brāhmans, *matthā tēknā*, *pālag*, *pairi pōnd* (I fall at your feet); to others, except low castes, *Rām Rām*, and to low castes, "May you long live or flourish."

(3) Bōhrās, Baniās, Bhābrās, Sūds, Kshatriyās, say *Rām Rām* to one another, or *bandagī* or *matthā tēknā* or *pairi pōnd*; to Brāhmans, *pālag*, *pāiri pōnd*, or *matthā tēknā*; to Rājputa, *mahārāj jaidēd* or *jaidēd mahārāj* or *jaidēd*.

(4) Kanaita, goldsmiths, Jats, barbers, gardeners, milkmen, potters, masons, say *Rām Rām*, *dhāl*, *bandagī* and *jai Sītā Rām*; to Bōhrās, as above, *bandagī* or *Rām Rām*; to Rājputa, *mahārāj jaidēd* or *jaidēd* or *dhāl*.

(5) Washermen, dye-sinkers, carpenters, smiths, Thathērās, Dhagis, Chanāls, Kōlīs, Rēhrs, sweepers, cobblers, boatmen, weavers, say to one another, *Rām Rām* or *dhāl*; *dhāl* or *pairi pōnd* to Kanaita; *dhāl* or *pairi pōnd* to Bōhrās, etc.; *mahārāj jaidēd* or *jaidēd*, or *jai*, to Rājputa; and *pairi pōnd* or *matthā tēknā* to Brāhmans.

(6) The women of Brāhmans, Rājputa and Bōhrās, etc., say *matthā tēknā* or *pairi pōnd* to one another. The women of Kanaita, etc., say *dhāl* or *sūi* to one another, and those of low castes say *dhāl* to one another.

(7) The above-mentioned tribes say *namō Nārāin* (reverence be to Gōd) to the Sanyāsi mendicants or make *dandāvat* (going round the person) to them, who in answer say *Nārāin*. Bairāgis are addressed with *jai mahārāj dandāvat*, who reply *jai Rāmji* or *jai Sītā Rāmji*. *Adās* is said to a Jogī, who replies *Ad purush* (the First Cause). *Adās* are made a *dandāvat* and they reply *chiranjiv* (long live).

264. Modes of salutation by relatives : —

(1) Brāhmans. A son, son-in-law, nephew, etc., says *matthā tēknā* and *pairi bandan*, to a father, mother, maternal uncle and wife, maternal grandfather and grandmother, father-in-law and mother-in-law. Women say *pairi bandan* to their relatives. The elders in reply say *chiranjiv* to a man, and *suhāgan sanpati* (may your husband live long) to a woman.

(2) Rājputa, Bhābrās, Baniās, etc. To the above-mentioned relations, if males, they say *jaidēd* or *dhāl*, and if females, *pairi pōnd* or *matthā tēknā*. The elders, in reply, say *chiranjiv* to a man, and *suhāgan sanpati* to a woman.

(3) Kanaita. Younger males say *dhāl*, *Rām Rām* or *bandagī* to an elder relation, who in reply says "long live" or "flourish" *chiranjiv*. Women say *sūi*, and receive in reply *sadd*, *suhāgan*.

(4) Low castes. Both males and females, if the younger say *dhāl* to elders, who in reply say "be happy," or *dhāl*.

(5) Rājās or Rānās. Brāhmans say to a Rājā or Rānā *asirbādd*, *erī Gōpāl sahāi* or *erī Raghunāth sahāi* (may God help you). Other tribes say *jaidēd* to them. They reply *pālag* to Brāhmans and *Rām Rām* to others, *jai* to Rājputa and "be happy" to low persons.

(6) *Miāns* (Rājā's younger sons). — Brāhman say to a *Miān asirbād* or *srī bachan*; others say *jai, jaidā, or dhāl*. They reply *pālag* or *matthā tēknā* to a Brāhman; *Rām Rām, jai, jaidā* or *dhāl* to the Rājputa; *Rām Rām* to others, and "be happy" to low persons.

(7) *Baniās*. — They say *bandagi* and *Rām Rām* to merchants. Brāhman say *asirbād* or *srī bachan* to them. Low persons say to them *dhāl* or *pāri pōnd*.

(8) *Nēgiā, Mehtā, Wazīr, Mukhiās, etc.*, say *bandagi* or *salām* or *Rām Rām*.

(9) If a man belongs to any other tribe, then he is saluted with the words fixed for his tribe.

265. The methods of greeting among the members of a family, friends, relations, and strangers are given below : —

(1) *Members of a family*. — The younger places his head on the feet of the elder, and then says *jaidā, dhāl, bandagi, or Rām Rām*, according to the fixed custom, with both the hands brought together. The elder places his hand on the back of the younger, accepts the salutation asks after his health, and places him near himself with a great show of love.

(2) *Friends*. — Friends shake hands. The younger in age or rank says *bandagi, jaidā, dhāl* or *Rām Rām*, after which the elder takes hold of the hand of the younger, accepts the salutation, asks after his health, and gives him a seat near himself.

(3) *Relations*. — The younger honours the elder, and puts his head on the feet of the latter. If the relation be that of an equal position, or if the introduction be effected through a near relative, then after *pāri bandā* they embrace each other, or say *dhāl bandagi, jai, jaidā, etc.*, to each other. The younger leaves his seat and offers it to the elder, and himself sits lower on the floor.

(4) *Strangers*. — Men prepare good food for their guests according to their capacity. If a guest comes to the house of a Chief, Rājā, or Nawāb, then in addition to the feast he gets presents, and even money, in proportion to the rank of the guest and host. Chiefs generally give presents to their neighbours and relations.

266. There are no special rules for salutation, greeting or address.

267. There is no particular rule about treatment of guests, women, old men, and invalids.

268. Relations and neighbours entertain one another mutually.

269. No special language is used. The guests are politely spoken to. The host, of whatever rank or capacity, will treat the guest respectfully. If the guest be one belonging to the family of the host's wife, then he is ridiculed. Brothers-in-law call each other names and mimic one another. Their servants also will behave in the same way.

270. The brothers-in-law or men of their respective families make jokes with each other, and also abuse each other through mother, or daughter, or sister. They call one another a thief, a rogue, a cobbler, a shoemaker, sweeper, etc. But no one may assail the religion of another.

LXXIX. — Social Intercourse.

271. Customs of social intercourse among Kanaita, goldsmiths, barber, potters, Jāts, gardeners, and masons : —

(a) The Brāhman can eat flour, rice or fried grain from the hands of the above-named clans. They have no scruple to use *pāri, kachōri*, and everything fried in oil or *ghī* that has been touched by the latter.

(b) The high castes do not use the food cooked only in water (not fried in oil, etc.) by these sects, but low castes do not observe such restrictions.

(c) Water touched by them is drunk by everybody.

(d) The people do not smoke the same pipe with them.

The high castes do not eat food touched by low castes, such as Kōlis, shepherds, cobblers, etc., nor do the former drink water touched by the latter, nor do they smoke the same pipe with them. The low castes can eat food prepared by anybody. But every tribe, even among themselves, have some restrictions concerning diet.

272. Members of all tribes can eat the food, whether fried or unfried, prepared by a Brāhman, but they do not smoke pipes together. Every tribe — nay, even every sub-division — has its own pipe. The same rule holds in the case of fried food. The people do not take fried food with persons not of their own blood, and this custom holds particularly among Brāhmanas, Rājapūts, and Baniās.

LXXX. — Clothing and Ornaments.

273. (1) **Garments** generally differ in fashion, and a distinction between the Hindus and Muhammadans can be made so that the Hindus keep their buttons to the right, while the Muhammadans keep them to the left. Hindus do not use black cloth, except for trousers, but the Muhammadans use it freely. And the Hindus do not use blue cloth, while Muhammadans do. The Hindus do not shave their heads, while Muhammadans shave their heads clean. The Muhammadans cook big cakes and Hindus small ones.

The names of men's garments are : — *Chôbaghlâ*, *kurtâ*, *kamiz* (shirt), *sadrî* (vest), *pājūmâ* (drawers or trousers), *suthan*, *saldâr*, *gâchî*, *tôpî* (cap), *futûhî*, *kôt* (coat), *chôgâ*, *châdar* (blanket or sheet), *doshâld* (shawl), turban, *kamarband* (belt).^a

The names of women's garments are : — *Dhâthû*, *gâchî*, *dôrd*, *chôltî*, *tambâ*, *suthan*, *lôiyâ*, *lêôitâ*, *ghôndî*, *chadar* (blanket), *kurtâ* *sadrî* (vest), *kamiz* (shirt), *choltû* (coat), *chabaghilâ* and *kamarband* (belt).

(2) The following are some of the ornaments for women : — *Karâ* (arm-rings) of gold and silver, *kangan* (arm-rings) of gold and silver, *ponchî*, *marêdru*, *chûrî* (arm-rings), *môndî*, *ârsî*, *dôrd*, *chandrmân*, *chak*, *kanbdli*, *mongrê*, *sêdâ*, *kanphul*, *tanôrê*, chains for *sêdâs* or *kanphuls* or *tanôrês*, *jhômak*, *nath* (nose-ring), *bulâk*, *bêsar*, *pîpal pattâ*, *lông*, *phûl* and *thûthî* (?), *kêch* and *chhâtâ*, *kanthî*, *jômldâ*, *chandarmânî* *har*, *darî*, *dolrî*, *chaur kâlî*, *indarsênî* *har*, *kônvarû dôdd*, *taviz*, *mâlâ*, *bâzûband*, *tôrd*, *paizeb*, *pêchâtî*, *chôkhûti*, *gûnthrê*, *hanell*, *jhanjâr*.

Ornaments for men are — *Zîga*, *chandarmân*, *gôkhrû*, *murkî*, *drôtu*, *bâli* or *kunbâl*; *kantha*, gold and silver; *karâ*, gold or silver; *môndî*, gold or silver; *taviz*, *mâlâ*, and *bâzûband*.

LXXXI. — Dancing and Singing.

274. The women of all the tribes, except those of the Brāhmanas and Rājapūts, can dance. They dance among men in their villages at night. The women of Brāhmanas and Rājapūts do not dance, except at marriages, when they also sing. The *tûris* (minstrels) are, by profession, dancers and singers.

LXXXII. — Table of Occupation.

No.	Name of Tribe.	Occupation.
1	Kshatriyas or Rājapūts	Military service.
2	Brāhmanas	Teachers of the <i>Vêdas</i> and Scriptures; receivers of gifts and alms.
3	Sûds	Merchants and agriculturists.
4	Baniās	Merchants.
5	Bôhrâs	Do.
6	Kanaitas	Agriculturists; servants of Brāhmanas and Rājapūts.

^a [It is to be observed that one Portuguese word *kanûs* and one English word *koj* occur in these lists. — Ed.]

No	Name of Tribe.	Occupation.
7	Khatris	Like Rājputs; merchants and servants.
8	Kayasths	Clerks and merchants.
9	Goldsmiths	Makers of gold or silver ornaments.
10	Barbers	Shaving.
11	Potters	Make earthenware vessels; keep beasts of burden, such as mules, camels, etc.
12	Washermen	Washing of clothes.
13	Chhimbās	Dyeing and washing of clothes.
14	Carpenters	Build houses; carve wood and sculpture; and do all kinds of work in wood and stone.
15	Blacksmiths	Make instruments and vessels of iron.
16	Thathêrā or Bharêrā	Make instruments and vessels of brass, copper, and spelter.
17	Tûris, Dhākis, and Dhādīs	Play upon instruments, sing and dance.
18	Kôlis or Dums	Agriculturists and menials to others.
19	Rêhrs or Nagâlûs	Do. and graze the farmers' cattle; shepherds.
20	Sweepers	Do. do. do.
21	Cobblers and shoemakers	Do. make shoes and other things of leather.
22	Chanâls	Do. and make bows and arrows.
23	Boatmen	Do. and help people in crossing rivers.
24	Weavers	Do. weave woollen cloth.
25	Bairûgis	Beggars.
26	Sanyâsis	Do.
27	Udâsis	Do.
28	Jôgis	Do.

LXXXIII. — Professions and Occupations.

275. The Brāhmans, Rājputs, Kshatriyas, and Sûds have adopted the profession of commerce and agriculture in modern times. The Brāhmans and Rājputs are also given to private service. No tribe, except in the case of individuals, sticks to its original occupation.

276. Different tribes have different occupations. No tribe sticks to one occupation as a whole. People earn their livelihood by different pursuits. The women of Brāhmans and Rājputs do no work, but make silk embroidery, sew clothes, knit socks, and so on.

277. No particular profession deserves mention.

278. There is nothing particular to say as to instruments.

279. The Tûris, Dhākis, and Dhādīs allow their women to practise prostitution, whether they be maids or married, and live upon their earnings.

280. The change of religion is necessarily accompanied with change of profession. The convert adopts the calling of his new religion.

281. Persons changing their profession do not necessarily change the name of their tribe, nor is their connection with it slackened, nor does it pervert their religion or sect. However, if a person adopts a profession forbidden by either the Hindu or Muhammadan religion, then his religion is degraded and he is excommunicated. For instance, a person whose food and water can be taken by Brāhmins and Rājputs becomes, on adopting a low profession, degraded and is excommunicated.

LXXXIV. — Agriculture.

282. The conditions of land cultivation are:—

(1) Agriculturists are to be found in every tribe. However, the high castes of Brahman and Rājputs do not cultivate the land themselves, but by their servants.

(2) The Kanais and Kōlis are the best cultivators. Their men and women live by cultivation. Cultivators are generally Kanais, Kōlis, Rēhrs (shepherds), who are tenants-at-will. Generally the tenants are without rights of occupancy. Occupancy tenants are very few.

(3) (a) Some tenants serve the landlords and do not pay any rent. They serve him daily.

(b) Some tenants pay rent in cash, together with *malikānā*. Some pay in kind as much as half the produce.

(c) They pay, in addition to the fixed rent, expenses of deaths and marriages to the landlord. Also they serve him now and then. No portion of the chaff is given to the landlord. At the time of division of produce, in some places, a quantity equal to the seed is deducted and the remainder is divided into halves, while in other places the whole of the produce is divided.

(d) There are no wandering tenants in the hills.

(e) Daily wages are seldom paid. But when well-to-do people engage poor men on wages at the harvest time, they give to the latter $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers of grain daily, i.e., cakes weighing one seer in the morning, as much in the evening, and half a seer of cakes at noon. Such labourers are called *buwārā*, and the wages are known as *chhāk*. If the wages are to be paid in cash, three annas a day is given.

283. There is no tradition regarding the cultivators.

LXXXV. — Rights in the Land and its Products.

284. Following is the detail of the rights of a tribe in the land:—

(a) No one has any right to have land on a rent less than that paid by his neighbours.

(b) Rēhrs and Kōlis cultivate the common land of the village without paying any rent, and this is for their serving the *shāmlāt* (community). Sometimes they graze cattle as remuneration for this.

(c) Every one gives some grain (the quantity is not fixed) at the time of harvest to the Brāhmins, the goldsmith, the barber, the Tūri, the Kōli, the cobbler, the washerman, the smith, and the shepherd, who in return serve the landlords. The shepherd is also given some corn. Each of these can receive from each family not more than four maunds and not less than two seers. These people go from village to village at the time of harvest and collect corn from all the persons with whom they are connected.

285. There is no contract, but the customs are fixed. As the land is divided into portions, so is the *birt* (custom). If any person, who has been giving corn to one man for a long time does not give it to him but to another man, a severe quarrel arises.

286. This they do not receive by right of superiority, but by right of service. Six monthly grants are fixed as remuneration for their services.

287. This is only the reward of service.

288. The Brāhmans, barbers, Tūris, Kōlis, and Rēhrs have hereditary rights. Other menials can be dismissed or re-employed. This right is termed *shikāthā*.

LXXXVI. — Increase of Agriculture.

289. There is no reason to believe that the forefathers of the agriculturists were of the same caste or tribe as themselves. Neither can this be admitted nor denied. Only so much is certain that in ancient times agriculturists were very few.

290. No such marks are to be found in any tribe or caste as to show likeness between villages or villagers. Distinction between cultivators is necessary. It is not to be found among the followers of any other profession.

291. No tradition worthy of mention is available.

292. Agriculture is increasing day by day, and every tribe is taking to it. Even the Rājput, Brāhmans, goldsmiths and barbers, who shrank from cultivating land, have adopted agriculture and are trying hard to improve their lands.

293. Want is not the reason.

LXXXVII. — Pasture.

294. This is a general custom in the hills. The culturable land situated near the village is either divided and cultivated or is possessed separately. In villages where pasture grounds to graze cattle are scarce the *banjar* (barren land) is neither divided nor cultivated, for the want of pasture injures the increasing value of land. But this custom is going out of use nowadays, for the agriculturists have been declared the owners of culturable lands, while the Chief or the British Government owns the unculturable lands. However, the *shāmlāt* (common land) is in possession of the villagers.

295. All the pasture lands of the hills belong to the Chief of the place. But the inhabitants of villages are privileged to graze their cattle in pastures situated within the boundary of their respective villages. None have such a right except the natives of the villages. If the Chief thinks any area to be more than sufficient for the purposes of pasturage, and wants to improve it, then he can give it to any one of the natives of the village for improvement on a fixed rent. The farmers can sell or mortgage the land which they own as the *maliks*, but they cannot do so with the pasture lands, and can use them only for private purposes.

LXXXVIII. — Distribution of Land.

296. There is no arrangement for social communion of tribes. However, the subdivisions of a tribe have social intercourse with one another. No custom prevails as to the redistribution of a tribe or religion. The distribution already effected cannot be cancelled.

297. Portions of land are fixed for sowing particular grains for particular crops. For instance, wheat is sown for the *rabī* crops, and rice, etc., for the *kharij*, and a limited area of land is set aside for each crop.

LXXXIX. — Water.

298. Divisions of watering-places and habitations in a village are according to the tribes. High castes have their houses, watering-places, and cremation-grounds in one part of the village, and in the same manner every tribe or sub-division thereof has its separate places. Every tribe has also a fixed place in the village to be used at times of marriages and deaths. This partition of the villages by tribes is of long standing, but it has no concern with partition of land. The land is divided into fields.

299. The partition into fields effects all kinds of land, whether it be the individual property of any person or the common land of the village.

श्रीरम्.

RUKMINI KALYANAM.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

(An Episode in the *Srīmat Bhagavata* from the text of *Bammara Potanna*.—The Telugu Poet.)

You have heard from me, O Parīkshit, some time ago that under the commands of Brahmā, Rivata bestowed the hand of his daughter Rāvati on Balarāma. Afterwards, Kṛishṇa married the sweet-scented Rukmini, an incarnation of Lakshmi and the daughter of Bhīshmaka, after gaining a victory over Salva and others who came to aid Sīsupāla, as, Garutmanta took possession of the nectar, overthrowing Indra in days of yore.

Then, Parīkshit questioned Sūka, the narrator of the story, to furnish him with a satisfactory explanation of the state of affairs which lead Kṛishṇa, who came to Bhīshmaka's court on account of a *swayamvara*, to carry off Rukmini and marry her in the *rākshasa* form, after overthrowing a host of powerful kings single-handed.¹

“Exalted Brāhman, Sūka, a person who hears the stories of Vishṇu, the hearing of which is the best road to salvation, would not be satisfied even after a certain stage is attained, as hearing them afresh imparts fresh pleasure to the hearer. As these stories appear fresh every time they are heard, kindly narrate to me the *Rukmini Kalyānam*, as my mind is at present bent upon hearing it. O sage, the words which narrate the characteristics of Vishṇu are ornaments to the ears of the hearers, are pleasure-giving to the *paṇḍits*, are destroyers of sins committed in various lives² and contain soul-stirring words.”

After hearing these words from the king, Sūka spoke thus: — “O Parīkshit, there lived a king, Bhīshmaka by name, ruler of Kundina in Vidarbha. He had five sons, of which the eldest, Rukmi by name, was a spotless person. The last and most beloved of the lot was a daughter Rukmini by name.

“The house of Bhīshmaka glowed with the growth of his daughter Rukmini, as the western horizon glows with the rising of the moon. She, growing day by day, indulged herself in

¹ There are eight different sorts of marriage — (1) *brahmya*, in which a girl of noble descent is married to one of the same order who is also a good Vedic scholar, after adorning the girl in the best jewels possible; (2) *daityam*, in which a girl adorned with the most fashionable and valuable jewels possible is married to a *ritvika* at the beginning of a *yajna*, or sacrifice, after worshipping him; (3) *arsham*, in which a girl is married to one after accepting from him the gift of a cow for the propagation of *dharma*; (4) *prajāpatyam*, in which a girl is given to a person after telling him that they should jointly propagate *dharma*; (5) *rākshasa*, where the girl is carried off by force without the consent of the girl's party; (6) *gāndhāravam*, where clandestine marriage is done by mutual consent; (7) *amram*, where money is paid for the girl for marriage; and (8) *pisacha*, where a person marries a girl who is not able to maintain her virtue on account of administering to herself soporific drugs. There is yet another kind of marriage called *atira*, where the parents marry the two people after noticing strong signs of love in both.

² The five excrementitious products: (1) *Anavamala* — where *Satyaguna* preponderates, although at times the thought of “I am Brahmā” is presented to the mind to be soon forgotten. (2) *Karmikamala* — in which a person gives a deaf ear to the Vedantic teachings of his best *gurus*. (3) *Mayikamala* — in which the thought about Brahmā does not strike the mind at all. (4) *Mayayamala* — where the mind is led to the performance of sinful deeds of whatever kind. (5) *Tyrotanamala* — in which a person after knowing all about Parabrahmā is led to the belief that there is something other than that Being and in consequence suffers eternal damnation and undergoes a series of rebirths.

performing make-belief marriages ; in serving sweet-flavoured food to other girls of her own age, which pleased them very much ; in the growth of creepers and flowers in the park adjacent ; in rocking herself in golden cradles, in houses set with diamonds and other precious stones ; in playing at ball very elegantly with other girls of her own age ; in teaching parrots ; in teaching methods of walking to peahens and slowness of pace to fresh-bloomed swans. The growth of Rukmini's body varied with the growth of Kṛishṇa's love towards her ; her lotus-face varied with the lotus of Kṛishṇa's mind ; her breasts with Cupid's finely-pointed darts varied with Kṛishṇa's growth ; her loins waved with the waving of Kṛishṇa's patience ; her braided tresses increased with the increase of Kṛishṇa's love-chord towards her, so that her growth might keep pace with Kṛishṇa's pleasures. Thus Rukmini, the sister of Rukmi, Rukmaratha, Rukmabâhu, Rukmakeśa and Rukmanêtra, being in her teens, heard of the accomplishments of Śrī-Kṛishṇa from the hosts who came to her house, and came to a resolution in her mind that Kṛishṇa would be the fittest man for her to take as her husband.

"Śrī-Kṛishṇa, also after hearing of the beauty, intelligence, character, and general accomplishments of Rukmini, and being satisfied on every item, thought that she would be the fittest woman for him to take as his wife. While all his relatives were holding consultations with the wise about giving Rukmini in marriage to Kṛishṇa, the foolish Rukmi came to a different conclusion and wanted her to be given to Śiśupâla. Rukmini, after having ascertained her brother's intentions, sighed in heart, called in a confidential Brâhman and told him that her hot-headed brother had come to a firm resolve to give her in marriage to Śiśupâla somehow, and that she wanted him to go to Dvâraka and inform Kṛishṇa of the affair. 'Best of Brâhmins, as my father, too, cannot set aside the firm resolve of my brother, kindly go on this mission to Dvâraka, inform Kṛishṇa of the whole affair, and fetch him hither as soon as possible and thus baffle the endeavours of my brother.'

"The Brâhman, after hearing these and some other secret words, proceeded to Dvâraka, informed Kṛishṇa of his coming through the guards stationed outside, received Kṛishṇa's orders, entered the palace, saw Kṛishṇa seated on a seat of gold, and blessed him to become a bridegroom. Whereupon Kṛishṇa, ever bent upon observing Vedic ritual, vacated his seat smiling, requested the Brâhman to sit on the same seat and worshipped him, as he is himself worshipped by the angels, fed him sumptuously, approached him most heartily and slowly, and with his hands, which wield sway over the whole world, pressed his legs and addressed him thus :—

" 'Best of Brâhmins, I see you are always contented. Such a state is attained very happily. This *dharma* is acceptable to the elders. A Brâhman, however wealthy he may be, should be contented and happy and should not be swayed by a feeling of pride. Whoever does not quit this *swatharma*, would have all his desires satisfied. Whoever is not content with the little that he gets would always be crushed, even though he gets Indra's riches. Whoever is content with the little that he gets would be quite happy, even though he be a pauper. Therefore, I would prostrate before those who show signs of friendship to all beings, who are content with the little they get, who are patient, who are good and not proud. O intelligent and best of Brâhmins, I like that king, under whose sway all the people live comfortably, in whose kingdom you are, and by whom you are protected. Kindly let me know what induced you to enter this impenetrable island-home at this unusual hour. I promise to satisfy your desire and you may depend upon it.'

"Having heard these words from Kṛishṇa, the divine being in human form, the Brâhman replied thus :— 'Lord, there lives a king in Vidarbha, Bhîshmaka by name. He has a daughter whose name is Rukmini. She, being intent on serving you, requests you to marry her, and has sent

some news to you through me which, if you be pleased to hear, I am ready to narrate in her own words:— O killer of Kamsa, punisher of the vicious, plunderer of the wealth of beauty, robber of women's hearts. Kṛishṇa, by hearing whose name all the *tapās* (*adhyatmika*, *adhidatvika*, *adhibhautika*) would vanish; by seeing whose frame, the eye would derive the pleasure of seeing every thing in the Universe; by alway serving whom a man can attain eminence; by repeating whose name a man is freed from the trammels of *samsār*—to such a man is my mind united. You are the best witness to all this. Although the members of my sex feel generally shy of expressing such secrets, I, quitting aside all sense of shame, speak my heart before you, as the feeling of *bhakti* preponderates in me, for which I beg to be excused. Kṛishṇa, to your enemies as a lion to fattened elephants, the pleasure of the whole world, illuminated by family, education, beauty, age, wealth, health, strength, charity, bravery, and mercy—is there anyone among women that does not love you? Even Lakshmi, the best among women, has loved you. Say, has this love emanated from me alone?

“Purushottama, you who have Lakshmi in your breast, the proud Śiśupāla, king of Chedi, intends to carry me off soon,—me who always thinks of you and you alone, as the fox desires the food best adapted for the lion. The meanest of mortals knows not your wondrous valour. If, in my previous births, I had worshipped angels, Brāhmanas, *gurūs*, *paṇḍits*, and others, and if I had given gifts to the entire satisfaction of Viṣṇu, Kṛishṇa would now carry me off and marry me after slaying in battle Śiśupāla and other such meanest of kings. Kṛishṇa, who have in your navel the lotus which is the birthplace of Brahmā, you who are the best of *puruṣhas*, you have no reason to find a pretext. If, to-morrow, you come with your armies and slay Jarāsandha, Śiśupāla, and others in battle and carry me off with your valour, I am ready to accompany you and marry you in the *rākshasa* form. Kṛishṇa, if you should think as to how best you can take me off from the palace,—for you will be labouring under the impression that in carrying me off you will be obliged to shed, unnecessarily, the blood of so many relatives, friends, and servants, who would offer resistance to you—I have devised a measure, which I shall carefully suggest to you if you be pleased to hear. My people are accustomed to send the bride, previous to the marriage proper, to worship the tutelary deities outside the town. I shall be sent on this occasion outside the town to worship Pārvatī according to custom, and that will be the most opportune moment when you can come and carry me off. Kṛishṇa, my protector, if you think I am not fit to receive your mercy, the receiving of which is the goal of the learned and the old by dispelling their ignorance, and if in consequence you do not choose to take me to wife, I shall assume at the least one hundred rebirths, perform *vratas* in the meanwhile, always think about you and attain your mercy and then marry you. You may rest assured that this is truth and nothing but the truth. Do not, therefore, give a deaf ear to my entreaties but carry me off soon. My protector, the ears that do not hear your soothing words; the beautiful frame which cannot enjoy with you—the best of beings; the eyes that cannot see you that are beloved by the world at large; the tongue that cannot drink the nectar which emanates from your lips; the nose that cannot smell the fragrance of your beautiful bunch of flowers; the life that cannot serve you, the best type of mankind—all these are next to useless, even though they live. They should be considered as dead rather than living. All the *jñānarthīs* (seekers of wisdom), if they should live at all, should serve you and you alone and any other form of servitude is next to useless.”

“The Brāhman, sent by Rukmini, having fulfilled his mission to her entire satisfaction, told Kṛishṇa of her exceeding beauty, and wanted him to do the best he could under the circumstances and told him that she was the best object for his love. ‘O Kṛishṇa, Rukmini's feet are the best resorts for all tendrils; her thighs laugh at golden plantain trees; her hands are beautiful with a coating of redness; her neck is exceedingly beautiful, being turned a little and being as white as a conch. There is a suspicion whether she possesses a waist or not. Her breasts give pleasure to

the eye; her forehead laughs at the semi-circular moon; her braided tresses laugh at black wild bees; her sight resembles the finely-pointed darts of Cupid; her eye-brows resemble the branches of Cupid arrows; her words invigorate the mind; her face resembles the moon. Krishna, you are the best person fitted for her and she for you. All others are useless to both. I tell you, on my *guru*, you should be married. Why do you make unnecessary delays? Take all people by whom you wish to be accompanied and come with me to fetch Rukmini. Slay your enemies, do good to the world and obtain fame.'

"When Krishna heard all that the Brâhman had said, he took hold of the Brâhman's hand, and, laughing, spoke to him thus:— 'O Brâhman, my thoughts are fully centred on Rukmini and that is why my nights are always sleepless. I knew already of Rukmini's hindrance to this marriage. Therefore as fire is taken out by the contact of wood with wood, so I shall bring Rukmini after slaying the armies of my enemies. I shall immediately go to Vidarbha, enter Bhishmaka's territory in a fitting manner and slay all my enemies who come across my path and tear open their bodies.'

"Krishna ascertained from the Brâhman the auspicious moment of Rukmini's marriage and ascended with him the chariot drawn by four of his best horses harnessed to it by the charioteer under his own instructions, and reached Vidarbha in a single night. There Bhishmaka, king of Kundina, who could not set his son aside, had resolved to marry his daughter to Sisupâla and had made the necessary preparations for its performance. At this juncture the public streets, lanes, and thoroughfares of the city were swept and kept scrupulously clean, excellent sandalwood water was sprinkled in them, they were adorned with beautiful flowers of various kind; all houses were repaired and kept in good order, incense and camphor were burnt; all the men and women were in their best and appropriate attire, were adorned with beautiful flowers, the best jewels and excellent scents; drums and instruments of all sorts were beaten and played. Thus the whole city presented a gay and lively appearance. Then Mahârâja Bhishmaka first propitiated the *pitris*, fed the Brâhmins, purified the city, had Rukmini bathed, adorned her with the best jewels and in the best attire possible, performed all observances in accordance with the strict injunctions of the *Vedas*, engaged Brâhmins to chant the various *mantras*, and the *purohit* to perform *navagraha homa* and to give away gifts of sesamum seeds, cows, silver, gold, and cloths.

"At this juncture the proud Sisupâla came to the city with the object of marrying Rukmini, accompanied by various armies under his command, his innumerable relatives, friends, and others. Jarâsandha, Dantavakra, Salva, Biduratha, Paundraka, Vasudeva, and other kings came to the firm resolution that they would defend Sisupâla against Krishna and Balarâma and all their innumerable armies, relatives, and friends and drive them off the field, and overcome any objection to making Sisupâla marry Rukmini. Very many other *râjâs* came to witness the marriage. Of these Sisupâla was lodged by Bhishmaka in the best lodgings possible, and when Balarâma heard this, he went to the place with a host, all the while thinking that Krishna went there single-handed, and that very many kings were there to help Sisupâla, and that when the girl was to be brought, a fight would necessarily ensue and that at that juncture Krishna would need assistance.

"At that time when the host of *râjâs* were approaching the town, Rukmini entertained grave doubts about Krishna's coming thither. 'To-morrow is the auspicious moment; the marriage is fast approaching; my mind is wavering as to why Krishna has not come as yet; whether Krishna has given a deaf ear to my news; why it is that the Brâhman resembling the fire has not come here as yet; whether my attempts to marry Krishna are to be fulfilled or frustrated; whether Brahmâ has thought otherwise'—such were the thoughts passing in the mind of Rukmini at this moment.

'Whether the enlightened and best of Brāhman did repair to Kṛishṇa or no; whether he was fatigued on the way or reached the place safely; whether he found fault with me for having given unnecessary trouble to the Brāhman or accepted my entreaty; whether the Almighty will help me in my undertakings or baffle my endeavours; whether my tutelary deity, Pārvatī, will protect me or otherwise, and after all whether my fortune is favourable or the reverse. I am at a loss to know all this'—such were the thoughts that she entertained at this moment. 'The Brāhman may not have gone to Dvāraka and therefore Kṛishṇa has not been able to come here. There is no confidential person whom I could hereafter send to fetch Kṛishṇa thither. There is not an atom of justice to be got from my brother Rukmi. He intends to give me to Śiśupāla, the staunchest enemy of my lover, Kṛishṇa. Even my Pārvatī has lost her pity for me.' The above were her thoughts at that time.

"She would not communicate her thoughts even to her mother. Her face had turned very pale. She would not even smile, nor would she try to remove the wild bees which used to sit on her face, thinking it to be a lotus. She would not unwind the twisted pearl necklaces on her breast. She would ever be bent on eagerly looking at Kṛishṇa's arrival. She would weep, thinking she was not to be blessed by marrying Śrī-Kṛishṇa; she would not braid her tresses; would not talk even to her favourite maids; she would not take food, nor drink water. She would not teach her pet parrot a song. She would not play on the lyre and would shun society as much as possible. As sorrow was great at her heart on account of Kṛishṇa not having come to marry her as yet, as he was in justice bound to do, Rukmini, — the lion-waisted, lotus-scented, mirror-faced, flower-bodied, lotus-eyed, swan-gaited, creeper-framed, the jewel of jewels, the flower of all women, with hands formed after the lotus, — would not daub her body with musk, would not bathe, would not see a looking-glass, nor wear flowers, nor resort to parks, nor tame swans, nor grow creepers, nor wear jewels, nor wear marks on the forehead, nor swim in water; she, being unable to bear the finely pointed darts of Cupid, would shiver at sweet soft winds, would be terrified at the noise of the wild bees, would be struck with horror at the song of nightingale, would be annoyed at the noise of parrots and run away from them, would not bear the heat of moonlight and would stand aloof from the shade of the sweet mango-tree. While thus eagerly waiting for the coming of Hari and looking carelessly at all other business, and being scorched by Cupid's arrows, there occurred a tremor of her left eye and left shoulder, which foreboded something good. Then the Brāhman, being sent by Śrī-Kṛishṇa, arrived, when Rukmini went and stood before him with a glowing face and smiling, then the Brāhman told her:— 'O Rukmini, Śrī-Kṛishṇa was exceedingly pleased at your good character, has given me immense wealth, has also himself arrived here. He is at present outside the town. He would marry you in the *rākshasa* form, even though the whole host of angels and *rākshasas* come and oppose him. You have this day reaped the fruit of your labours.' Afterwards Rukmini replied thus:— 'You have protected me by carrying my news to Kṛishṇa and bringing him here. I live by your mercy. There is in the whole world none other like you. I cannot repay the good you have done me except by a prostration before you.' Thus saying, she prostrated before him and dismissed him.

"Afterwards Bhīshmaka, having heard of the arrival of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa at his daughter's marriage, went to meet them with beating of drums, received them kindly, presented them with cloths and ornaments, showed resting-places for their armies, friends, and relatives, showed hospitality to all the other kings as became each of them, and supplied them with all necessaries. Then the townsfolk having heard of the arrival of Śrī-Kṛishṇa at Rukmini's marriage, came and saw him and soliloquised thus:— 'This Kṛishṇa must be the fittest man for that Rukmini and she for him. Brāhmā can be called intelligent only when such a pair are brought into unison with each other. What matters it if only by the good deeds that we have done in our previous births Kṛishṇa becomes the husband of Rukmini after slaying all those who offer resistance to him in battle.'

"At this juncture, while the soldiers fully armed were accompanying the dancing-women and were advancing with offerings for the god, the Brāhman women wearing flowers, fruits, sandalwood, cloths, and jewels, were proceeding singing, while there was a tremendous noise caused by the beating of drums, the playing of different kinds of music, and while damsels were following, Rukminī, with the utmost feminine modesty, with ringlets falling on her forehead, proceeded from the palace to worship Pārvatī. While a host of people of various sorts were accompanying her, she was all the while thinking of Kṛishṇa in her mind, and went to the temple of Gaurī, washed her hands and feet, sipped water thrice, and with a pure heart approached and stood before her. Then the Brāhman women bathed Gaurī and Siva, applied sandalwood, worshipped them with flowers, offered various offerings which were brought for the purpose, and made Rukminī prostrate. Then Rukminī said : — 'I fully believe in my mind the everlasting, time-honoured couple of Pārvatī and Mahēśvara. I pray you to bless me. You are the chiefest and oldest of all mothers. You are the ocean of mercy. Whoever conscientiously and firmly believes in you will not suffer. Kindly, therefore, have mercy on me and bless me that I may have Kṛishṇa as my husband.'

"Rukminī then worshipped the Brāhman couples with *pān-sūpārī*, salted cakes, fruits, and sugar-canes, upon which they were exceedingly delighted and blessed Rukminī when she again prostrated before Pārvatī, and quitted the temple and came out. As a spark of lightning in the wintry sky, as the animal in the orbit of the moon, as the *mohini* which appears on the scene when the curtain is drawn by Brahmā, as Lakshmi who came out from the milky sky when it was churned by the angels and *rākshasas*, using Mount Manthara as the churning staff and Vasuki as the chord, glittering with the rays of the finest ornaments, Rukminī came out of the temple of Gaurī with the pace of the fattened swan that lives in the golden lotuses of Mānasasarovara, with the waist which is troubled by the weight of her heavy breasts which resembled a pair of golden pots, with her diamond-ringed hands twisted round the hands of a maiden, with chins sparkling with the lustre of diamond ear-rings, with ringlets which cover the round forehead like fattened wild bees which encircle sweet-scented lotuses, with beautiful smiles which shed a lustre of moonlight at an unseasonable moment, with lips red as ruby which shed a ruddy lustre to the rows of teeth white as jasmine, with the upper garment resembling the flag of Cupid, with precious stones glittering in the gold belt as rainbow out of season, with sight resembling the glitter of arrows drawn by Cupid from his sheath which broke open the hearts of valorous kings, with measured step and slow eagerly waiting for the arrival of Kṛishṇa and attracting the hearts of all brave *rājās*. With ringlets black as wild bees, with face resembling the full moon, with the eyes of the hare with coral lips, with the voice of the nightingale, with feet soft as tendrils, with breasts resembling the frontal lobes of the fattened elephants, with sand-heaped buttocks, with the best elephant gait, with red lotus hands, with rose-scented body, with lion's waist, Rukminī came and was seen by all the brave *rājās*, who were troubled in their hearts very much.

"Rukminī passed by the post of kings who were confused when the smiling look, indicative of feminine bashfulness, fell upon them. They lost their valour, nobility, and honour, lost their senses, let slip the weapons from their hands. They were not able to mount their elephants, horses, or chariots. They were so much bewildered that they leaned towards the ground. Rukminī removed the ringlets from the forehead with the nails of her left hand, and, looking askance at this host, saw Śrī-Kṛishṇa, with face resembling the rays of the full moon, with waist resembling that of the lion, with eyes broad as the lotus, with a beautiful chest, with body shining as a newly-formed cloud, with shoulders resembling the trunk of Airāvata, with cloths of gold and best ornaments, and with neck turned like a conch. Rukminī saw this world-enchancer and was delighted with the beauty, age, character, nobility, valour, and glitter of Kṛishṇa, and being enraptured with love she intended to climb his chariot when he saw her and with the face of fattened elephant approached and lifted her up and placed her in his chariot, not caring a straw for the host of kings who were

viewing, as the lion carries off the piece of flesh lying amidst foxes. He then blew his conch and proceeded towards Dvāraka, while Balarāma and others were following him with their armies. Jarāsandha and others of his host were not able to brook this and questioned each other as to why they were seeing all this, so much perplexed. A crew of shepherds are robbing us of our honour and are carrying off the girl as the low animals rob the honour of the lion. When else can we show our valour if we cannot show it on this occasion? Are our bows and arrows fit to be thrown away into fire if we cannot use them now? Would the people of the world fail to laugh if we let slip this opportunity and let go the girl? Jarāsandha and others having thus reasoned with one another, became exceedingly angry, put on mail armours, bore arrows and bows, and began bragging to one another, and being joined by the charioteers, infantry, and cavalry, went in pursuit of the Jādava forces, telling them to stop. This increased their valour and they showered a volley of arrows on them when these were returned by a similar shower from the Jādava leaders.

"While the troops of the enemy showered a volley of arrows and encircled Kṛishṇa and his armies, Rukminī, with a look, indicative of extreme terror and shame, saw the face of Kṛishṇa, when he told her: 'My dear girl,' you may in a moment witness Jādava warriors opposing the enemy and they will be very much troubled and would either run away or die.' Thus did Kṛishṇa console Rukminī when Balarāma and others of Jādava warriors showered a host of arrows, which resembled the heavy thunder and clouds that spread over the whole sky at the time of the deluge, over Jarāsandha and others, the enemy's camp presented an appearance of pieces of horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers, of head-severed *mahāwats*, charioteers and horsemen of powdered chests, hands, legs, of broken skulls, of extensive hair, of severed feet, knees, calves of the legs, of powdered teeth, of thrown-off ornaments and other similar ones worn by the brave at the battle-field, of the weepings of the valiant, of broken pieces of instruments of war, of umbrellas, of tattered armour, of dust raised to the skies caused by the trampling of horses, of motionless chariots, of the low cries of horses and elephants, of the sounds of battle-drums, of tattered host of kings, of rivers of flood, of the noises of devils, of foxes and other animals eating the flesh and drinking the blood of corpses, of she-devils feasting on skulls and flesh of carcasses.

"Jarāsandha and others, the enemies of Kṛishṇa, being unable to bear his attack, turned their backs and fled, assembled at a certain spot, wept and soothed Śisūpāla, who was before them pale-faced and as one who lost his wife, emitting hot breath by asking him whether he is alive after being relieved from the hands of the enemy. Jarāsandha and others said to Śisūpāla: 'Man can live anywhere, provided there is life in the body. If a man lives, a wife will somehow come of her own accord. You are now alive and therefore a wife can be secured from somewhere. Do not, therefore, weep over this affair very often.' Jarāsandha again said to Śisūpāla, 'Śisupala, hear me. Man is not the agent of any deed. He would do a deed being held tight by the Almighty, as the puppet plays being led by the leading strings of the man in a pantomime. I invaded Mathurā seventeen times, when my whole army was reduced to nothing by Kṛishṇa and I was captured by Balarāma, whereupon Kṛishṇa, out of mercy, released me. I again invaded Mathurā the eighteenth time with twenty-three *akshauhini*s, when I drove out my enemies, Kṛishṇa and Balarāma, and gained a complete victory. I neither felt sorrow over a defeat, nor joy over a victory. If we should enquire carefully into this day's proceedings we cannot vanquish Kṛishṇa, even though we join Siva and wage a war against him. Nor is this all. The whole world is pervaded by omnipotent time. As this was a good day for the Jādavas, they overcame us with the bravery of Kṛishṇa — us, whose valour is recognized in the three worlds. We, too, can gain victories over our enemy if fortune be in our favour. Weep not, therefore, for this trifle.'

"Jarāsandha and others thus consoled Śiśupāla and went each his own way to his own country. Śiśupāla, too, went home with his armies. Then Rukmi, the brother of Rukmini, not agreeing to the carrying off of his sister by Kṛishṇa and not reconciling himself with the state of affairs, pursued him with an *aśshauhinī* and spoke thus to his charioteer :— 'This shepherd boy has slighted me and carried off my sister Rukmini, as if he were a daring valiant soldier. He knows not my prowess and descent. I must chase him swiftly, drive on the chariot so as to overtake him. I will, with my glittering arrows, put him down and show my valour.' Having thus addressed the charioters, Rukmi, not knowing Kṛishṇa's prowess, drove near him and said :— 'Stop a little, you butter-stealing shepherd boy. You shall very soon see your fate.' Having thus slighted him, he aimed three sharp arrows at him and spoke to him in a manner which irritated Kṛishṇa very much :— 'Thou shepherd, you are not our compeer to carry off our child. What *dharma* do you follow? What caste do you belong to? Of what family are you? Where were you born? Where brought up? What is your calling? What is your *gōtra*? Who knows you? You have no sense of shame or honour. Wherever you come you assume a disguise and do not appear at all in your true colours before your enemies. Moreover, you are no king. You are not tied to the world. Therefore leave our child and depart, otherwise I will put down your pride in battle by steel-pointed arrows which appear as flames of fire at the time of *pralaya*.'

"Śrī-Kṛishṇa laughed at Rukmi, tore asunder his bow with one arrow, with six others his body, with eight others his chariot horses, with two more his charioteer, with three pointed ones his banner, he broke another of his bows and arrows and reduced to pieces all his other weapons. Rukmi not being pleased at this state of affairs, descended from his chariot, held a knife in his hand and came upon Kṛishṇa once more, when the latter powdered his knife and armour. Then Kṛishṇa grew exceedingly angry at the conduct of Rukmi and drew his knife from his sheath and was about to cut off his head, when Rukmini interfered and fell upon her knees before Kṛishṇa and said : 'Enlightened and honourable being, seat of mercy incarnate, angelic god, my brother, not knowing your omniscience and omnipresence, has committed a grievous fault, for which I intercede on his behalf and request you to excuse him. My preserver, I am not come here to say that my brother has committed no fault. Whatever may be the heinous nature of the crime he has committed, if you should kill him, my parents would weep over the death of their son and pine away instead of feeling glad at their being able to secure Viṣṇu as their son-in-law, and therefore you should excuse him.' Thus, with a shivering tone, in extreme terror, a convulsed frame, a great fallen countenance, dishevelled hair and ever-weeping eyes, Rukmini prayed to Kṛishṇa, when he desisted from murdering Rukmi and went back intent on punishing him differently. He then tied him to his chariot and shaved him in the most awkward way possible. Meanwhile, the Jādāva leaders drove the enemy's troops off the field and came near Kṛishṇa. Then Balarāma, seeing the almost lifeless frame of Rukmi and being very much moved, untied the strings, liberated him, approached Kṛishṇa, and said :— 'O Kṛishṇa, it is not proper for you to shave the head and face of a relative like Rukmi. If a relative should come to battle knowingly or unknowingly, instead of telling him to go away, committing such a deed is more shameful than severing the head off the body. O Kṛishṇa, you make no difference between a friend and a foe. You neither show favour to one, nor disfavour to another. You treat all men equally. That you should now have thought otherwise and offered such a treatment to a relative is exceedingly bad in you.'

"He then turned round to Rukmini and said :— 'Blame not our Kṛishṇa for the deed he has committed. We should not think that one ought to protect another for the good he has done and punish him for the evil committed. This depends entirely on the *karma* of our previous existence.

Karmic law pervades through the whole universe. Therefore your brother has but suffered for the deed he has committed in a previous existence. We should not kill a relative, though he deserves death. To him a sense of shame should be more than death. When Brahmā created the four castes and defined the Varnasrāma *dharma* of each, he said that it is but proper to kill any person in battle, be he a brother, father, or son. That is why kings in their thirst for dominion slay any person in battle, irrespective of the relationship they bear. Those kings who want to earn a reputation of being great, being desirous of dominion, wealth, sustenance, women or honour, and not for a moment thinking of the troubles they would endure in the other world, always drag other people to quarrel for one reason or another. O Rukmini, hear me. To the ignorant one that makes a difference between God and man, being surrounded by the *mayā* of Vishṇu; to those that draw a distinction between *sthūla*, *sukṣma*, and *kāraṇa śarīras*, and between *jñānendrias* and *karmendrias*, there exists a difference between friend, foe, and acquaintance. As the sun, moon, and stars appear in mirrors, waters, and precious stones, as the horizon presents various shapes in the waters of pots, ponds, lakes, wells, and rivers, so the all-pervading Universal Soul (God) appears differently to different living beings. This *sthūla sarīra*, capable of undergoing life and death, assumes the form of the five elements and makes the *jīva* wander in this miserable *samsār* and undergo life and death in utter ignorance. As the eye and the objects of vision appear bright when sun is shining, the *jñānendrias* and *karmendrias* follow their own calling when the soul is shining. As there is no relation between the sun and the objects of vision, so no relation exists between the soul and the body. As waxing and waning disturb only the fifteen phases of the moon and not the nectar-phased moon itself, so birth and death disturb the body and not the soul. As the sleeping person enjoys the appearances presented to him in a dream, so the person who has no knowledge of the soul thinks the transient pleasures of this world to be immortal. Therefore, think not that Kṛishṇa has put your brother to shame and that he has suffered from it. Put off, therefore, all sorrow from your heart. O Rukmini, put off all your sorrow which arises out of ignorance by your knowledge of self. It is not proper for you, who knows the self, to weep like the ignorant.'

"When Rukmini was thus taught by Balarāma, she learnt fully of the soul and left off weeping. Rukmi, who was put to shame by Kṛishṇa, suffered like one under the pangs of death, sobbed in his fulness of heart over his disfigured frame and resolved that he would not enter Kundināgara, without defeating Kṛishṇa. He therefore stayed outside the town. Thus did Kṛishṇa take Rukmini to his abode after slaying all his enemies. Preparations for marriage were being made throughout the town. There were dances, songs, and the beating of drums. Men and women put on their best attire. Public thoroughfares became damp from the perspirations of the elephants of the kings who came to witness the marriage. Plantain and areca trees were tied at the front of every house. Camphor and incense were burnt. The walls, terraces, doorways, doors, and pillars of every house were beautifully adorned. Festoons and cloths, flowers, and precious stones were tied, and standards were raised everywhere.

"On this occasion Śrī-Kṛishṇa married Rukmini (Lakṣmī), a woman best adapted to his tastes, possessing an extreme sense of honour, capable of making others exceedingly rich, honored by her relatives, and in turn honouring them, of good character, capable of removing immense poverty, and wearing the best jewels and putting on the best cloths. By such a marriage Kṛishṇa obtained an everlasting fame. Then the townsfolk, wishing for their welfare, came to see the newly-married pair and gave them valuable offerings. The kings of the various kingdoms of the world were delighted and wondered at hearing of the marriage of Rukmini and Kṛishṇa. O Parikṣit, the people of the city were overjoyed to the happy union of Rukmini and Kṛishṇa."

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